Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2012 with funding from
internet archive

http://archive.org/details/californiahistor79cali

For Reference
Do Not Take
From the Library

Every person who maliciously cuts, defaces, breaks or injures any book, map, chart, picture, engraving, statue, coin, model, apparatus, or other work of literature, art, mechanics or object of curiosity, deposited in any public library, gallery, museum or collection is guilty of a misdemeanor.

**Penal Code of California
1915, Section 623**

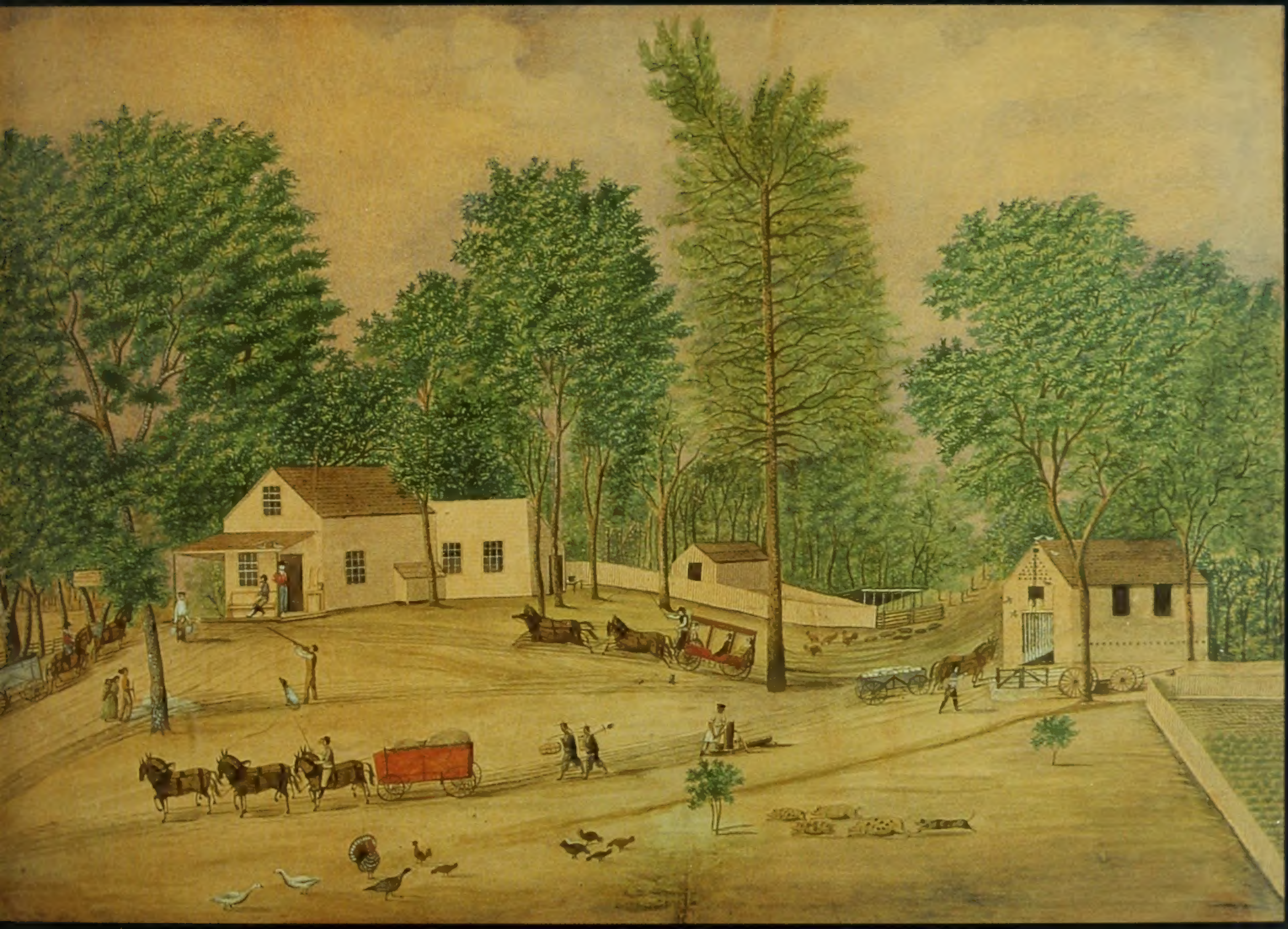
ng

GAZINE OF THE CALIFORNIA

3 9042 05167199 5

CALIFORNIA HISTORY

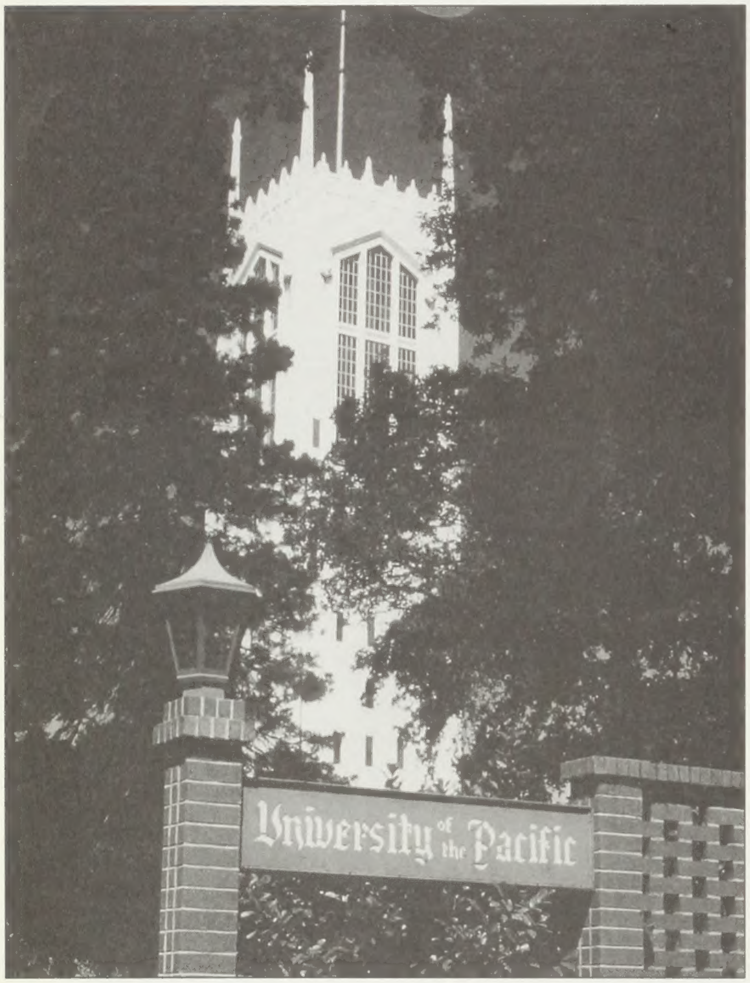
SPRING 2000



Literature and the Arts in California and the Pacific Northwest

Milestones in California History—

UNIVERSITY OF THE PACIFIC: ACTIVE PLAYER IN CALIFORNIA HISTORY



Burns Tower at the University of the Pacific. Construction of the tower was completed in 1964. *Courtesy University of the Pacific.*

The University of the Pacific, California's first chartered institution of higher education, is currently marking its sesquicentennial. Established as California Wesleyan College by a group of Methodist ministers and laypeople during the gold-rush era, the university was initally located in Santa Clara, moved to San Jose after the Civil War, and to Stockton in 1924. Over the decades, as the College of the Pacific and, since 1961, as the University of the Pacific, it has been a dynamic medium-sized private institution composed of several colleges and professional schools, including the oldest Conservatory of Music in the state and one of the few Schools of Pharmacy in the West. Known for its beautiful campus, ivy-covered buildings, and rose gardens, the university has served as the background for many Hollywood films.

UOP can perhaps claim informal title as the university that has sponsored the widest array of programs dedicated to the history of California, committing its resources to expanding and preserving knowledge of state history. For over three decades, from the 1950s to the 1980s, it issued a quarterly, the Pacific Historian*, the only journal in the state specializing in western history at large, publishing articles and book reviews on all aspects of the history of the West. For a half-century, the university sponsored an annual Mission Tour, an instructional tour of all of California's historic missions led for years by UOP historian Richard "Coke" Wood, who was named "Mr. California" by the State Legislature. Another even earlier program, and one that is still ongoing, is the California History Institute, which for more than a half-century has held annual conferences on California history. Its varied programs have dealt with such topics as the history of the fur trade, California immigration in the past and present, religion and education in frontier California, and the relevance of the Pacific Rim for the state. The university also has served as the headquarters of the Conference of California Historical Societies, an umbrella organization of historical societies throughout the state. The UOP Library's Department of Special Collections contains primary sources, including manuscripts, diaries, early publications, photographs, and other significant holdings, on all aspects of state history, and has been a required stop for hundreds of researchers. Among its most sought-after collections are the Jack London Papers and, perhaps the most acclaimed collection in its holdings, the John Muir Papers.*

The Muir collection was housed at UOP twenty years ago by Muir's descendants, and that led to the establishment on the campus of the John Muir Center, which publishes the John Muir Newsletter *as well as collections of essays. The university has become a mecca for Muir scholars, and has been instrumental in establishing John Muir on the scholarly map. Indeed, the California History Institute has dedicated several of its conferences to John Muir and published those proceedings as books.*

A recent Institute focused on the arts on the West Coast, and the most outstanding of those presentations on fiction, film, music, and poetry have been edited especially for this issue. It is introduced by the "dean" of California letters, Gerald Haslam, and features the work of leading young scholars from California and across the country. This special issue, a partnership between the California Historical Society and the University of the Pacific, is a fitting way to celebrate the university's sesquicentennial, which coincides with that of the State of California.

SALLY M. MILLER
John Muir Center,
University of the Pacific
Consulting Editor, Literature
and the Arts in California
and the Pacific Northwest

FRONT COVER: Attr. Henry Miller, *Knickerbocker Ranch*, 1854, watercolor on paper, 18 in. by 23¾ in. *California Historical Society.*
BACK COVER: Edwin Deakin, *Farming in Livermore Valley*, 1872, oil on canvas, 33 in. by 29 in. *California Historical Society.*

THE MAGAZINE OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

CALIFORNIA HISTORY

VOLUME LXXIX No. 1

Spring 2000

MICHAEL DUTY
Executive Director

RICHARD J. ORSI
Editor

SALLY M. MILLER
Special Issue Consulting Editor

MARLENE SMITH-BARANZINI
Associate Editor

JAMES J. RAWLS
Reviews Editor

PETER ORSI
Special Issue Project Editor

CHARLES N. JOHNSON
Checklist Editor

THE ARTHUR H. CLARK COMPANY
Design/Production

Editorial Consultants
GORDON M. BAKKEN
JACQUELINE BARNHART
LONNIE G. BUNCH III
LARRY E. BURGESS
ROBERT W. CHERNY
RICHARD W. ETULAIN
JAMES N. GREGORY
JUDSON A. GRENIER
RICHARD GRISWOLD DEL CASTILLO
ROBERT V. HINE
LANE R. HIRABAYASHI
DAVID HORNBECK
LAWRENCE J. JELINEK
PAUL J. KARLSTROM
HARRY KELSEY
HIM MARK LAI
RUDOLPH M. LAPP
LAWRENCE B. LEE
R. JEFFREY LUSTIG
SANDY LYDON
CLEMENT MEIGHAN
SALLY M. MILLER
IRENE MORAN
GEORGE H. PHILLIPS
LEONARD PITT
MICHAEL SMITH

Editorial Assistants
ZAC BARANZINI
JOSHUA PADDISON
K. CHRISTIE VOGEL

2 Foreword
by Gerald Haslam

I. Literature

4 The Emergence of Los Angeles as a Literary Territory
by David Fine

10 “Debauched by a Book”: Benjamin Franklin, Richard Brautigan, and the Pleasure of the Text
by Joseph Mills

18 Raymond Carver’s *Where I’m Calling From:* A Reflection of His Life and Art
by John Magee

24 Vietnam War Landscape: California in Robert Stone’s *Dog Soldiers*
by Donna Pasternak

II. Film

30 Manifest Landscape/Latent Ideology: Afterimages of Emipire in the Western and “Post-Western” Film
by Diane M. Borden and Eric P. Essman

42 Yosemite Sam Never Settles Down
by Bruce McKenna

50 On the Road to Nowhere?: California’s Car Culture
by R. C. Lutz

III. Poetry and Music

56 From Granite and Hawks to Human Wishes: California’s Poetry of Place
by Adrielle Mitchell

62 Proverbs about Women from the Pacific Northwest and California
by Lois Kerschen

70 The Wild, Wild West: Images of California in Contemporary Rap Music
by Heather Mayne

76 Reviews

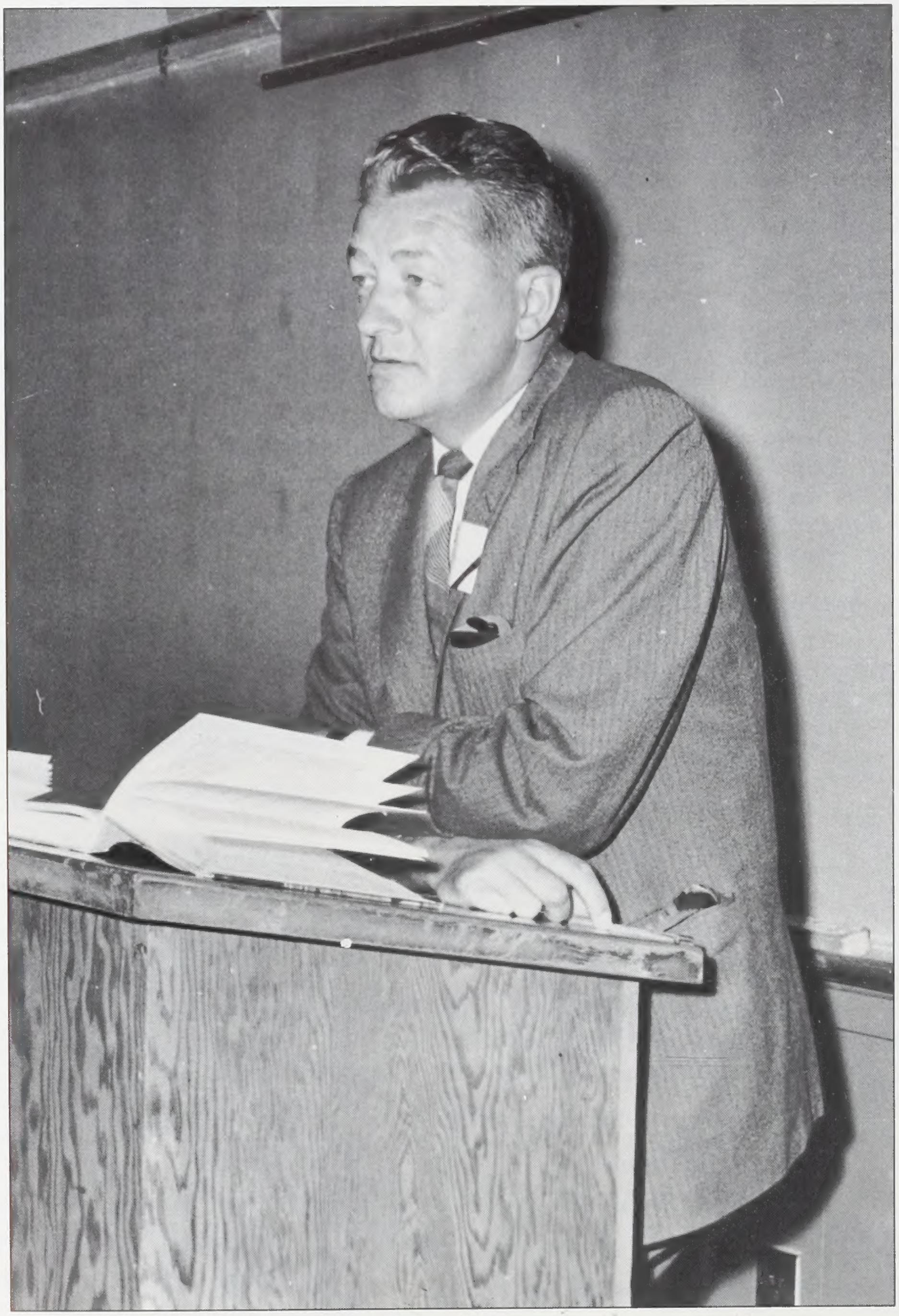
81 California Checklist

82 Notes

86 Donors

California History is published
with the cooperation and support of
California State University, Hayward.

California History (ISSN 0612–2897 LC 75–640289) is published quarterly by the California Historical Society (CHS), 678 Mission Street, San Francisco, CA 94105. Subscription: Regular annual membership is $50.00. Second class postage is paid at San Francisco, CA and additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: send address changes to CHS, 678 Mission Street, San Francisco, CA 94105.



Author Wallace Stegner at Stanford University in May 1957.
Courtesy Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries.

FOREWORD

by Gerald Haslam

No one knows for certain when the continent began tilting westward. Some suggest it coincided with the emergence of Hollywood *the* motion-picture capital, others credit the vast gration to the West Coast during World War II, nile still others—romantics mostly—point to the ummer of love." In any case, by the end of the twenth century, California hosted more publishing iters than any other state, and the entire West med with artists.

Best of all, that steepening westward slant tumd talents toward the coast in a wondrous jumble styles and genres, producing films that were ems, plays that were novels, music that defied clasications: Visionaries and characters as varied as erle Haggard and Maxine Hong Kingston, Wilma zabeth McDaniel and Robert Maplethorpe, Ed ood and Janis Joplin . . . and on and on . . . have livened art here.

Nevertheless, some critics and scholars have conued gazing eastward and backward, looking for new Algonquin Circle, insisting that the ethnically verse, sexually idiosyncratic, sometimes wacky istry burgeoning in the West couldn't *really* be portant—largely because they didn't understand The most exciting western art hasn't necessarily the paradigms taught in graduate schools. *"It's d living with a one-armed man trying to learn to play violin she said as she handed the gun to the police,"* ote Washington native, poet-novelist, seeker-sage chard Brautigan. Say *what*, Richard?

Say this: The finest western critics and scholars do derstand the innovative artistic world in which ey dwell, as the essays in this collection reveal. Say, , that while California, with its vast population d historic tradition of artistic freedom, has domated, this nevertheless has *not* been a phenomenon nited to the Golden State; much remarkable art has sen from Northwest-linked talents such as Gary yder, Ursula K. Le Guin, Ken Kesey, John Haines, Annie Dillard, Raymond Carver, and Brautigan, among many others.

And, of course, the "places" of western artists are no longer limited by the local settings where they dwell, since considerable recent creativity explores the topography of the imagination as well as the tangle of the society, often within the enduring challenge of the terrain. Moreover, as the western cultural situation continues enriching, more artists of all colors and genders and persuasions are finding newer and striking means to express their visions.

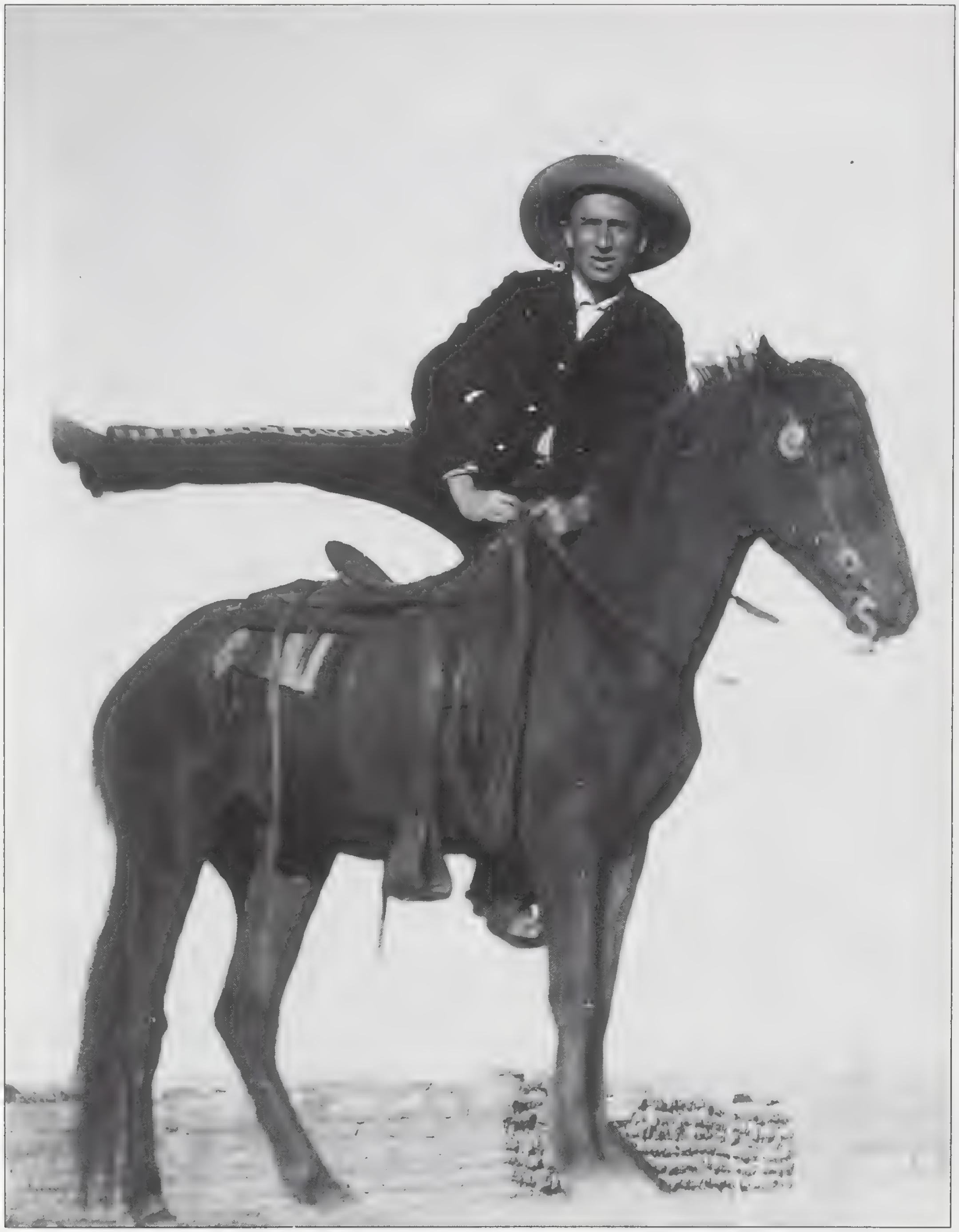
Different American perspectives are revealed when one gazes at the continent from the West Coast: the racial symbolism embodied by Bugs Bunny and Yosemite Sam triggers more anti-Asian than anti-Black memories; Vietnam suggests not just a war but a talismanic linkage; the land's grandeur endures human assaults, so poets like Snyder can still employ regional images to reveal truths without slipping into parochialism—

Words and books
Like a small creek off a high ledge
Gone in the dry air.

In fact, the particular may be our true path to the Universal.

Clearly, west-coast artists know a secret: The future is happening out here, right where they are.

Gerald Haslam, professor emeritus of English at Sonoma State University, is a recipient of the Western Literature Association's Distinguished Achievement Award. He has published eight collections of short stories; his most recent books are a novel, Manuel and the Madman, *and a second, enlarged edition of* Coming of Age in California: Personal Essays, *both published in 2000.*



Charles Fletcher Lummis in Mexican cowboy dress. A writer and editor based in Los Angeles, Lummis promoted the romantic image of Spanish California life with articles and illustrations in the magazines *Land of Sunshine* and *Out West*. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

The Emergence of Los Angeles as a Literary Territory

by David Fine

In an 1897 article in The Wave, *San Francisco novelist Frank Norris wrote: "Perhaps no great city in the world is so isolated as we are . . . There is no great city to the north of us, to the south of us none nearer than Mexico, to the west is the waste of the Pacific, to the East the wastes of the desert. Here we are set down as a pin point in a vast circle of solitude."*[1]

What Norris didn't know, couldn't know when he wrote the lines above, was that four hundred miles to the south a new tropolis was emerging at that very time—not the duct of a gold-rush migration of hardy adven- ers and opportunists, but a more timid, gentle up of migrants who came by railroad from the t and the Midwest. Beginning in the 1880s Los geles's growth was made possible by the con- gence of two rail lines into southern California l the huge land subsidies the railroads were given ouild the roads and thus their interest in selling d. A huge basin stretching from the San Gabriel untains to the ocean, sixty miles away, was sub- ided into hundreds of instant town-sites. The land om was on.

Los Angeles became the best-advertised city in erica. The railroads hired a corps of publicity ters to advertise the benefits of touring or settling outhern California. City father and booster Har- on Gray Otis, owner of the *Los Angeles Times*, and arles Fletcher Lummis, his flamboyant city edi- and the city's chief propagandist, aggressively moted the region. Climate, open land, and agri- ture were the draws. "We sold 'em the climate and ew the land in," one of the developers was fond aying. The warm, dry, Mediterranean climate was ged to cure any ailment and among the hundreds housands who poured into the basin, more than ir share of invalids began to populate the land storian Carey McWilliams called the land "one t sanitarium"). In their wake came a crop of heal- , medical quacks, psychic consultants, and food ldists, establishing the region's continuing asso- tion with the esoteric, the occult, the bizarre, and dy consciousness. It was a facet of the human land- pe not lost on the city's novelists, who since the 1920s have written with satiric glee about a human landscape of psychics and healers preying on the sick and tired. In his 1927 novel *Angel's Flight*, Don Ryan describes these charlatans: "Swamis stalked the streets wrapped in meditation and bed ticks. Famous bunko men honored the city with permanent residence."[2] While it is tempting to exaggerate the influence of cultists and con men in the city's development, their centrality to the fiction and folklore of a city of migrants in search of health, regeneration, and the good life cannot be denied.

A huge part of the hyping of Los Angeles was the deliberate construction of the mission myth. The Spanish missions, then in a state of disrepair after about seventy years of neglect following their secularization and Mexico's loss of California, were suddenly the center of attention. Constructing such a marketable myth was a way for the city fathers to provide a romantic regional history that would draw tourists and sell land. So a group of largely Anglo-Protestant boosters appropriated a Hispanic Catholic past, distorting it in the process. It did not seem to matter that it wasn't their history, nor the history of the migrants they targeted. Nor did the uprooting, the extirpation, the extermination by disease of the native population under Spanish and Mexican rule seem noteworthy. The myth centered on images of benevolent padres ministering to the needs of a grateful Indian population, of guitars and fandangos on balmy nights at the adobe ranchos, of mission bells sweetly tolling the hours. The mission myth was good for business. At the center was Helen Hunt Jackson's romantic 1884 novel, *Ramona*, which almost literally engendered the myth and perpetuated it with its array of spin-offs—pageants, pl and tours of "Ramona Country."

In the first few decades of the twentieth cent when a harbor was dug, water was imported by aqueduct from Owens Valley, oil was discovered beneath the city's streets, and the movie industry, looking for a place for year-round outdoor shooting, discovered Los Angeles, the city was poised for growth. By the early 1920s the city's population surpassed that of San Francisco. Unlike its northern neighbor, Los Angeles had land, a warm climate, and an extravagant booster spirit.

Los Angeles was hyped as the place of the fresh start, where one could begin over; it was the new New World Garden ready to be occupied. The low density spread across the vast basin was made possible first by an interurban fixed rail system, the Pacific Electric cars, and since the twenties by the automobile and a dense system of roads—some built along the Pacific Electric rights of way. Los Angeles became in these years a city defined and shaped by the automobile. Mobility was the key—fluid movement across a vast landscape. The downtown was not a magnet, as it was for most cities, but just another zone—a center, but just one center.

While novels written about Los Angeles were published in the half century between 1880 and 1930, the real emergence of the city as a literary territory took place in the 1930s as a by-product of the movie industry. The invention of the sound-track in 1927 created a need for scriptwriters, and Hollywood scoured the nation and Europe for writers who could compose dialog. Writers who answered the call ranged from the famous, such as F. Scott Fitzgerald, John O'Hara, Aldous Huxley, Evelyn Waugh, Nathanael West, and William Faulkner, to some relatively unknown young writers like James M. Cain and Horace McCoy.

What is remarkable about these Depression-age migrant writers was not their screen achievements, which were modest at best, but rather the fiction they wrote about Los Angeles and Hollywood that undermined and subverted the earlier myth of new beginnings and fresh starts, transforming the region into one of disastrous finishes. In so doing, the Hollywood-drawn writers of the 1930s established a literary identity, a definition, a way of seeing the place that would persist at least to the present day. The city could no longer serve as the setting of the regenerative possibilities of America. What emerged were tales, jeremiad, about the end of the line—and the end of the dream. Los Angeles was continent's end, where we run out of highway, run out of hope, run out of future. Movement in these novels becomes circular, a running in place. The road is a cul-de-sac leading either back to beginnings, to history, or to violent endings, to a death that occurs at the very end of the continent, at the edge of the ocean. Drawi
on their own frustrations as wage laborers in t
dream factory and the larger realities of the Depr
sion and the rise of fascism in Europe, these write
could no longer sustain the vision of the city fathe
a generation earlier. The tough-guy crime story a
the Hollywood novel, with their insistence on t
betrayal of the movie-engendered dream, are pro
ucts of this period. The Los Angeles novel from t
1930s to the present is poised on the tension betwe
dream and reality, the promise and the betrayal
the promise.

Any discussion of the emergence of Los Angel
as a literary territory must begin with the recog
tion that the writers—like almost everyone else
were newcomers, and thus strangers in a stran
land. Regional fiction is almost by definition the wo
of writers born in and nurtured by the regions abo
which they write—what Eudora Welty called t
"heart's field." Here we have writers freshly-arrive
in an expansive landscape that to them had no di
cernible contours, no center as reference point—an
with no center, no periphery. The city appeared as
large, amorphous sprawl across the land. It wa

Author Aldous Huxley, above, came to Los Angeles from England in 1937 and wrote stories about the California lifestyle. *Courtesy Los Angeles Examiner, Hearst Newspaper Collection, USC Special Collections.*

Raymond Chandler, 1945. Chandler was the author of a series of hard-boiled detective novels set in Los Angeles, featuring his tough hero Philip Marlowe. *Courtesy Los Angeles Examiner, Hearst Newspaper Collection, USC Special Collections.*

cking, to them, not only a sense of place but a sense
history, a usable regional past. Regions, of course,
ange in time; a region's past is necessarily part of
identity. One thinks of Faulkner's ante– and post–
llum South or Sherwood Anderson's pre– and
st–industrial Ohio Valley. For Los Angeles's writ-
s, the past was elsewhere, a remembered else-
here back in the Midwest, or East, or Europe. They
rried that past with them to California, and, at least
implication, the novels they wrote were bi-
gional: They gauged their west–coast present
ainst a past brought from another place. This is a
stinctive feature of the fiction. "I'll never paint a
t old Nantucket barn again," the artist-protagonist
d Hackett says of Nathanael West's *The Day of the*
cust, and Hackett's excoriation of the local archi-
ctural landscape on almost every page of the novel
rives from his, and West's, east–coast tastes and
aining.

In West's novel the local architecture, a mélange
fantasy houses aping every style in history—Chi-
se pagodas, Italian villas, half-timber Tudor cot-
ges, and Moorish apartment houses—is the nexus
tween geography and history, the coming together of spatial anarchy and temporal confusion. History is not what historians say or do, but what Hollywood says and does: history according to Sam Goldwyn, a matter of props. Hollywood, the neighborhood, appears in West's novel as a giant annex to the studio back lots, full of paper and plaster evocations of the kind of history invented by the movies. Playing on the ersatz architectural styles of the city, West enacts, or reenacts, the confusion between reality and illusion. Even day and night are products of movie lighting. The denizens of the novel—Hollywood hangers-on, bit players, would-be starlets, drugstore cowboys, cultists—have similarly forgotten the difference between real life and acting, between living and performing. The results, as in the case of would-be starlet Faye Greener, are pathological. Even the natural world in West's novel is preempted by the artificial, the made, the constructed. The moon makes a cameo appearance one night like an "enormous bone button" poking through "a blue serge sky." And the dying light at dusk appears as a neon light outlining the trees.[3] Nature, West seems to be saying, is a matter of carefully placed sets and effective lighting. This kind of confusion, encouraged by Hollywood dreams, recurs in other Hollywood novels that followed in the wake of West's novel: Budd Schulberg's *What Makes Sammy Run?*, Aldous Huxley's *After Many A Summer Dies the Swan*, Evelyn Waugh's *The Loved One*, Peter Viertel's *White Hunter, Black Heart*, and Norman Mailer's *The Deer Park*.

In the latter, set not in Hollywood but in a movie-colony watering hole in the nearby desert, one character says, "Drinking in that atmosphere I never knew whether it was day or night, and I think that kind of uncertainty got into everyone's conversation."[4] This confusion between illusion and reality, dream and actuality, is at the center, too, of the tough–guy crime stories of the 1930s and 1940s. James M. Cain's *The Postman Always Rings Twice*, *Double Indemnity*, and *Mildred Pierce*, written in the mid and late 1930s, and Horace McCoy's pair of 1930s novels, *They Shoot Horses, Don't They?* and *I Should Have Stayed Home*, established the tone. In these fast-paced tales of murder, blackmail, suicide, and betrayal, beautiful dreams become violent nightmares. The setting for these stories is often right at the edge of the Pacific, the last place on the land, what poet Robinson Jeffers called the continent's "drop off place." In *The Postman Always Rings Twice* the murder of a husband by conspiring lovers is committed on a cliff above Malibu, and Cora, the wife, is killed in a car crash on the Pacific Coast Highway—the postman's second ringing. McCoy's *They Shoot*

Horses, Don't They? is set, appropriately, not only at, but over, the edge of the Pacific in a dance hall on the Santa Monica pier, where a pair of young Hollywood dream-seekers, after enduring a grueling dance marathon hoping for prize money and discovery by a Hollywood talent scout, come literally to the end of the line. The dance marathon, a *danse macabre*, is played against a cosmic accompaniment of waves pounding and receding relentlessly beneath the dancers' feet. After agonizing weeks of endless, senseless, exhausting movement and punishing competition to titillate the masses of thrill seekers in the audience, the woman, Gloria Beatty, standing at the edge of the pier, pleads with Robert Syverton, her partner, to put a bullet in her head. "They shoot horses, don't they?" she asks. He complies.

These tough tales of Cain and McCoy are preambles to the hard-boiled detective stories of Raymond Chandler. Throughout Chandler's fiction, from *The Big Sleep* in 1939 to *The Long Goodbye* in 1953, the ocean is the recurring setting to murder. Cars are run off piers, and killings occur at the coast or in the hills hovering above. But Chandler uses all of the terrain of Los Angeles in his fiction. He was, he claimed, always more interested in the city than in the solution of crimes, and few of his stories have neat and tidy endings. As in West's writings (and those of the other Hollywood novelists), an ever-present sense of deception and masquerade persists. People and things are not what they appear to be. The distressed young woman searching for her missing sister is really just after a piece of the take. Cops are more often than not selling protection, doctors pushing drugs, and lawyers and judges wallowing in corruption—the kind of sleazy lawyers Chandler's hero Philip Marlowe famously says he hopes the other guy has. Even the rare–book dealer in *The Big Sleep* runs a pornographic rental library.

Chandler not only appropriates the vast landscape of the basin in his fiction but uses it in a consistently symbolic way. The criminals in Chandler's city have committed crimes in the flatlands and then moved up into the hills or onto the bluffs over the ocean. To "move up" is both a literal and metaphoric term. They live above the city in walled fortresses, protected and insulated from the crimes they have committed in the flatlands below. They assume new names, identities, and addresses in order to purchase immunity from their past. It's the kind of movement encouraged by the fluid, mobile lifestyle that characterized the Los Angeles of the thirties, forties, and fifties. The job of the detective is to climb the hill, drag the criminals down to the flatlands, and make them remember the past and reenact the crimes they have committed. Early in *The Big Sleep*, Marlowe—havin penetrated the pseudo-Gothic mansion of Genera Guy Sternwood, having learned how the old ma made his fortune exploiting the city's oil reserve and having encountered his two reckless daughter progeny of Sternwood's carelessness—stands ou side the hilltop house and surveys the view:

> Most of the field was public now, cleaned up and donated by General Sternwood. But a little of it was producing in groups of wells pumping five or six barrels a day. The Sternwoods, having moved up the hill, could no longer smell the stale sump water or the oil, but they could still look out their front windows and see what had made them rich. I don't suppose they would want to.[5]

To have a view is to have a prospect, a future—o to harbor the illusion of a future unencumbered b the past. To look down the hill is to look back toward the past, toward the oil and the stale sum water that made the Sternwoods rich. The moral les son in these tales is that one can't escape history; one can only have the temporary illusion of immunity from its grip. One always brings one's past into the present. The California Dream that one can always start afresh, begin again, is subverted by Chandler as it is in James M. Cain's tales of retribution, in which forbidden wishes are granted but then pulled away

Chandler's heir, Ross Macdonald, employs this same pattern of flight and forced return to the past In Macdonald's stories, there is always a skeleton in the closet of the ancestral home, often, as with Chandler, that of a past linked to the corruption or exploitation of the land itself. In Macdonald the land strikes back in the form of forest fires, tidal waves, and oil slicks. Such acts figure as cosmic responses from an angry god. The instability of the natural landscape is a recurring feature in fiction, competing with the instability of the architectural landscape as metaphor for having reached the end of the land and the dream. Every year the dry chaparral of the hills, fanned by hot Santa Ana winds, bursts into flame, and then in the aftermath of fire come the rains and the resultant mudslides. Chandler was also well aware of this pattern, placing extortionist Lindsay Marriott from *Farewell, My Lovely* in a house perched precariously on a cliff overlooking the ocean. A good sneeze, Marlowe observes, would bring the house down upon the picnickers on the beach below. Gavin Lambert, another Hollywood-drawn writer, gives a sense of the terror of the falling tons of mud in his 1951 novel, *The Slide Area:*

> High lurching cliffs confront the ocean, and are just beginning to fall apart. Signs have been posted along the highway. DRIVE CAREFULLY and SLIDE

Pickford-Fairbanks Studio in 1926. The rise of the film industry in Los Angeles in the early twentieth century attracted a host of outstanding writers to southern California to work for the expanding studios. *California Historical Society/Title Insurance and Trust Photo Collection, USC Special Collections.*

AREA. Lumps of earth and stone fall down. The land is restless here, restless and sliding. . . . The land is falling. Rocks fall down all over and the cliffs called Pacific Palisades are crumbling, slowly down to the ocean.[6]

Collectively, what these writers of the thirties, for-s, and fifties constructed was a city literally and etaphorically on the edge, a reality that stood in artling contrast to Los Angeles's Edenic founding yth of new beginnings. Writers like Cain, McCoy, andler, West, and Macdonald gave the city a litary identity it has retained through the present day. ey made available to a later generation of writers, ch as Joan Didion, Alison Lurie, Walter Mosely, Carolyn See, and Michael Connelly, the regional metaphors of deception, illusion, and loss, as well as the sense that one can't escape the past, step outside the stream of history.

See notes beginning on page 82.

David Fine, professor of English at California State University, Long Beach, has published a dozen articles on California (particularly Los Angeles) fiction and edited the collections Unknown California *(1984),* Los Angeles in Fiction *(1984 and 1995), and* San Francisco in Fiction *(1995). He is currently working on a history of the Los Angeles novel.*

"Debauched by a book"

Benjamin Franklin, Richard Brautigan, and *The Pleasure of the Text*

by Joseph Mills

A long time ago, a friend of mine had on his answering machine the sentence: *It's hard living with a one armed man trying to learn to play the violin she said as she handed the gun to the police.* I liked this message so much I would call when I knew he wasn't there. Consequently, I had memorized a complete Richard Brautigan story before I ever knew who he was. It wasn't until years later that I read Brautigan's work when I was teaching for a year at the University of Bordeaux.

I went to Bordeaux as part of an exchange program, and in the spring, the English Club put together a series of presentations on various Anglophone countries. I agreed to represent the United States. I dressed in shorts, a baseball T-shirt, a baseball cap, and Converse high tops. With a camera around my neck, I held a Coke in one hand and a French phrase book in the other. I also carried chocolate chip cookies in a big McDonald's sack. In short, I tried to embody the stereotypes of an American.

I'm not patriotic. I've never shouted "U-S-A" except ironically, usually to irritate my wife, who is European. Yet, it's impossible to live abroad and not engage, on some level, with the stereotypes of nationalities. In my case, my poor language skills made me constantly aware of my "foreignness"—I was the only lecturer who wasn't a scholar of French literature—and because almost all of my colleagues were British, I was also constantly made aware of my "Americanness." (In fact, I was required to teach British pronunciation, the Queen's English.) At times I exaggerated or camped up the elements of an American identity, simultaneously adopting and mocking them. Sometimes I taught in cowboy boots, but although I've lived in the West for almost a decade, I'm no more of a cowboy than Benjamin Franklin was a Quaker. Yet over two hundred years before me, the United States's first French ambassador would walk through the Parisian streets in a plain black outfit. Simple, virtuous Benjamin Franklin—or, as the French called him, "Le Bon Quacker"—understood he represented "America" and his *Autobiography* deliberately presents his li as emblematic of "a rising people."

A hundred years later Samuel Clemens wou arrive, a passenger on the *Quaker City*, an innoce abroad setting out to explore Europe; eventually h too would construct a persona, Mark Twain, and h would adopt a costume, the splendid white suit, an he would come to embody "America." Althoug Twain mocked Poor Richard's aphorisms and th model of the Franklinian man, the frequency of h attacks suggests the extent of Franklin's influenc Explicit references to Franklin occur in numerou unpublished Twain manuscripts and over a doze published works, including "Advice to Youth" (188 and "The Late Benjamin Franklin" (1870). In the la ter, Twain satirizes parents who strive to make thei children earnest, industrious, and productive. Twai ends the sketch by stating that his parents wante him to "do everything just as Franklin did, in th solemn hope that I would be a Franklin some day And here I am." Implicit references thread through his works as well. Who is the pragmatic Yankee Han Morgan, with his establishment of schools, an insur ance company, a printing office, and libraries, bu Benjamin Franklin in King Arthur's Court? Twain's brother, Orion, named one of his printing shops the "Ben Franklin Book and Job Office," and throughout his life he consciously tried to emulate Franklin a desire Twain spoofs with a manuscript entitled *Autobiography of a Damned Fool,* which, he wrote to William Dean Howells, depicted his brother as "a shining ass." Yet, for all his mocking, Twain himself constantly tinkered with inventions, was fascinated by science, and worried continually about his productivity and efficiency.

Several times while in France, I considered buying *Les Aventures de Huckleberry Finn* or *Les Aventures de Tom Sawyer*. Cheaply priced translations of Twain's works are available almost anywhere in Europe. Once while I was browsing in a Paris bookstore, a woman and her son entered. The boy pointed to the stack of Tom Sawyers, and the mother said, "No, you

Author Richard Brautigan (left). *Courtesy of the author.*

ready have that one. You want the other one about uck Finn." I was probably around that boy's age hen I first read *Huckleberry Finn* one summer while retched out on the dock of an Indiana lake, and I uldn't help wondering what Twain's quintessenally "American" work might mean to this French oy. What did he get out of it?

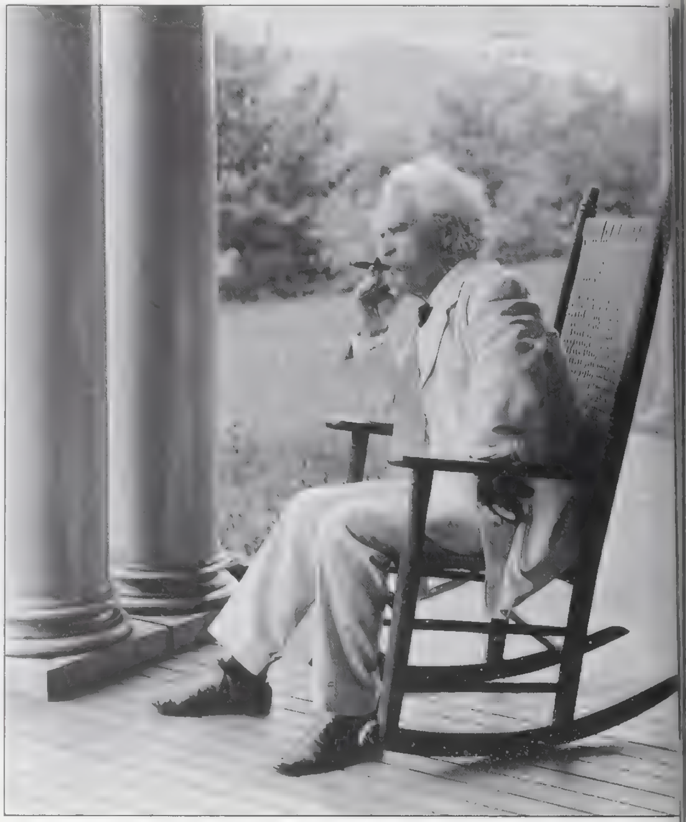
It was a thought I had often, especially after disovering a small foreign language library at the uniersity. While on exchange, I had decided to take a reak from my studies. For the first time in years I as reading extensively for pleasure, and I used the brary a great deal. When you checked out a book nere, the librarian wrote into it not only the due date, ut also your name. I saw some names frequently nough that I began to wonder about them and their eading habits. Were they French? British? What did nese books mean to them? Did Grenier check out *rout Fishing in America* in March of 1986 for a class r on her own initiative? Having struggled to explain oncepts like "Mr. Potatohead" to my French friends, had to wonder what such readers would make of "Kool-Aid wino" or a statue of Ben Franklin. The brary had an entire shelf devoted to Richard Brautian, including *Trout Fishing, The Abortion, In Waterelon Sugar, The Hawkline Monster,* and *Willard and lis Bowling Trophies,* books I had always wanted to ead, but had somehow never gotten around to. Brautigan had lived within thirty miles of me in California, but it wasn't until I went six thousand miles away that I finally read his books. Who can explain the peculiar serendipities of chance that govern so much of our reading?

It wasn't homesickness that made me choose to read this western writer as much as the opportunity to look at my culture, both national and regional, from a distance. The editors of Franklin's *Autobiography* describe it as a "uniquely American book". Brautigan's work is certainly thoroughly American as well. *Trout Fishing* opens with a description of a statue of Benjamin Franklin and asks, "Was it Kafka who learned about America by reading the autobiography of Benjamin Franklin?. . . Kafka who said, 'I like the Americans because they are healthy and optimistic.'"[2] Brautigan's second novel, *A Confederate General at Big Sur* (actually his first published novel) rearranges American history. It places Big Sur as "the twelfth member of the Confederate States of America," and one of its two principal characters, Lee Mellon, insists that he is the descendent of a Confederate general. In Brautigan's last published novel, *So the Wind Won't Blow It All Away,* there occurs a repeating refrain: "So the wind won't blow it all away/Dust . . . American . . . dust." Yet where Franklin is the quintessential Yankee, Brautigan is distinctly Californian. Furthermore, although his work explores "Americanness," it is a characteristic that simply is accepted as a given. He's neither attracted to, nor repelled by, the identity.

Franklin embodies America at its formation in the late 1700s, Twain during its ascendancy into an imperial and cultural power in the mid and late 1800s, and Brautigan for a brief space of time seems to represent an "America" that, as the narrator of *Trout Fishing* suggests, is "only a state of mind" Or, more precisely, Brautigan is seen as the spokesperson for the 1960s, San Francisco, and the Summer of Love. He is defined as "the author laureate of the hippie generation"[3] and *Trout Fishing* is "the true and abiding voice of the flower children who bloomed for a few short years and then disappeared."[4] With the passing of the Age of Aquarius, he was seen as increasingly irrelevant and out of touch. His literary reputation declined, and as Thomas McGuane puts it, "When the 60s ended, he was the baby thrown out with the bath water."[5]

Yet, a close look at Brautigan's work shows its sophistication and also suggests how unlikely a spokesperson he was. Although "whimsical" is the predominant adjective used by reviewers, and his novels are usually seen as "gentle" or "offbeat," some critics have recognized the astonishing amount of loss, decay, and destruction his works contain. Cemeteries and death predominate. From *Confederate General,* in which a vicious Lee Mellon chains a friend to a log, to *So the Wind Won't Blow It All Away,* in which the narrator accidentally kills a childhood companion, acts of violence, which are seen as particularly American, saturate Brautigan's texts. One of the two epigrams of *Willard and his Bowling Trophies* is from Senator Frank Church: "This land is cursed with violence." In *Sombrero Fallout,* a novel whose title and subtitle, "A Japanese Novel," recall the bombing of Hiroshima, the residents of a small town engage in a three-day battle with police, the National Guard, and federal forces that leave more than 3,000 of the townspeople dead; afterwards papers throughout the world carry headlines like "Frontier Misunderstanding," "An American Tragedy," or "Yanks Do It Again." The Chinese news agency says the event is "unfortunate, but American," while *Le Monde* suggests it's "a new American sport like football."[6] As many have pointed out, violence is in the American grain (see, for example, Richard Slotkin's *Regeneration Through Violence*). The desire to start fresh and construct a new identity requires the destruction or the denial of the old one. Benjamin Franklin must reject his family, leave the indenture of his brother, and go to Philadelphia, a dynamic that he then compares with the colonies' necessary rebellion against Britain. Huck Finn stages his own death, and as he travels down the river, he repeatedly tells stories in which he kills off his family.

After the violence, comes movement. To be American is to be mobile. The frontispiece of Twain's *New Sketches and Old* has an engraving of a young Franklin arriving in Philadelphia, the starting point of an American myth: Look how much you can achieve even if you arrive someplace new with only three pennies in your pocket. Yet, Twain's best books—*Huckleberry Finn, Connecticut Yankee, Life on the Mississippi*—which are driven by movement, also reveal the illusionary nature of such mobility. *Yankee* ends with an apocalyptic vision, *Life on the Mississippi* is an elegy for a lost time, and Huck discovers decades before the Beats that the problem with taking to the road is the stopping. There is no permanent rest. Eventually you have to light out for the territories again. Yet Brautigan's characters have no place to go; they are literally on the edge of America. *The Hawkline Monster* opens with two western gunmen in Hawaii. They have gone so far West that they are on the border of the East, and as a result they are disoriented and horrified at the dislocation. Significantly, when they do move, it's always either on a north-south axis—California, Oregon, Washington—or towards the Far East. His characters never go "back East." In *The Tokyo–Montana Express,* which moves between the East of Japan and the West of Montana, identity itself is seen not as a journey, but as the temporary stopping points along one. "The 'I' in this book," the preface insists, "is the voice of the stations along the tracks of the Tokyo–Montana Express."


Beloved humorist Mark Twain in his signature white suit.
Courtesy the Mark Twain Project, Bancroft Library.

Like Twain, one of the many writers to whom he's been compared, Brautigan places Franklin on the cover of one of his books. On the front of *Trout Fishing,* Brautigan stands next to a seated woman with a statue of Benjamin Franklin looking on from behind. The photograph and the use that is made of it suggest that Brautigan understands Franklin's real legacy, which ultimately is not an attitude about productivity, but about self-presentation. After all, Franklin insists that it's not enough to be "in Reality industrious and frugal," but rather a person must "avoid all *Appearances* of the Contrary" (italics his).[7] For Franklin this means no fishing, hunting, or engaging in leisure activities where people can see him; instead he ostentatiously trundles his wheelbarrow through the streets, an exaggerated performance of a hard worker. In chronicling his accomplishments, Franklin emphasizes the impor-

is statue of Benjamin Franklin by sculptor H.D. Cogswell aces the cover of Richard Brautigan's *Trout Fishing in America.* *urtesy of the author.*

nce of his persona.Early in his life, he discovers the ocratic Method, and he recognizes its value. He ates he

> was charm'd with it, adopted it, dropt my abrupt Contradiction, and positive Argumentation, and put on the humble Enquirer and Doubter . . . I found this Method safest for my self and very embarrassing to those against whom I used it. . . . This Habit [modest Diffidence] I believe has been of great Advantage to me, when I have had occasion to indicate my Opinions and persuade Men into Measures that I have been from time to time engag'd in promoting . . . .[8]

ter in the book, Franklin elaborates on his realation that people hesitate to contribute to a project they think it will increase the reputation of the peron proposing it. Consequently, he learned to "put y self as much as I could out of sight" and he prents a project as "a Scheme of a Number of Friends."[9]

In one of the *Autobiography*'s most interesting oments, Franklin inserts letters from friends that ge him to mold the book, and his life, into a role model lesson. According to them, he offers a valuable example to youth and he can "show them . . . how much is to be done."[10] By including those letters, Franklin reveals the book's design. In effect, he stops the narrative and pulls the curtain back for a moment to show his conscious construction of a persona, and, in doing so, he offers yet another example of his praxis. It demonstrates further his mastery of his own self-representation.

It is Brautigan's own apparent naiveté that has often removed him from serious critical consideration. His persona, the presentation of himself on each book cover, staring out at the reader from behind wire-rimmed glasses, is one of innocence. His writing often seems minimal, thrown-off, obvious. As one reviewer puts it, there's "no fear of being bludgeoned to death by overactive prose."[11] Another accuses him of publishing his first-drafts. Yet like the Quaker-garbed Franklin, Brautigan dons this simplicity carefully and deliberately. Critic Jim Abbot points out that those who dismiss the artlessness of *Trout Fishing* don't realize it underwent at least seventeen drafts. In his later books, Brautigan, upset by what he regarded as a lack of critical recognition, would warn "there is more here than meets the eye."[12] In *Tokyo-Montana Express*, Yukiko is surprised to find the American Humorist is nothing like his books. The Author is a constructed identity. Brautigan is as unmoving, statuesque, and iconic in the photo on *Trout Fishing* as the metal Franklin behind him.

Franklin stands on *Trout Fishing*'s cover, holding papers in his hand, but when the statute speaks it isn't Franklin's voice, but rather the voice of those who dedicated the statue: "Presented by H.D. Cogswell To Our Boys and Girls Who Will Soon Take Our Places And Pass On."[13] At the base of the statue, the word "Welcome" is repeated toward the four cardinal directions. The icon of Franklin doesn't speak his own words; often the icon of Brautigan doesn't either. *Trout Fishing in America* is shot through with other languages, multiple parodies, and allusions. In the first chapter alone, the text includes the statue's dedication, Kafka's quotation, references to newspapers, political speeches, cartoons, other people's words.

This obvious intertextuality is precisely why *Trout Fishing* has appealed to some critics. It is clearly "erudite" in ways that his other works don't appear to be, and scholars enjoy discovering the literary sources with which Brautigan plays. "One steps into the stream and inescapably enters the current of America literature," Neil Schmitz says.[14] The book includes parodies of and allusions and homages to Hemingway, Thoreau, Melville, Henry Miller, and

Nelson Algren, to name only a few. William Stull, unable to resist the fishing metaphor, discusses some of the other critics' "catches," the references they pull out of the book, then proceeds to land one of his own, showing a connection to Nathanael West. Stull also mentions in passing the usefulness of some of the terms of the French theorist Roland Barthes, writing that *Trout Fishing* offers "a network of references, ruses, and enigmas, the traces of a culture and its writing."[15] In fact, almost all of Brautigan's work offers such networks. *Trout Fishing* is simply the most explicit about it.

In an evaluation of Brautigan's work, reviewer Brian Morton notes that "the majority of critics mistook his economy of means and minimal style for slightness, his humour and playfulness for irresponsibility."[16] Critic Armine Mortimer says that "It has been far too easy to treat [his] unique discourse—his play with language, his apparent mobility, his idiosyncratic style, especially his self-exposure—as a lack of seriousness."[17] Mortimer, however, is not speaking about Brautigan, but about Roland Barthes. The work of Barthes and Brautigan complement one another in interesting ways. Barthes's ideas offer insights into Brautigan's novels, and the novels in turn serve as illustrations for Barthes's theories. These two contemporaries are fascinated by fragments, by intertextuality, by myths, by sensuality, and by sentimental, even banal, language. Both writers love the cinema and aspects of culture that are considered "trivial." They have both been called "hedonists." Each is fascinated by Japan.

Richard Miller, the translator of Barthes's work, *The Pleasure of the Text,* calls the book a form in which Barthes figured out how to suggest pleasure by giving himself up "to an evidently random succession of fragments: facets, aphorisms, touches and shoves, nudges, elbowings, bubbles, trial bubbles."[18] It's a description that fits almost any Brautigan novel. The two authors construct their works by accumulating fragments, or in Barthes's case sometimes by fracturing a text that is whole. In *Sade/Fourier/Loyola,* Barthes says he wants "to fragment the old text of culture, knowledge, literature, and scatter its features in unrecognizable formulations, as one disguises stolen goods."[19] The chapters of *Trout Fishing* offer a similar scattering. Unlike the narrator of T.S. Eliot's *The Wasteland,* however, these authors are not shoring fragments against their ruin, but rather such pieces provide them a way of compressing significance and expanding it at the same time. As Mortimer explains, the fragment "allows one to restrain meaning the better to let it explode in different directions."[20] Fragments can also suggest what cannot be expressed. In an introduction Brautigan wrote for the 1854 diary o Joseph Francl, the first real Bohemian to travel to California, he says, "I find the breaks in his diary very beautiful like long poetic pauses where you can hear the innocence of eternity."[21] Like their contemporary Donald Barthelme, who says "fragments are the only form I trust,"[22] Brautigan and Barthes work with fragments because they resist closure and open up possibilities. Speaking of himself in the third person Barthes says, "Liking to find, to write *beginnings*, he tends to multiply this pleasure: that is why he writes fragments: so many fragments, so many beginnings so many pleasures (but he doesn't like the ends; the risk of the rhetorical closure is too great: the fear of not being able to resist the last word")[23] Brautigan, also resisting closure, offers several endings in *A Confederate General*. He offers five variations of a scene with a sea gull and finally, "there are more and more endings: the sixth, the 53rd, the 131st, the 9,435th ending, endings going faster and faster, more and more endings, faster and faster until this book is having 186,000 endings per second."[24] Similarly, Franklin's *Autobiography*, the longest work he ever attempted, consists of four parts and was never finished. Twain struggled with the endings of each of his books, never knowing how to close down a narrative once he had developed it.

Fragments also provide juxtapositions, and in *The Pleasure of the Text* Barthes emphasizes the importance of the edge, the seam, the cut, or—perhaps a more appropriate term for discussion of Brautigan, especially considering the region—the faultline (which is both seam and split). As Barthes explains, what is erotic is seeing where the clothing gaps, the line that forms across the skin. In literature an edge occurs when two codes of language collide or cut, for example, traditional language, or "obedient, conformist, plagiarizing edge (the language is to be copied in its canonical state, as it has been established by schooling, good usage, literature, culture)," and avant-garde language, which is "mobile blank (ready to assume any contours), which is never anything but the site of its effect: the place where the death of language is glimpsed."[25] Mortimer sees modern works as seeking to place themselves at this site of loss where the subject fades, and it is this aspect of Brautigan's language that has drawn the most critical attention. Brautigan's language simultaneously makes and unmakes itself.

In his structuralist phase, Barthes suggested that subjects could be studied like languages, each containing its own grammar. In the same vein, Robert ams has said of Brautigan's writings that one cann "call them novels or even fictions—they may l go down in literary history as Brautigans,"[26] and he grammar of Brautigan, the metaphor plays a tral part. Initially descriptive, his metaphors end until they no longer have a referent to reality, only to themselves. In *Trout Fishing,* for example, chapter "The Hunchback Trout" begins with a cription of a creek. It is "like 12,845 telephone ths in a row with high Victorian ceilings and all doors taken off and all the backs of the booths cked out."[27] The narrator feels like "a telephone airman,"and the metaphor is extended through- the chapter. He judges lengths by the number of ths. He "punches" in and out. According to author arles Russell, such metaphors free language "from osed system of received meanings, but they also ure, by their very ungainliness, their transitory stence...[thus] his stories are in a constant flux of erging and receding."[28] Russell sees this as ulti- tely offering little, and some reviewers complain t readers seem to forget a Brautigan book after fin- ng it. However, the pleasure of Brautigan's work des in the reading, the moment of contact with the , not in the remembering.

"novelist of the moment," Brautigan's work is vily influenced by Zen, and in 1979 he spoke at Modern Language Association on a panel dis- sion, "Zen and Contemporary Poetry," with poets y Snyder, Philip Whalen, Robert Bly, and Lucien k. This influence may provide the largest, or most portant, edge in his works, the juncture of the West East. In his works, the stereotypical violent bile American identity forms a faultline with the reotypical still, composed, Japanese identity, netimes in the same character.

ther edges in Brautigan's work include the min- ng of high and low culture, such as referring to a n and Jerry cartoon and Dante's *Inferno* in a sin- sentence, or the conflation and jumbling of his- y. Brautigan also plays with pastoral/urban hotomies and rearranges time. In later novels, he iberately joins together genres. *The Hawkline Mon-* is a "gothic western": two gunfighters are hired ill a monster that haunts the strange house of an Harvard professor and his daughters. The vul- ity of the men contrasts with and joins the cul- ed daughters. *Sombero Fallout* is a "Japanese vel" in which the situation of a famous American norist whose Japanese girlfriend has left him is rcut by scenes from a town that erupts into vio- ce when a mysterious sombrero drops from the . In each, an encounter with the "exotic" leads to an intense outpouring of emotion. *Willard and His Bowling Trophies* is a "perverse mystery" that intertwines the lives of violent, beer-drinking brothers who are searching for their stolen bowling trophies with a couple engaging in mild bondage, the male of whom remembers fragments of Greek texts. In each of these novels, Brautigan simultaneously invokes and subverts genre conventions, deliberately creating and dissolving edges.

In *The Pleasure of the Text,* Barthes contrasts pleasure with "bliss" (translator Richard Miller's word for *jouissance*). For Barthes, a text of pleasure is one "that contents, fills, grants euphoria; the text that comes from culture and does not break with it, is linked to a *comfortable* practice of reading." It is a text of fulfilled expectations whereas a text of bliss, of *jouissance,* one "that imposes a state of loss, the text that discomforts (perhaps to the point of a certain boredom), unsettles the reader's historical, cultural, psychological assumptions, the consistency of his tastes, values, memories, brings to a crisis his relation with language."[29] It is a text of disjunction, of rupture. Brautigan's work attempts to combine these two types of texts within the same form. His hybrid genre novels, in particular, want to embed in the conventional text of pleasure an unconventional text of bliss.

We read genre novels precisely because we know what to expect. They offer a familiar repetition, an act of reading that is different yet the same, and Barthes acknowledges that even though it is the "New" that usually provides bliss, occasionally bliss can occur from repetitive states, such as Buddhist chanting. Such pleasure stems from the sense of ritual. The Kool-Aid wino of *Trout Fishing* has a "ceremony." The Kool-Aid has to be made "in an exact manner and with dignity."[30] Genre novels are read ritualistically, but Brautigan disrupts the form, "unsettles the reader's expectations." He offers a western that isn't a western. In doing so he risks, as Barthes puts it, discomforting the reader "to the point of boredom." Reviewers of Brautigan's work often respond by wondering what it adds up to, or by finding it clever, but pointless. Yet Barthes explains that boredom is integral to the notion of bliss. We risk boredom whenever we read; the dynamics of bliss and *joussiance* inevitably involve *ennui.* One of the few full-length studies of Brautigan, by Edward Foster, contains a chapter entitled "Ennui at the End of Time," in which Foster criticizes the passivity of Brautigan's later characters and in particular the "mildly diverting but instantly forgettable" collection of stories in *Revenge of the Lawn.* He compares it to *The Egg and I* by Betty MacDonald, and notes that such popular literature "provide[s] diversion without raising difficult questions."[31]

In fact, the number of reviewers who tell their readers to go ahead and enjoy Brautigan's work, but not to take it seriously, is striking. Foster, in particular, contrasts Brautigan's later work to that of Thomas McGuane, favoring the "active" quality of McGuane's characters over the passive "gentleness" of Brautigan's. The gender dynamics involved are more obvious in Foster's criticism than in most critics, but it's been a pervasive attitude in American literature. Put simply, if reductively, traditionally it has been argued that serious fiction is masculine and popular fiction is feminine; an example of the latter is the already-cited *The Egg and I*. Emerson called for "manly spermatic meter," and Hawthorne railed against the popular fiction by "mobs of scribbling women." A reviewer of *A Confederate General* states, "The book is froth, and like the fiction of ladies' magazines, is to be read in a summer hammock or in bed when you can't go to sleep and then be forgotten."[32]

Much of the impatience with Brautigan's work relates to its "plotlessness," and seems to stem from a desire for a conventional Freudian masterplot, one that rises to a single climactic moment. This rarely, if ever, happens in Brautigan's work. Although he plays with the dimensions of masculinity (and his work provides ample material for Freudians with its dream motifs, umbrellas, etc.), he never displays an authorial desire to overpower or dominate the reader. There never occurs a feeling of inevitableness or that "bludgeoning of overactive prose."

Critic John Coleman says *Trout Fishing* is "a little as if Hemingway had stopped worrying about his masculinity."[33] Parodies of and references to Hemingway occur frequently in Brautigan's books, especially *Trout Fishing*, and like Jake Barnes, Brautigan's heroes are often impotent, metaphorically if not literally. For example, at the end of *A Confederate General*, Jessie is too stoned to make love to his girlfriend. The narrators often have guns, like in *Dreaming of Babylon*, but they have a difficult time getting bullets. The main parody of Hemingway in *Trout Fishing* is the chapter "Sea Sea Rider," with its mélange of sex and story-telling. After the narrator has sex with a strange woman while another man watches, the bookstore owner "explains" what happened. His explanation consists of four Hemingwayesque narratives, clichés of masculinity, love, and adventures taking place during the Spanish Civil War and in Mexico.[34] They are precisely the type of narratives that Brautigan doesn't provide. As Barthes insists, "The pleasure of the text is not necessarily of a t umphant, heroic, muscular type."[35]

Brautigan, a "minor" writer, may well be margi alized because of the paradox he represents. A m author, who sees himself and is seen by others a writer in the masculine literary tradition, his wr ing offers an example of what Barthes's French fe inist colleagues, such as Julia Kristeva, call *écritu feminine,* or writing the body. Bliss cannot be spoke and as Kristeva insists, desire is constantly recedin Time and again Brautigan seems to be sayin "there's something I want to say but can't."

With *The Pleasure of the Text*, Barthes suggests a erotics of reading and writing that is tied to the bod He insists on corporeality, on sensuality, and in th regard it is interesting to note that not only is Braut gan's work filled with references to food, recipes, an lists of ingredients, but he insists that he learned read by studying labels on cans and restaurant sign Brautigan sees writing and creativity as a sexual ac However, he reworks the usual story of literar paternity, in which a male author gives birth to a te or where the author uses a phallic pen to impress female reader. Instead of seeing the text as offsprin Brautigan sees it as the lover herself. In an intervie he says:

> I love writing poetry but it's taken time, like a difficult courtship that leads to a good marriage, for us to get to know each other. I wrote poetry for seven years to learn how to write a sentence because I really wanted to write novels and I couldn't write a novel until I could write a sentence. I used poetry as a lover but I never made her my old lady.
>
> One day when I was twenty-five years old, I looked down and realized that I could write a sentence . . . wrote my first novel *Trout Fishing in America* and followed it with three other novels.
>
> I pretty much stopped seeing poetry for the next six years until I was thirty-one or the autumn of 1966. Then I started going out with poetry again, but this time I knew how to write a sentence, so everything was different and poetry became my old lady. God what a beautiful feeling that was!"[36]

In "Japanese Love Affair" from *The Tokyo-Montan Express*, the narrator says that he is "watching a Japanese love affair from very close up. . . . One o them is a film director and the other lover is film itself."[37]

Two centuries earlier, Benjamin Franklin understood the erotics of the text as well. For him, it is reading, rather than writing, that is a mistress. Althoug he was always careful not to give even the appear-e of laziness, he says, "a Book, indeed, sometimes auch'd me from my Work; but that was seldom, g, and gave no Scandal."[38] (Franklin, the charm- diplomat, was known for his suavity. Once when vas chided by a woman for not visiting, he replied adame, I've been waiting for the nights to be ger.") If he allowed himself to be debauched by a rk, he, in turn, became a potential debaucher by figuring himself as a book. Indeed, throughout the *obiography,* he describes his life in printer's terms: imagines his epitaph as "The Body of/B. nklin,/Printer;/Like the Cover of an old Book,/Its tents torn out,/And stript of its Lettering and Gild- ./Lies here, Food for Worms"[39]; he calls his mis- es "errata," or printer's errors; his life is text.

ranklin begins the *Autobiography* speaking of asure. He says, "I have ever had a Pleasure in aining any little Anecdotes of my Ancestors."[40] places himself first in the role of the audience lis- ing to stories. With the prospect of "a Weeks nterrupted Leisure," he looks upon the writing is life as an enjoyable occupation. However, he notes that the result "may be read or not as any pleases."[41] Franklin recognizes the transference t occurs from writing to reading. Barthes asks ether a word written in pleasure guarantees it will ead in pleasure, and responds in the negative. A der's pleasure cannot be controlled, he says. nklin understands this. He doesn't say the book l be read if "it pleases" but "as anyone pleases." Barthes emphasizes, the body takes its own plea- e. We skim and jump around in a text. It is "the y rhythm of what is read and what is not read that ates the pleasure of the great narratives." In iewing Brautigan's *In Watermelon Sugar*, Lewis rsh makes a similar point, saying "it's just as much w you read—how fast or slow—as what has actu- been written that is important, how you let the ight of that simplicity stay in your head."[42] The hor relinquishes control. In Brautigan's "The Lit- ry Life in California," a friend of the narrator con- ses that he has ripped up the author's poetry oks. The author responds with "Win a few, lose a v," and explains, "I just write the poetry. I'm not hepherd of the pages. I can't look after them for- er. It wouldn't make sense."[43] *Sombrero Fallout* gins with the American humorist writing a scene, n ripping it up and throwing it in the trash. How- er, it takes on a life of its own, continuing without n. At some point, the author becomes icon, cover, oto, statue, and the reader takes over.

n the final fragment of *The Pleasure of the Text*, rthes says, "If it were possible to imagine an aesthetic of textual pleasure, it would have to include: *writing aloud.*"[44] At the end of his life, Twain composes his *Autobiography* by trying to write out loud. The man who so often pulled himself out of debt by lecturing dictates passages into a tape machine daily, finding the rhythms of his own life in what Barthes calls the "grain of a voice." Brautigan, by most accounts, including his own, was at times a compulsive talker; his practice of calling friends long-distance and reading entire manuscripts over the phone resulted in bills in the thousands of dollars. At the end of his life, however, he was alone, speaking to no one, and his silence went unnoticed. After he committed suicide, an autopsy suggested his body had lain undiscovered for weeks.

Although there is a book entitled *Becoming Benjamin Franklin* and one called *Becoming Mark Twain*, there is no *Becoming Richard Brautigan*. In fact, there is not even a traditional biography. Brautigan as "subject," as author with a small "a," has disappeared, and only the fictive identity of the iconic Author, with a large "A," remains.

I read *Trout Fishing* on the balcony of my Bordeaux apartment, which had a view that was dominated by a sign saying, simply, "Sex Shop." Once, I went in to browse, but soon left. Surprisingly, considering my Catholic upbringing, I did this all relatively matter-of-factly. This contrasted sharply to each trip to the small Bordeaux library where I spent hours "cruising," to use a Barthesian term, the shelves. On those occasions, I was wracked by guilt. Shouldn't I be out discovering France? Shouldn't I be doing something more "productive" with my time? *Trout Fishing*'s table of contents contains the note: "There are seductions that should be in the Smithsonian Institute, right next to *The Spirit of St. Louis*." We do have institutionalized seductions, of course. There's that shelf of Brautigan in Bordeaux, and the ones in in every other library. ◻

See notes beginning on page 82.

Joseph Mills received the doctorate in English from the University of California, Davis, in 1998 and is currently at the North Carolina School of the Arts. He first became interested in the work of Richard Brautigan during a year spent in France, where he began to think about what it meant to read such a writer in Europe. Dr. Mills's Reading Richard Brautigan's Trout Fishing in America *appeared in the Boise State University* Western Writers Series *and his* Reading Louis L'Amour *is scheduled to appear in the same series.*

Raymond Carver's *Where I'm Calling From*

A Reflection of His Life and Art

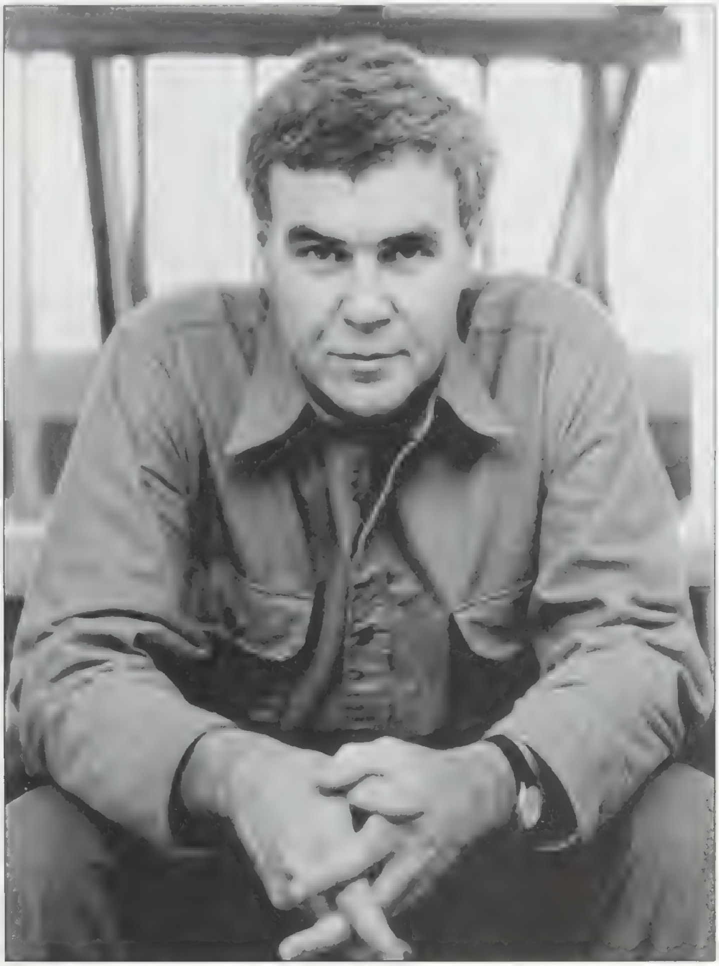
by John Magee

This article focuses on Raymond Carver's final collection of fiction, Where I'm Calling From: New and Selected Stories (1988), its selections and organization as a reflection of his own life, interests, and influences, and its recurrent images and ideas. The anthology—stories of relationships among couples and within families—hints at a new direction in his writing, but also suggests Carver's own preference for many early stories that appeared originally in his Will You Please Be Quiet, Please? (1976). This range of writing demonstrates the early and lasting influence of Ernest Hemingway on Carver's career. "Going back to Hemingway," Carver says in an interview in 1982 with Robert Pope and Lisa McElhinny, "Hemingway is an author whose work I admire greatly. I still go back and read his work with pleasure."[1] Carver proceeds to point out his familiarity with Hemingway's "iceberg" technique: "If you read Hemingway's stories, you get just enough and no more."

In the same interview Carver recalls a favorite Hemingway story, "Cat in the Rain," a story that will always remain memorable to me as well. A detail in the story sticks in Carver's head: the husband is lying at the foot of the bed, "and his feet are at the headboard." In fact, my second publication was a short article in *The Explicator* (September 1967) on Hemingway's "Cat in the Rain." I argued that the woman in the story wants love and affection in the form of a baby and that the tortoise-shell cat in the rain serves as a surrogate for the baby and the genuine affection she will never receive from the man who lies backward on the bed, absorbed in his book. The story is reminiscent of Hemingway's "Hills Like White Elephants" in what isn't said between the man and the woman. Although I had failed to notice the man's dismissive posture, I did notice the interplay of na ural and artificial light in the story. The story begir during the natural light of the day, but it ends whe the maid brings the tortoise-shell cat to the woma after the lights have been turned on in the square– thus the surrogate baby is suggested both by th woman's wanting the cat and the artificial light c the time of day when the maid brings it to her at th request of the padrone.[2]

As is suggested chronologically in successive inte views with Carver in the book *Conversations with Ray mond Carver*, Hemingway becomes less and less a acknowledged and avid influence, while Anto Chekhov becomes more and more an important an sustained influence on Carver's art. In a book pub lished posthumously of Carver's uncollected writ ings, edited by William L. Stull, *No Heroics, Please*, Tes Gallagher, Carver's widow, says that "Hemingwa was an important literary model who would late give way to Chekhov."[3] Carver's 1987 interview with Francesco Durante five years after th Pope/McElhinny interview further illustrates thi point. When he was asked what influence Heming way had on his work, Carver responded, "I don't fee his influence too much, even if I could take it as a compliment to be considered his descendant. Anyway, I don't write fishing stories."[4] Carver's respons here is a bit disingenuous. Hemingway didn't "writ fishing stories" either. Hemingway, like Carver wh learned from him, used fishing as a prop to writ about himself.

Where I'm Calling From (hereinafter, *Where*) is the last book of Carver's stories published in his lifetime. Carver began the organization of *Where* about the same time he learned he had lung cancer and would undergo surgery to remove most of one lung; quite



Raymond Carver at Sky House in Washington State, 1983.
Copyright Tess Gallagher.

ssibly he hadn't finished *Where* until after he rned of the cancer's recurrence. Carver continued work on the collection until it was published by Atlantic Monthly Press in May 1988, just three nths before he died. By then his cancer had urred and metastasized to his brain. I am confi- nt that while Raymond Carver was selecting mate- for *Where,* he felt this book would be his last sonal achievement before his death, and therefore meant for it to contain both what he considered best and most representative work and that ich would reflect his own life as he lived it. Sym- lically, then, *Where I'm Calling From* is the very sig- ure of the man and the artist.

Where is a collection of stories framed by Carver's nsition from one artistic influence to another, m Hemingway to Chekhov. It begins with "obody Said Anything," itself a framed story, ich pays tribute to Hemingway's influence and, ultaneously, in which Carver may have tried to say goodbye to his early model. *Where* ends with "Errand," a story in which Carver clearly pays tribute to Anton Chekhov as a continuous and lasting mentor.

In between the two stories, in virtually the center of *Where,* pages 278 to 296 in a 526-page book, Carver places the title story, "Where I'm Calling From," a story about alcohol addiction, recovery, and possible redemption. The need for redemption, whether secular or religious, is a major, recurrent concern of his. Carver places this work in the middle of the collection because it represents the high point in his personal life. In 1963, Carver published his first story, "Furious Seasons," greatly influenced by William Faulkner. Fourteen years later, on June 2, 1977, Carver stopped drinking, got the "elephant" off his back. "Where I'm Calling From" begins 275 pages into the collection. If we divide 14—for the 14 years of Carver's "drinking" years since the publication of his first story and the initiation of his professional writing career—into 275, we come up with an average of about 20. The story following "Where" begins on page 297. The collection ends on page 526, some 230 pages later. If we divide 230 by 11—for the nearly 11 years of sobriety leading up to his work on *Where*—we come up with approximately 20. Thus, the structure of *Where* mirrors exactly Carver's personal life over the course of his artistic career, each year he spent as a published author corresponding to about 20 pages of text in the collection.

Now this may seem tedious and far-fetched. Tedious, yes, but far-fetched, no. Carver referred frequently to his two lives, the earlier one spent drinking, the other afterward, in sobriety. He spoke about this, for example, in a 1983 interview with Mona Simpson and Lewis Buzbee:

> CARVER: I suppose I began to drink heavily after I'd realized that the things I'd wanted most in life for myself and my writing, and my wife and children, were simply not going to happen. It's strange. You never start out in life with the intention of becoming a bankrupt or an alcoholic or a cheat and a thief. Or a liar.
>
> INTERVIEWER: And you were all those things?
>
> CARVER: I was. I'm not any longer. Oh, I lie a little from time to time, like everyone else.
>
> INTERVIEWER: How long since you quit drinking?
>
> CARVER: June second, 1977. If you want the truth, I'm prouder of that, that I've quit drinking, than I am of anything in my life. I'm a recovered alcoholic. I'll always be an alcoholic, but I'm no longer a practicing alcoholic. [5]

That is quite a statement. Carver is prouder of quitting drinking than of anything else in his life—and he offers that information gratuitously, as if it has been on his mind a lot. Giving up drinking not only gave him a second life, for before he quit drinking, as he tells his interviewer, he had more or less thrown in the towel and "[taken] to full-time drinking as a serious pursuit,"[6] but it also gave him a second life as an artist. Late in his life Carver wrote a poem he called "Gravey" in reference to his quitting drinking, and I would paraphrase it thus: Life without the booze has been pure gravy since June 2, 1977.

"Where I'm Calling From" was first published in *The New Yorker* in March 1982, nearly five years after his second life began, enough time having elapsed by then for Carver to consider himself a "recovered alcoholic" and therefore to have the confidence publish such a story. The story is a serious stateme about the ravages of alcoholism. The popular idior "Where are you coming from?"–called to mind. I' sure Carver wants to celebrate his coming from t hell and ravages of alcoholism into lasting sobrie and the title story of this volume communicates th celebration. The story takes place at Frank Martin drying-out facility somewhere in northern Califo nia. In Carver's own experience, it was at Duffy Myrtledale, otherwise known as "Duffy's," in Ca istoga, California.[7] Martin impresses the narrator "somebody who knows the score."[8] One overca morning Martin casually points out to J.P. and t narrator that "Jack London used to have a big pla on the other side of this valley. Right over the behind that green hill you're looking at. But alcoh killed him. Let that be a lesson to you. He was a be ter man than any of us. But he couldn't handle th stuff, either."[9] The narrator is a two-time loser; thi is his second time at Frank Martin's. However, thi time he listens carefully.

He not only listens carefully to what the people a Frank Martin's say, but he observes carefully wha they do. He notices, for example, that "Just abou everybody at Frank Martin's has nicks on his face."[1 He is particularly moved, however, by Tiny's epilep tic seizure: "But what happened to Tiny is somethin I won't ever forget. Old Tiny flat on the floor, kick ing his heels."[11] The narrator listens with particula care to J.P.'s story, especially his account of how a age twelve he fell into a well. "It was a dry well, lucky for him."[12] He recalls J.P.'s experience vividly—fo example, that before J.P.'s dad finally came to his rescue, for a long time all J.P. could see was a circle o blue sky occasionally crisscrossed with patches o white clouds and flocks of birds. But most of all the narrator remembers that J.P. heard strange rustlings, maybe of insects, and thought that they might fall down into his hair. The narrator observes: "In short, everything about his [J.P.'s] life was different for him at the bottom of that well."[13] The narrator sees his own alcoholic life reflected in J.P.'s story. He is now at the bottom of a well, and things are falling down on him. If he is lucky—just as J.P. was lucky in that he fell into a *dry* well—he will be able to climb out of his alcoholic hole. But then he must listen carefully and pay attention to what is going on. When J.P. declines to go out for lunch with his wife when

Ernest Hemingway on safari in Africa, 1953. *Copyright 2000, Earl Theisen/JFK Library.*

e visits him on New Year's Day—an especially mbolic time of year considering the occasion—he alizes how committed J.P. is to remaining at Frank artin's until he learns how to kick the habit. And hen J.P. ends his anecdote about the well, the nartor won't let him stop: "Keep talking, J.P. Then hat?"[14]

J.P. continues his story. The narrator learns what ought J.P. and his wife, Roxy, together—the good ck kiss she gave him—and also the history of J.P.'s vn alcoholism. So when Roxy visits J.P. on New ar's Day, the narrator recognizes in their genuine fection the reason for J.P's quickening resolve to uit drinking. He wants a little bit of their luck, too. P. and Roxy decide to take coffee at Frank Martin's stead of leaving the grounds for lunch. The nartor says, "They start to go inside. I know it's a umb thing to do, but I do it anyway. 'Roxy,' I say. nd they stop in the doorway and look at me. 'I need me luck,' I say. 'No kidding. I could do with a kiss yself.'" Both J.P. and Roxy are taken aback but nderstanding. Roxy takes the narrator by the shoulrs and plants a kiss on his lips. "How's that?" hat's fine." Then she looks him straight in the eyes, ys "Good luck," and lets go of him.[15]

"Where I'm Calling From" ends on a pure Carver note. The narrator, having listened carefully this time, hasn't forgotten Frank Martin's words about Jack London. He recalls reading London's story about building a fire in the Yukon. This guy gets the fire going, but suddenly something happens to spoil his plans. A branchful of snow drops onto the fire and smothers it. Similarly, the narrator plans to quit drinking and is arming himself with the proper tools. But in Carver country, no matter how well we plan, and no matter how honest and how true are our intentions, too often our plans don't work out. The story leaves us with the narrator's plans to quit drinking. But then, again, he seems to understand that the best laid plans often do go awry. Surely Carver takes into account the old cliché that if we want to make God laugh, just tell him our plans. One must take it one day at a time.

We were never promised a rose garden in Carver country. The real question is how to live with limitations. Carver addresses this question in *Fires: Essays, Poems, Stories* (1989).[16] He was young and had two children and wanted desperately to write. In a memorable scene at a local laundromat in Iowa City he is waiting for a coin-operated clothes dryer to be free. But he waits and waits. Suddenly he has an insight. All those dreams he and Maryann had woven when they were younger just weren't going to come true as they thought they would. He writes, "but could I live with it?. . . I'd had, I realized later, an insight. But so what? What are insights: They don't help any. They just make things harder."[17] Now this is the true existential question in Carver country. Can I live without drinking even though the fire is put out? Although Carver didn't like intellectualizing of any kind, I think he might agree that his characters have a lot in common with Sisyphus. They have Sisyphean endurance in their willingness to go on in spite of no indication that things will get better.

The new stories in *Where I'm Calling From* definitely indicate a new direction in Carver's work. "Intimacy," for instance, shows us a Carver asking for forgiveness, which he is granted in the story. The same may be said of "Menudo," another story about Carver and Maryann and Carver's flings with other women. Again, the narrator in the story is asking for forgiveness, if not redemption, to the point that at the end of the story he is down on his hands and knees holding a rake after he has raked his neighbor's leaves. The neighbor, Baxter, "sees me kneeling there with the rake, and a look crosses his face."[18] The narrator likes Baxter because he, unlike the narrator, comes home at night and embraces his wife. What is more important, however, is that Baxter's wife already knows the moment he leaves in the morning that he will return. That is important to the narrator, who has made many mistakes, caused one woman to go to the "funny house," and two others to divorce. "True, in the grander scheme of things, his return [Baxter's] will be an event of small moment, but an event nonetheless."[19] The narrator's recognition of what seals good marriages—mutual trust—brings him salvation, as suggested in the configuration of the rake as a cross that he is holding in his hand. While on his knees, in a scene highly suggestive of prayer, he implicitly receives communion when Baxter looks in his direction as he is leaving and lifts his hand off the steering wheel. "It could be a salute or a sign of dismissal. It's a sign, in any case. . . . I get up and raise my hand, too—not a wave, exactly, but close to it."[20] Now we don't see anything of this nature in any of the stories that precede "Where I'm Calling From" except in "The Student's Wife," where the main character, as that story ends, gets down on her hands and knees, praying for God's help.

Then "Elephant," near the end of *Where,* is about the joys of sobriety no matter what the pressures drive one to drink. The narrator in "Elephant" h finally gotten the elephant of alcoholism off his ba His new trials and tribulations are only "monkey now to the former "elephant" of alcoholism. N that he is sober and making money everybody wa something from him. Fine, he will borrow money give them. That is lightweight. He recognizes "The was lots to hope for." The narrator is on his way work, and he is so happy he stops in front of an o cafe, "Smitty's," puts his lunch pail down, and rais both arms "up level with my shoulders," clearly figure of the cross. Free at last. Free at last. A frien he knows from work sees him and stops to give hi a ride and asks, "You always walk down the roa with your arms out like that?"[21] Fittingly, the narr tor's last name is Hughes, suggestive of a load o one's mind, as in "Whew!"

In "Errand," Olga Chekhov sends a young bellbo not quite dry behind the ears on an "errand" on th morning of her husband's death to find an appro priate mortician to prepare her husband for eternit and immortality. "A mortician, in short, worthy of great artist."[22] This time, when the young bellbo arrives he is clean-shaven, well-dressed, and appear "anxious to please,"[23] in contrast to earlier when h had been awakened in the middle of the night to brin champagne, and was disheveled and grungy. Bu Olga isn't expecting the young bellboy this time now that her husband is dead. Rather, she is expect ing Dr. Schwohrer returning with a mortician. So th young bellboy's sudden, unexpected presence dis tracts Olga; in her distraction she neglects to take th porcelain vase with three yellow roses the bellboy brings for her. This time the young, blond bellboy looking every bit the spit and polish he should as a bellboy, is there, as far as he understands, only to offe the roses, clear away the glasses, ice bucket, and tray He tries to explain this and about breakfast to Olga but she doesn't hear a word he says.

In her distraction, Olga looks down at the carpet to take a moment to collect her wits and figure out what to do. Quietly she imagines each step in the process of taking care of her dead husband. But because Olga continues to look down, the young bellboy looks down, too. He notices a cork near the toe of his shoe. Olga doesn't appear to be aware of the cork. He wants to pick it up, but because he is still holding the vase of roses in his hand, and is by now very puzzled and nervous himself, he doesn't want to do anything awkward and thus draw further attention to himself. Olga finally collects her wits. As she gives the young bellboy directions, she constructs an imagined scenario of what will occur during the boy's errand, how he will walk, and how the mortician, once he is informed who the dead person is ("Chekhov, you say? Just a minute, and I'll be with you"[24]), will respond to the young bellboy as he hands the mortician the vase of yellow roses. The young bellboy remains confused and very nervous. Perhaps it is Carver's way of communicating his own nervousness and naiveté when he was young and had come under the influence of Chekhov.

Although the story is about Olga's imagining a certain course of events, it is also the reader's story because the reader follows Olga's instructions in finding imaginatively the proper mortician; he, too, under those pressing circumstances seeks the most dignified and discreet way to close a great man's life. Ewing Campbell has an informative essay on just this aspect of "Errand" in his book *Raymond Carver: A Study of the Short Fiction*.[25] Still, the young bellboy can't take his mind off the cork near the toe of his shoe. His concern is proper procedure—get the cork back in the bottle. To persuade the boy of the importance of his errand, Olga facilitates her request with a big tip and instructs him how to garnish his walk to the designated mortician with appropriate dignity and discretion and not to forget the vase he is carrying: "He was to walk briskly, comporting himself at all times in as dignified a manner as possible."[26] She assures him that someone at the desk will know which mortician to contact. While Olga is giving the young bellboy instructions and imagining the whole scenario as she sees it being carried out, the boy is still thinking about the cork near the toe of his shoe. When Olga finally finishes with her instructions, the boy doesn't even hear her final words—"We're ready. Will you go?"[27]—Olga has become so subsumed by her identification with the dead Chekhov in the other room and the proper dispensation of his body that she speaks in the collective we. The young boy, in his own imagined world by now, too, reaches down without looking down and, the vase still in his hand, closes his hand over the cork, the last gesture of the story.[28]

Now the reader is left alone with his imagination. Are we to see the young bellboy replace the cork in the bottle, then walk downstairs and inquire at the desk where to find the most important mortician in town? According to Olga's instructions, the bellboy is to communicate that request to his superiors. What are we to think as he walks briskly, with dignity, in the direction of the mortician, carrying the vase of yellow roses? Carver is playing mental games here with his readers. Carver is always careful to bring the readers into the action of the story and get them to interact imaginatively with the circumstances in it. Our immediate thought might be that Carver means to communicate that Chekhov's mantel must be held aloft, must be carried, and the young bellboy, like a torch-bearer, is doing just that in a grand symbolic gesture. But we must be wary of hunting for symbols in Carver country. That is too easy a trap.

No, I believe we are to see Carver in Olga's imaginings; Carver identifies with her. How best to carry on under the influence of a great writer such as Chekhov? How best to carry on in our imagination of another's life? Campbell made that comment about Carver's own fiction. Once the cork has been removed from the bottle of Chekhov's influence there is no putting it back again. That was the best champagne money could buy. The importance of the recreative and tantalizing power of the imagination is pervasive in Carver. It both recreates and liberates, as is suggested earlier in the stories, "Neighbors" and "Fat." Yes, carry on with dignity and discretion. The best homage to the great man is to write stories that will last, and if he sees in "Errand" his own death, as I believe Carver did, then placing it last in his last collection of stories is a fitting tribute and final farewell to his lifelong mentor.

See notes beginning on page 82.

John Magee received the doctorate in English and linguistics from Ball State University in Muncie, Indiana, in 1971, and teaches at Ohio Northern University. Dr. Magee's dissertation was on John Dos Passos. He has since published articles on Walt Whitman, John Steinbeck, Ernest Hemingway, Thomas Hardy, and Raymond Carver. He became interested in Raymond Carver nine years ago when he was asked to give a talk on Where I'm Calling From *at the public library of [illegible] Ohio. Magee then undertook a study of the [illegible] in the work of Raymond Carver.*

VIETNAM WAR LANDSCAPE

California in Robert Stone's *Dog Soldiers*

by Donna L. Pasternak

Philip D. Beidler[1] has called Robert Stone the "novelistic laureate of the post-Vietnam American soul" because his works are haunted by the Vietnam War's history and its myth.[2] In a discussion about his own Vietnam War novel, *Going After Cacciato,* Tim O'Brien likens his work to Stone's novel *Dog Soldiers* because both are:

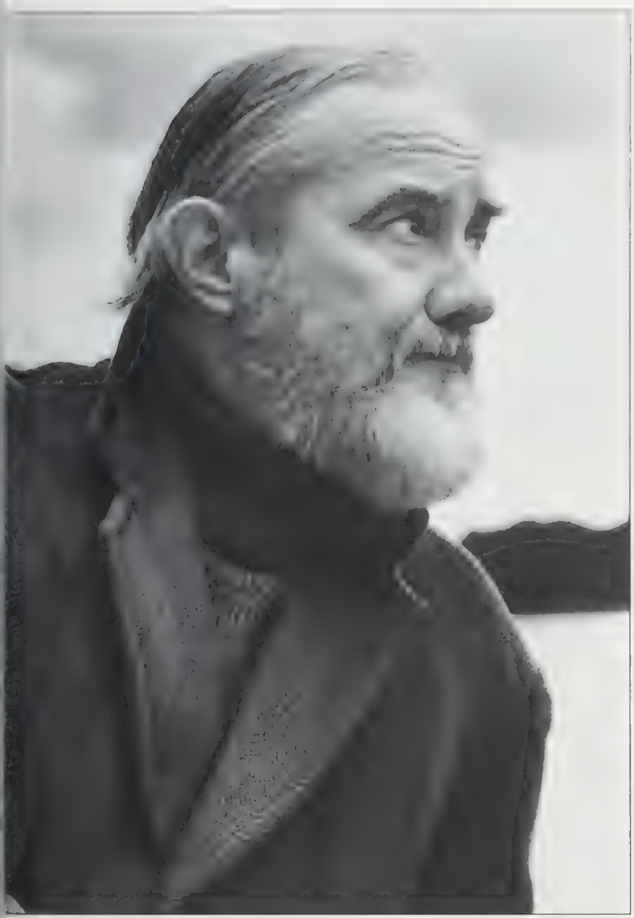
> . . . clearly anchored in the events and in the moral concerns and evils of that era. There was a sense of evil out there that one's trying to battle against, but always with a sense of futility. This is coupled with an impulse to try to run from it and to escape it; it's clearly there in *Dog Soldiers,* that frantic racing. After the stash, up those mountains. What do you find when you get there? You find war. A real battle scene.[3]

But this is a battle scene that takes place in California, not Southeast Asia. In this instance, the Vietnam War and its conspiracies and corruption become the central metaphor for the destruction of all moral codes and systems back in the United States. In an interview with Eric James Schroeder,[4] Stone confesses that "he wanted Vietnam almost literarily in the background of the mind's eye while the rest of the story happened." Therefore, in *Dog Soldiers,* he reverses the convention to use American literature's archetypes and techniques to decipher the indescribable and horrific experience of Vietnam; and California becomes as unexplainable and malignant as any recounted Vietnam War experience. Early in the novel, it is established that Vietnam is just "like northern California" and "Satan is very powerful here." In *Dog Soldiers,* "You can figure your troubles started over in Nam."[5]

Stone chronicles the chaotic mission of two ex-Marine buddies, John Converse and Ray Hicks, to smuggle heroin from Vietnam into the United States. Although Converse experiences an overwhelming sense of paranoia before turning the heroin over to Hicks while still in Vietnam, the mission only begins to breakdown once Hicks has brought their "booty" into California and attempts to turn it over to Converse's wife, Marge. This postmodern journey through "Disneyland" traverses the California counterculture reminiscent of Ke stone Cop routines of encounters and of faile encounters that terminate in deadly encounte between the smugglers and the receivers of th goods.[6]

Dog Soldiers fits firmly into paradigmatic Vietna War literature in its description of indecipherab official and historical versions of a war that soug decoding. Robert Stone joins the likes of Micha Herr, Tim O'Brien, Philip Caputo, and Larry Hein mann in writing about a conflict that demanded t be told in its own idiom. Television movies and the heroes become the formal analogues to the Vietna War generation; and, to tell his war story, Sto must first employ the new language essential t understanding the Vietnam War experienc Although his protagonists are aware of American li erary conventions, they were raised on Saturda morning cartoons; and, in *Dog Soldiers,* characte understand the pop cultural and TV generational re erents placed alongside more conventional mythi and intellectual allusions. Understanding reference to "Bonanza," Johnny Cash, *True Grit,* "Terry and th Pirates," Buffalo Bill, and "Lost in Space"[7] are as ele mental to understanding the dangers encountere by these characters, and, diametrically, the comba ants in Vietnam, as is familiarity with more mai stream literary terms. There is the joke that milita Hamlet Evaluation Reports have "curious Shak spearean undertones."[8] A character recognizes tha the poet Lawrence Ferlinghetti[9] probably did no write an ode to drinking as incorrectly recited b another character who sees no difference betwee sympathizing with the Spanish Loyalists of Franco' era and the puppets governing the Republic of Sout Vietnam.[10] These characters compare themselves t Hemingway with each trout fishing allusion, and rec ognize that the threat of Indian attacks is still possi ble in San Francisco.[11]

In *Dog Soldiers,* circumstances divide the protag onists on their journey throughout California. Joh Converse, as a converted Natty Bumppo-type fron tiersman, is left behind to search for Ray Hicks, hi noble savage, and his wife, Marge, the archetype fo



Author Robert Stone. *Courtesy Marion Ettlinger.*

bth "schoolmarm and whore."[12] This "plot" cannot pssibly succeed since these traditional American ahetypes are split, and none of the characters can sstain the other's role. After Converse has reunited wth Marge and they find Hicks's body, he knows "e can't stay and grieve or we'll be just as dead as bis." The future is found in random movement, and iStone's decayed California, there is only death in irtia.[13]

According to Frederick R. Karl in his *American Fictns 1940-1980*, "Loyalties centering on heroin are te equivalent of bonds formed by men in Vietnam." points out that in *Dog Soldiers*, "heroin does to te characters, those who have it as well as those who wnt it, what ivory in *Heart of Darkness* does to the aents and, most of all, to Kurtz."[14] Like the ivory in Cnrad's *Heart of Darkness*, the heroin in Stone's *Dog Sldiers* becomes the central corrupting agent to caracters already open to corruption. Converse coses to smuggle heroin to experience life. He says, "I feel like this is the first real thing I ever did in my l. I don't know what the other stuff was about."[15]

In *Walking Point: American Narratives of Vietnam*, Thomas Myers observes that "the indiscriminate violence, moral decay, and social fragmentation that fester behind the seamless official narrative of the war have become the principal features of life in the United States as well."[16] Myers claims that Vietnam becomes the "new imprint of what the culture has become." This ubiquitous corruption evident throughout Vietnam has permeated American society upon Hicks's return to California. While still in Vietnam, before handing over the heroin to Hicks, Converse tells him, "Let smiles cease . . . . Let laughter flee. This is the place where everybody finds out who they are." Hicks shakes his head. "What a bummer for the gooks." To which Converse replies, "You can't blame us too much. We didn't know who we were till we got here. We thought we were something else."[17] In Stone's Vietnam his educated, although ultimately naive, protagonists recognize that the failed frontier mission has manifestly ended in continental California. As John Hellman observes in *American Myth and the Legacy of Vietnam*,

> Vietnam is the murderous field that has finally forced frontier-marching America to gaze upon its self-projected image, stripped of its dreams and myths, and find nothing but brute behavior.[18]

Hicks and Converse crisscross California on their hapless mission to give the heroin to those to whom it belongs—an impossible task, because the rightful owners wish to cut expenses and to "take off" the drugs from the unfortunate smugglers. Hicks and Converse can only win isolated encounters against their adversaries in California, just like the soldiers fighting individual skirmishes back in Vietnam. Thus, the "VC" (Viet Cong) not only overrun Vietnam, but also they take over the California counterculture. In her "heroin loyalties," Marge realizes that it is "Us against them. . . . Me against them." Like the war in Vietnam, this mission is doomed, hopeless. Metaphorically, the heroin carries the weight of America's dreams and ideals; and Dieter, Hicks's *roshi*—his Zen spiritual advisor and leader of the Those Who Are commune, to whom he runs for protection and who he mistakenly kills over a misperception—explains, "Look at it, Hicks. It's full of puke and blood! On the inside it's all illusion and false necessity. It's suffering human ignorance. It's hell!" Dieter's high ideals have been smashed by his succumbing to the American dream, and instead of living a life of happiness and energy, he has deteriorated into "Doctor Dope."[19]

The California landscape is overrun with phantoms, and just like Vietnam it will not be subjugated. It is overrun by Indians terrorizing the settlers. Hicks returns to California from a country where only the VC know "what they want." He takes Marge to places "where the big ones eat the little ones" and where "people hunted each other"—places where only the enemy is definitive. While hiding out around Los Angeles, Hicks tells Marge, "you walk around these canyons enough you'll come across a sleeping bag full of bones."[20]

Whether in Vietnam or California, the forest offers no sanctuary. Both are malevolent, "hideous wilderness,"[21] and California is as indifferent to protecting Stone's characters as the Vietnamese landscape is to protecting American soldiers. Only phantoms pervade the forests, and in California inhabited places become uninhabited in the blink of an eye:

> All the lights were on in the village, but the lighted windows were vacant, the tents gone. The field where the rows of trucks had been parked was empty. They went cautiously past car skeletons and the ruined tepee. At the edge of the rubbish pit a woman holding a tartan beverage cooler fled from them.[22]

This apparition is foreshadowed by similar events while Converse is still in Vietnam. Sergeant Janeway tells him, "Every day in this place we entertain the weird, the strange, the unusual." Similarly, Converse's friend Ian knows that the Vietnamese countryside is littered with "ghosts,"and even Converse is a savvy enough observer to note, "Whenever you have a lot of unhappy people dying young, you'll get a lot of ghosts."[23]

The California landscape is empty, devoid of humanity, but filled with people who appear and reappear surrealistically. At one point "Marge became aware that there were people among the unpainted buildings." She then asks Hicks, "Are those people really out there?" to which he responds, "I don't know what's really out there." In the novel, geological survey maps show trails that do not exist in areas where trails that do exist are not on any maps, and on this frontier the shopping centers are built in the "style of log cabins."[24] These characters may attempt to control Nature, but such an effort is nothing more than a hollow, art-infused demonstration. Dieter transforms his forest retreat into a technology-based sight and sound system—performance art in the trees, reminiscent of firefights and night ambushes in Vietnam:

> Under the sound of wind in the trees were strange soft noises—tinklings and faint bells. Whenever Marge turned after a sound, she caught a small flash of unnatural color, a glint of bright metal or glass. As they walked she saw that some of the branches hid wind chimes and mirrors, bells of Sarna, painted dolls.
>
> "He's got all the woods around here done thi
> way," Hicks told her. "He's got speakers out here to
> And lights."
>
> "Doesn't he like trees?"
>
> "Not him. He's a pioneer."[25]

Dieter can camouflage the forest, but it will not
overpowered and will certainly not protect h
from a meaningless death.[26] Similarly, survival
Vietnam is all style and luck:

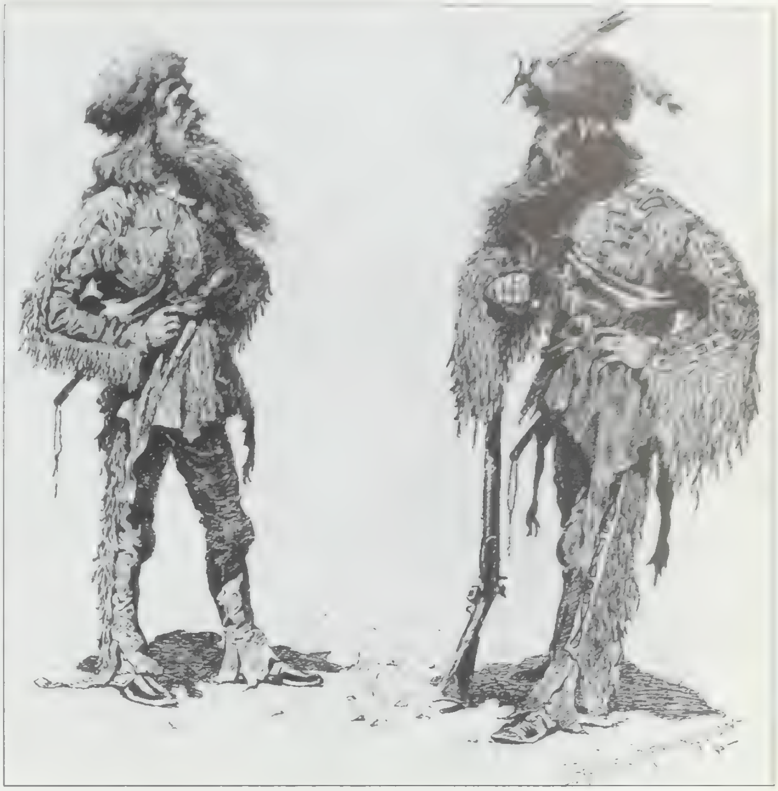
> It was necessary to appear as though innate good fortune made one invulnerable. History had made the
> Saigonnais great believers in luck. Unlucky-looking
> people made them uneasy and even tempted some
> to assume the role of misfortune.[27]

Converse's luck follows him back to the Unit
States. He can survive, because "he's always be
lucky." Dumb luck and voodoo protect the preter
Converse and his wife, Marge—characters w
accept a predetermined existence as easily as the
Puritan ancestors did. When Hicks asks Marge wh
she left Berkeley with him, she responds, "To tell t
truth, I was just following you." Converse tells h
father-in-law, Elmer, "I've been waiting my who
life to fuck up like this."[28] Only Hicks is unaware
the power of Fate; this is why he dies before he w
give up the heroin. He thinks there are reasons an
morals left with which to survive, and despite Fate
attempts to reeducate him, he never learns "to ric
it out" but only to ride it to the end. Hicks die
because he is already a reinvented man, and it
impossible for him to change again:

> He had come, during his years as a professional marine, to think of himself as a kind of samurai. Although he had never approached satori, he was a student of Zen and he had once had a master, a German who could read the texts and was said to be a roshi.[29]

Both Converse and Hicks border society like archetypal frontiersmen—California woodsmen in searc
of the "Mother Lode." According to John Hellmann
"Hicks is an alienated Leatherstocking without a
community to serve or a mission to pursue."[30] Converse and Hicks are fragmented men existing on the
periphery of their professions: Hicks is a Merchan
Marine—no longer a Marine, just a sailor without a
gun—and Converse is a "hack" writing for a copycat news magazine owned by his father-in-law
Elmer Bender employs him as the "principal writer
on *Nightbeat*, which his lawyers described as A
Weekly Tabloid With a Heavy Emphasis on Sex."[31]
This career drives Converse to Vietnam; after years of having "peopled the nation with spanking judges and Lesbian motorcyclists," he began having "diffi-

far western mountain men, in a drawing by the artist and ptor Fredric Remington, 1890. Echoes of these archetypal tiersmen who reverted to "savagery" appear in Robert e's *Dog Soldiers. Editorial staff photo.*



ies with reality.” Ironically, once in Saigon, “the iculties he had been experiencing with reality e in time obviated.”[32]

Vhile in Vietnam, Hicks is the trained, VC-like sol- r, but this cannot save him from the evil that per- ates all existence. He searches for a moral center the war—both in Vietnam and, diametrically, k in California. Dieter tells Marge,

> Look at Ray,” Dieter said. “He's trapped in a samu- ai fantasy—an American one. He has to be the Lone Ranger, the great desperado—he has to win all the pic battles single-handed.” He stood up wearily. “It nay not be a very original conception, but he's quite ood at it.”[33]

ks holds on to the heroin because he sees no spir- al reason to relinquish it. When Marge first meets n, she recognizes him as one set apart from soci- —a renegade standing alone on the border of his rld and “The World.” Dieter tells Marge about the uty found in Hicks, the reinvented man:

> “He was beautiful. He was your natural man of Zen. You could have done anything with that guy.”
>
> “What does that mean?” Marge asked. “What do you mean, you could have done anything with him?”
>
> “He was open. He was there. He was. When I called it Those Who Are, it was him I thought of.”
>
> “Those Who Are what?”
>
> Dieter discovered her in front of him.
>
> “He was incredible. He acted everything out. There was absolutely no difference between thought and action for him.” He clapped his hands and held hem together in a grip that whitened his fingers. “It was exactly the same. An enormous self-respect. Whatever he believed in he had to embody bsolutely.”[34]

t despite Hicks's beauty and moral center, he kills eter because even friends are suspect. In Califor- , it is impossible to distinguish between friend and emy. There, like in Vietnam, the locals are always at night and Dieter dies by “friendly fire.”[35] After ying Dieter, Hicks admonishes the corpse, saying:

> Damn it, if you're going to make a gesture you have to have some grace, some style, some force. You have to have some Zen. If you act like a drunken thief, and people haven't seen you in a while, they're likely to think that's what you are.[36]

Dieter dies for a gesture without style that Hicks likens to the futility of “the Battle of Bob Hope,” a punishment patrol that killed all the men Hicks had allowed to attend a Bob Hope USO show. Although he was wounded also, he realized long before the “undesirable patrol” that this “was not a war for a man who maintained a spiritual life.”[37]

Hicks equates the unrealities and mistakes made while attempting to deliver the heroin with experiences that took place while he was fighting in Vietnam. He can kill Gerald, a potential buyer for the heroin, with an overdose, because Hicks is “a Christian American who fought for my flag. I don't take shit from Martians.”[38] This particular “Martian” wants to “experience” heroin to legitimize his writing about it—similar to both Stone's own reasoning for spending two months in Vietnam and Converse's fictionalized need to be there for two years. Hicks's only justification for Gerald's death is:

> “Hue City,” Hicks said. “We had guys who were dead the day they hit that place. In the morning they were in Hawaii, in the afternoon they were dead. I had six buddies shot to shit in Hue City in one morning.”[39]

The unexplainable is still happening to Hicks. There are atrocity and horror and evil, but there is no basis for existence.

John Hellmann observes that "Hicks' tragedy results from his seeking the higher roles of the western hero and hard-boiled detective, a 'tough guy' seeking to find a traditional American mission worthy of his heroic attributes."[40] There is nothing left that is worthy of Hicks's actions, and he dies incapable of transforming again.

Maureen Karagueuzian, in her article "Irony in Robert Stone's *Dog Soldiers*," sees "the structure of *Dog Soldiers* . . . [paralleling] American society in relation to the war—one segment lacking total commitment, another doing the fighting—as the scene switches back and forth from Converse and Hicks, with the latter taking responsibility for both the heroin and his friend's wife."[41] Converse survives because he is reinventable—a frontiersman who can return to civilized society—because he knows that he can be "shot for cowardice in San Francisco."[42] According to Frederick R. Karl, "Converse will not be a solid citizen, nor will Brenda [sic], but in their abandonment of heroin they have indicated something of a conversion."[43] Converse evolves from being "an ordinary guy" who is told "You don't know your mind, that's all. You don't know what you want," to being "the little man in the boonies" who can hotwire a car on the run.[44]

Marge notices the change in her husband when he tries to convince her to forget about Hicks and the heroin, but she retains her "heroin loyalties" and wants to meet Hicks on the other side of the mountain. Hicks has instilled in her the bond of the Vietnam War platoon: One must protect his buddy because all other noble rationale to war is meaningless. But, like Hicks, Converse too has been to Vietnam and has found out who he is. He says, "The way I see it, I get to say any fucking thing I want. I had my ass on the line. I been to war," although at the time he says this his tears are from fear and not "outraged human sensibility."[45] He has joined a select group of survivors—a group Hicks is incapable of joining because of his need for a moral center—a group that accepts the inanity of modern existence. Converse thinks:

> If he had been just a bit less timid in Vietnam...he might be honorably dead—like those heroes who went everywhere on motorbikes and died of their own young energy....Now it would be necessary to face death here—where things were funnier—and death would be as peculiar and stupid as everything else.[46]

Converse realizes that his experiences in Vietnam only leave him on the periphery of the experientially aware. He is a member of what Michael Herr describes in *Dispatches* as the "Apaches of the press corps," because he has journalist credentials, bu lacks the lighthearted joy of war shared by the tr proportionally mythic correspondents immor ized by Herr, such as Tim Page, Dana Stone, and S Flynn.[47] Converse is the overachiever as foreign respondent—always questioning his ability and ing up his professional status and downplaying real talents. Heroic action is not possible for C verse—only action—and he knows his own sh comings. When he returns to his father-in-la office, he discusses his Vietnam experiences w Douglas. When queried, "Tell me what it was lik Converse replies, "You should really ask a grunt. me it was expeditions. A lot of time I was in hot Sometimes I went out to the line. Not a lot. I w scared. Once I was so scared I cried." To which D glas then asks, "Is that unusual?" and Conve says, "I have the impression that it's fairly unusu I think it's usual to cry when you're hurt. But to before is uncool."[48]

In a war that is all style and appearance, Conve has no self-confidence. Only back in California d he gain faith in his newfound abilities as "the little m in the boonies." During the night ambush in the f est surrounding Dieter's retreat, Converse instin tively recognizes the "cork popping" sound of "M-70 grenade launcher firing its cartridge." T ambush itself is likened to "Dienbienphu," and Co verse knows to shout "Chieu hoi" before approac ing Hicks's area of cover. Converse can survive th firefight in the California mountains because insights he gained during a fragmentation bombin by the South Vietnamese in Cambodia:

> One insight was that the ordinary physical world through which one shuffled heedless and half-assed toward nonentity was capable of composing itself, at any time and without notice, into a massive instrument of agonizing death. Existence was a trap; the testy patience of things as they are might be exhausted at any moment.
>
> Another was that in the single moment when the breathing world had hurled itself screeching and murderous at his throat, he had recognized the absolute correctness of its move. In those seconds, it seemed absurd that he had ever been allowed to go his foolish way, pursuing notions and small joys. He was ashamed of the casual arrogance with which he had presumed to scurry about creation. From the bottom of his heart, he concurred in the moral necessity of his annihilation.[49]

Converse is the acquiescent preterite who can tak care of his own if he does not have to take any mora stance despite the deterministic overtones to hi survival in California. He knows to keep running because "the bastards are behind us again."[50] Hicks

Two soldiers in a South Vietnam rubber tree plantation near Loc Ninh.
Courtesy Oakland Tribune Collection,
Oakland Museum of California, Gift of Alameda Newspaper Group.

s as a Christ figure—a martyr to the failed ideals he counterculture commune society that cannot tain his need for a moral reasoning.

ruly, Stone's California is a place where "I don't ow what that guy did or why he did it. I don't ow what I'm doing or why I do it or what it's ."[51] Converse tells Marge that the reason for ting the war was simply that people took "a nce to help their friends," but he does not seem e able to assimilate this information into his sense esponsibility to Hicks.

icks dies because his sense of nobility demands sons for his battles. He is still trying to make sense 'the Battle of Bob Hope." Converse lives because ccepts that all reasons are perverse. Their global ssion to deliver the heroin is as failed as the mis-n in Vietnam. Hicks should have heeded his own rning to Converse:

> "You'd better be careful," Hicks told him. "It's gone funny in the states."
>
> "It can't be funnier than here."
>
> "Here everything's simple," Hicks said. "It's fun-ier there. I don't know who you're running with but bet they got no sense of irony."[52]

There is no sense to be made in a California as empty as America's Manifest Destiny. Converse as combat witness can rejoin a society as unworthy as himself, but this is a society inhabiting the end of the line—the place in the United States where the sun only sets, not rises.

Converse's journey back from Vietnam is ill-fated and wrought with obstacles. Vietnam and its ubiquitous evil permeate society. Converse returns to California despite his assertion that "If I could just get back over to Nam, I'd probably be all right."[53]

See notes beginning on page 82.

Donna Pasternak currently teaches composition and literature at Marshall University, West Virginia. A 1995 graduate of New York University, her dissertation examines the participant literature of the American War in Vietnam. She has published on the works of Tim O'Brien, and is currently researching the representation of women in partipant war literature.

WELLS FARGO & CO.
WELLS FARGO & CO.

Movie still from *Wells Fargo,* 1937. The movie tells the story of a hero who saves a gold shipment from falling into Confederate hands during the Civil War. Classic Westerns such as this promoted the mythology of the free, wild west and the gunslinger as a hero. *Courtesy Wells Fargo.*

Manifest Landscape / Latent Ideology

Afterimages of Empire in the Western and "Post-Western" Film

by Diane M. Borden and Eric P. Essman

I.

ake SPACE to be the central fact to man born in
merica. . . . I spell it large because it comes large
ere. Large, and without mercy.
—Charles Olson (from *Call Me Ishmael*)

. the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless
dian savages . . .
—The Declaration of Independence

ourgeoning empire[1] has never wanted for nders. As if to illustrate the historical law that osition, along with real or imagined oppression, e nursemaid of nationalism, an influential mid-eteenth-century journalist, John L. O'Sullivan, ing in *Democratic Review*, waxed indignant[2]:

> ther nations have undertaken to intrude themelves into the question of the annexation of Texas, a spirit of hostile interference against us, for the vowed object of thwarting our policy and hamering our power, limiting our greatness and checkg the fulfillment of our manifest destiny to verspread the continent allotted by Providence for e free development of our yearly multiplying milons.[3]

espite the fractious tone, the phrases "manifest tiny" and "continent allotted by Providence" o in their general sentiment and amplitude those ths [held] to be self evident" and "rights endowed our Creator" premised in the Declaration of Independence. Of course both pairs of phrases are polem: the former appeared in the context of a slative debate and the latter enumerated the parlars of our revolutionary *casus belli*. But qualifiers h as "held to be" aside, Jefferson and O'Sullivan sume as axiomatic certain "natural" facts derived n a complex series of unspoken assumptions—ong them, the notion of an unmediated and free -consciousness (and hence moral equality) on the hand, and an unmediated visual field on the other. These assumptions translate, through the universal capacity to rationalize self-interest, into a notion of "natural" rights and great open spaces—corresponding to Thomas Paine's image of America as a moral and geographical tabula rasa.[4] Drawing examples from both film and history, this article argues that the most American of film genres, the Western, distorts the ideal of moral equality through its representation of a species of individualism equating freedom with lawlessness and the spectacle of space as an object of wonder with territory to be conquered. Most explicitly, the article develops the thesis that *post*-Western films deconstruct the American ideology just as the Westerns had mythologized it: thereby unmasking the Lone Ranger—whose true disguise is not his mask, but the pretense that violence is defensive.

As Manifest Destiny assumed its place in the continuum of imperial history, its implications became darker in retrospect. By the late 1890s, for example, the American West extended to the Philippines, where, in the mind of President McKinley, military occupation at the end of the Spanish-American War imposed unintended obligations:

> Without any original thought of complete or even partial acquisition, the presence and success of our arms at Manila imposes [sic] upon us obligations which we cannot disregard. The march of events rules and overrules human action. . . . [W]e can not be unmindful that without any desire or design on our part the [Spanish-American] war has brought us new duties and responsibilities which we must meet and discharge as becomes a great nation on whose growth and career from the beginning the Ruler of Nations has plainly written the high command and pledge of civilization. Incidental to our tenure of the Philippines is the commercial opportunity to which American statesmanship cannot be indifferent.[5]

The understatement in the concluding sentence would be almost comic if it were not nearly overshadowed by the affected innocence and hubris of the passage as a whole, which thus affords an excellent example of the defensive complexity, the disingenuous, passive-aggressive style of a particularly American species of imperial rhetoric. It both disavows colonial intention and affirms colonial hegemony, again in submissive accord with Providence in its political incarnation as "The Ruler of Nations." Most remarkable is the claim of historical necessity, signified by "the march of events [that] rules and overrules human action," which permits the justification of military occupation based on self-defense;[6] for example, the conclusion that armed force is necessary to protect American nationals engaged in foreign trade, or, apropos of the Western, the necessity of cavalry to protect American settlers on the frontier against Indians—as if voluntary "human action," (i.e., settlement) didn't precede fortification. A similar *necessity* obligated the American colonists embarking on revolution in the eighteenth century, as the Declaration claims: "But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object evinces a design to reduce [the colonists] under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off such government. . . . [S]uch is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former forms of government. . . ."

By similar logic, the United States, today regarded as "the most consequential nation," undoubtedly exemplifies a self-fulfilling prophecy. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, accordingly, has declared it the American "duty . . . to be the authors of history," in light of "the historic opportunity that now exists to bring the world together in an international system based on democracy, open markets, law and a commitment to peace. . . . No nation in the world need be left out of the global system we are constructing." Perhaps no nation has assumed its extraterritorial obligation with a greater sense of moral purpose or on a wider scale; but one that is both consistent with and seemingly contradictory to its past, given the proto-isolationism of George Washington's farewell address warning against "entangling alliances" complemented by the Monroe Doctrine writ globally.[7] Elsewhere in her speech asserting the role of the United States as a "pathfinder," Albright simply extends in all directions the westward direction conventionally associated with the course American empire.[8] Pathfinders, naturally, are unne essary, except on a frontier or wilderness (the do inant setting of both classic Western a post-Western films).[9]

The mask of the Lone Ranger may be an invert allusion to the figure of "Blind Justice." Expansio can also appear unapologetically as blind force. F contrast and comparison with Manifest Destin consider Hitler's assertion in *Mein Kampf* of t demand of the German people for *lebensraum,* or li ing space, for a growing population:

> Only an adequate large space on this earth assures a nation of freedom of existence . . . Without consideration of "traditions" and prejudices [National Socialism] must find the courage to gather our people and their strength for an advance along the road that will lead this people from its present restricted living space to new land and soil.[10]

Moreover, in a naked proclamation of the usuall concealed credo of realpolitik, Hitler wrote: "Whe nations are in need, they do not ask about legal rights There is only one question. Does a people have th power to acquire the soil and territory which i needs?"[11]

Paralleling the call of the landscape in the American Western, Hitler was said to speak "excitedly about "the grandeur of the open spaces" in Russia. The ideology of the Third Reich thus embodied bot a crude doctrine of power (realpolitik or *Faustrecht* "fist-rule") and a *Gefühl-politik*—a politics of feeling which demonically parodied a genuine feeling fo the sublime as artistically represented, for example in the work of Casper David Friedrich or the music dramas of Richard Wagner, whose work perverted to a propagandistic end could serve as both inspiration and "cover" for cruelty on an unprecedente scale. Similarly, the ideology of the great open spaces and more specifically, the narrative of the typica Western, provided cover for the oppression perpetrated on Native Americans; for legalism by itsel could not satisfy the emotional requirement involved in the construction of a national identity.

Such an identity, founded on a negation of Europe and an assertion of natural rights, was bound up wit the acquisition of land—but in the way of the *nouveaux riches,* whose sense of entitlement derived rom a belief that wealth was legitimately earned hrough struggle. This sense of entitlement undercored a quasi-Darwinian belief in the survival of the ttest: The great open spaces themselves could only elect (in the sense of "natural selection") the worh on the basis of frontier merits, and necessarily oring ruthless competence. Thus complementing he image of the loner hero (a concept explained in eater detail later in this article), the Western evoked the cult of professionalism as embodied positively, for example, in the films of Howard Hawks,[13] or negatively, in the convention of the inept posse of "deputies" and bumbling "sidekicks."

Frontier justice marginalized or bracketed the rational basis of American identity, natural law, and natural rights doctrine. Such doctrine is itself questionable: Natural law, for example, can be adapted in support of either collectivism or plutocracy,

United States Navy ships in San Francisco harbor during the Spanish-American War, 1898.
California Historical Society/Title Insurance and Trust Photo Collection, USC Special Collections.

depending upon whether an ecological and holistic or hierarchical view of nature such as Social Darwinism is advanced.[14] Further, reasoning by analogy from nature is problematic when "nature" is not universally and unequivocally defined or when ostensibly "objective" terms derived from nature are compounded with judgments of value. "Anatomy is destiny," for example. There, the descriptive may become the normative.[15] Thus, a political philosophy that is supposedly objectively grounded in nature can be subject to the most radical variation. The contrast between Hobbesian and Rousseauian "natural" man is instructive, as is John Locke's debate with Robert Filmer over the origin of political authority. Filmer defended patriarchy and monarchical succession by arguing that authority descended from Adam, while Locke originated politics in a social contract among "brothers."[16] Demythologizing, we can say that Filmer's concept of power was genetic and Locke's legalistic—but both argued from a hypothetical pre-history of man in nature.

The advantage of Locke's position with respect to America, however, was that as a social contract theory it could easily be modified (whatever the hypothetical pre-political basis) to accommodate positive law. Accordingly, it was the quasi-contractual embodiment of rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness (in the Declaration of Independence and enabled in the *positive* law of the Bill of Rights and subsequent amendments to the Constitution) that attempted to provide a guarantee against the potential for tyranny. The Declaration explicitly recognized "political bonds" with Britain, but arguing from a premise of popular sovereignty based on "unalienable" and natural rights, it dissolved the implicit contract with the home country because one of the contracting parties (the King of England) was acting contrary to the contract's central aim: to "secure" the (allegedly) "unalienable" rights.[17]

But, however satisfactory the Constitution, with its inertial structure of checks and balances,[18] was (and is) as a guardian of the rights of citizens,[19] it did nothing to protect against a majoritarian imperialist or expansionist inclination. The most obvious example is the treatment of the Native Americans, who were excluded from the social contract at the legal foundation of the republic and regarded as alien, as "savage" and "merciless," or as a kind of protected juvenile subspecies.[20] Later, Indian policy wou assume a more benign appearance. Congression legislation at the turn of the nineteenth century, f example, on the pretext of conferring the privileg of private-individual ownership of collectively-hel property on Indian lands, enabled the appropriatio of significant portions of those lands by non–Nati Americans.[21] Furthermore, although the benefits independent "sovereignty," yielded to the India nations as a result of treaties and the largesse of ind vidual states, have emancipated certain tribal grou from taxation on gambling revenue, such rewards a typically the privilege of underdeveloped countrie whose main attractions are—if not natural resource for commercial exploitation—those of legally-san tioned vice.

To further illustrate the failure of constitutional ism to contain imperialism, the immediate contex of the promulgation of Manifest Destiny was th debate during the Polk administration over th annexation of the self-proclaimed Republic of Texas The debate was complex, heated, and tragically motivated not primarily by anti-Mexican feeling, bu rather by the possible extension of slave territory However, neither party—pro-slavery southern Democrats or anti-slavery Whigs—objected to a policy of expansion in principle. Resistance to expansion was based on resistance to the expansion o slavery—not to acquisition of territory as such.[22] Perhaps, as Alexis de Tocqueville implied in the 1830s, such acquisition was an expression of the national character:

> The province of Texas is still part of the Mexican dominions, but it will soon contain no Mexicans; the same thing has occurred wherever the Anglo-Americans have come in contact with a people of a different origin.[23]

De Tocqueville's awe and irony are less tacit elsewhere, as when he characterized the annihilation of the Native Americans by "legal" means: ". . . with singular felicity, tranquilly, legally, philanthropically, without shedding blood, and without violating a single principle in the eyes of the world."[24]

Proposing equality (though obviously not for Indians) as the first principle, rather than an outcome of more basic material forces, de Tocqueville did not emphasize the extra-political matrix of American

Celebrated frontier historian Fredrick Jackson Turner at the Huntington Library in San Marino, ca. 1928. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

tity, the frontier, so well elaborated later by his-
an Fredrick Jackson Turner, who argued that
erican individualism and democracy were
ed by the experience of the western wilderness
dialectic of man and an “environment which is
rst too strong for [him].”[25] More inclusively
king, empire is at once the politically sublime
on of an expanding democracy and the debased
romanticized) otherness of violence, tyranny,
outlawry. It is the American imperative, a mytho-
cal confrontation of contending forces—man vs.
or man vs. nature, in a republic founded on a
s of so-called natural rights. The frontier tension
veen the domestic—which ends at the doorway
cabin or the gates of a fort—and the terrifying
action of open spaces provides the deepest
ive and universal appeal of what may be the
ted States's most important film genre, the West-
which, by focusing on individuals,[26] narratively
lizes collective imperial action.

II.

> He must accept the conditions which [the frontier] furnishes, or perish, and so he fits himself into the Indian clearings and follows the Indian trails.
>
> —Frederick Jackson Turner

> Who was that masked man?
>
> —"The Lone Ranger"

The classic Hollywood Western contributed to the romantic discourse of empire as frontier, celebrating the loner cowboy and the sublime landscape as signifiers of American individualism and expansionism. However, the utopian construction of this myth would become problematic under the scrutiny of several filmmakers from 1960 forward. The conventions of the Western as genre and the ideology of the West as heroic myth were challenged and reinvented.[27] Revisionist history and post-structuralist theory now interpret the classic Western movie with clearer understanding of the political agenda of Manifest Destiny and awareness of constructions of race and gender that favored patriarchy.

A series of key American films—which have been called "post-Westerns"—have reinvented the genre: among them, John Huston's *The Misfits,* Sam Peckinpah's *The Wild Bunch,* Robert Altman's *McCabe and Mrs. Miller,* and John Sayles's *Lone Star.* At the same time, filmmakers such as Sergio Leone, Werner Herzog, John Schlesinger, and Michelangelo Antonioni have re-viewed and reimagined the Western through European eyes and thus, in effect, have remapped the American moral landscape. But the reinvention and remapping begin with certain narrative conventions as definitive of the genre as the magnificent bluffs of Monument Valley: the shootout, the last roundup, the dyad of law and outlaw. Further, the conventional objective settings and narrative conventions have their approximate affective correlatives, such as nostalgia and loss, community and isolation, and dream and disillusionment.

Post-Westerns present a dystopic vision of both the past and the present. Movies of that genre that deal with the past (like the classic Western) are set in the period from the end of the Civil War to the beginning of World War I, marking that war as an initiating rupture in the ideology and transformation of world imperialism. The second kind of post-Western locates the narrative in a contemporary setting, from the 1960s through the present day, carrying over visual remnants, social and political attitudes, and cultural artifacts identified with the "Old West." Both modes contest and reconstruct the values implicit in the classic Hollywood Westerns; yet, at the same time, they sustain the conventions that have shaped the genre as a means of storytelling. The post-Western is both an echo of its engendering aesthetic and a critical inquiry into the "fictions" of American history.

The controlling metaphor of both the classic Western and the post-Western, like that of Manifest Destiny, is a vision of a vast, open landscape: territory to be explored, entered into, settled—yet impossible completely to master. At once seen as heroic, monumental, sublime, and divine—in short, God's country—landscape can also represent isolation, debasement, and alienation, the correlative of banishment, exile, and punishment. Landscape represents potentiality and freedom on the one hand, b ders and boundaries on the other. Of course t vision transcended both politics and narrative, a illustrated in burnished and visionary nineteen century landscape paintings representing the Am ican West, works that offered a paradisiacal, vivi colored, and nearly enchanted nature, combini tropics and mountainscapes on a formidable sca but seemingly open to man's exploration. The wo of Alfred Bierstadt, in particular, invest the West w a melodramatic scale and a near-religious au much like the work of the German Romantic pain Casper David Friedrich. The more recent photog phy of Ansel Adams carries on the tradition with a thetically manipulated representations of a noble a ennobling nature. One thinks, for example, of sto clouds shadowing El Capitan in Yosemite.[28] Fil makers such as John Ford, and later Terrence Mal and Ridley Scott, may borrow from this Roman tradition, but they also use location shooting to c ate their own (unique) visions of the Americ wilderness–visually mythologizing the West, rath than merely documenting it.

The opening and closing sequences of John Ford *The Searchers* (1956) illustrate the classic Western's u of landscape to establish key motifs and them such as the loner hero, male independence based o physical strength and righteous principle, and t division between the domestic and the wild. Ford obsession with Monument Valley (which woul become the leading signifier of the West in cinemat narrative, a kind of "Big Ben" of the western) was measure of its bizarre beauty. In Ford's signatu composition at the opening of *The Searchers,* th camera, positioned inside a cabin, looks through th threshold of a door, thrown wide open by a woma which frames in deep focus the expanse of the lan scape. Out of the depths of the visual field emerge the virile rider (John Wayne as Uncle Ethan): singular, independent, self-reliant, himself a property o the wilderness. Thus the film introduces the tensio between the domestic hearth-and-home on the rang (where woman rules) and the call of the wildernes (where man accommodates the forces of nature). I the closing shots of the film, using the same *mise e scène,* John Wayne returns into the expanse fro which he originally emerged, once again a hero force fused with a transcendental landscape.

n contrast, Robert Altman's post- or "North" stern *McCabe and Mrs. Miller* (1971) demythologies both the landscape and the hero within it. The sequence shows, in a series of long shots, the er figure (Warren Beatty in the title role) riding hough the rain forest of the Pacific Northwest, a fig- diminished in stature within the near-fantasti- atmosphere of a damp, voluptuous, but rotting ure. McCabe is the stranger in town, who by reption alone,[29] and not through direct action, causes nge within the budding community. The ride into n is desultory, filmed in soft-focus murky light, accompanied by a despairing, intimate, psylogical ballad, Leonard Cohen's "The Gambler." h the lighting and music are in strong contrast to *Searchers*, which begins with a frame of light and close harmonies of the Sons of the Pioneers' hat Makes a Man to Wander?"[30] At the close of *Cabe*, Altman deconstructs the archetypal otout of Western lore and relocates the hero in ure (just as he dislocates the nature *of* the hero). with what a difference! Instead of dusty soil, the d is covered in snow; open space has become ustrophobic, and the gunfight progresses clum- by fits and starts—a series of flights rather than face-to-face confrontation presented, for exam-, in Fred Zinneman's *High Noon* (1952) or in the nplex strategies of the gunfight at the OK Corral ord's *My Darling Clementine* (1946). Altman's hero uld rather flee and avoid the fight; the tension of shootout is deflected by a series of crosscuts to urning church: While the community is bonding n effort to put out the fire, the loner dies an anti-o, frozen over, effaced like the sky itself by rling snow. Here, nature is not redemptive. The ntier is foreclosed in a pseudo freeze-frame symizing a frozen, sterile universe with no exit. With characters cut off from the conventional bond of community unified by a common faith, there is y a meaningless death or the fantasy universe ked by the opium dream of Mrs. Miller (Julie ristie), whose drugged point of view concludes film with a cloudy, mineral opalescence.

y contrast in scale, the diminished human subt, overwhelmed by an infinite landscape, can be n in a number of post-Westerns. In the opening ts of Wim Wenders's *Paris, Texas* (1984), a lone fig- (Harry Dean Stanton) seems lost, immobilized, bewildered in the wilderness, where he finds himself as if awakened from a long sleep. Wenders transgressively estranges or makes surreal the grandeur of Monument Valley by setting his hero adrift there and evoking an experience of what Heidegger described as "thrownness"—the feeling of being "delivered over to existence."[31] With relation to the Western, this evocation of thrownness would represent an evolution or devolution of the self-consciousness of the individualist hero. Landscape has decoupled from ideology and become a pure manifestation without destiny. In terms of the particular narrative of *Paris, Texas* (whose title alone indicates a self-consciousness of genre), the surreal space is the locus of a reverse migration, between the constricting urban spaces of Los Angeles and Houston. In that context, the exile in the desert finds its seductive yet overwhelming strangeness in the absence of the automobile or horse trailer. The skyscrapers of Houston suggest a vertical frontier mapping a commercial aspiration to the sublime, and the labyrinthine freeways of Los Angeles allude despairingly to the great trails of westward migration. Similarly, the massive dunes of the Mojave Desert in Antonioni's *Zabriskie Point* (1970) seem to cover and dissolve the human subjects who wander in and over them; nature overwhelms and seduces with an inhuman beauty that cannot be contained and mastered, so much so that the most "natural" human activity, sexuality, is rendered phantasmagorical.

The classic- and post-Western perspectives on landscape accommodate the ongoing theorizing of the sublime. From Longinus to Kant, the sublime in nature has been identified with the ideal and the transcendental. However, Edmund Burke, exploring the psychological dimensions of reception to and experience of that transcendental sight (or insight), suggests that terror accompanies pleasure in the complex *frisson* of the phenomenon.[32] Perhaps because both Antonioni and Wenders arrive as (Italian and German) strangers in a strange land and thus have a clearer appreciation of the sublime, these two filmmakers experience and then film the western landscape with a sense of its perverse implications.

Werner Herzog's *Stroszek* (1977) presents the American landscape in relation to a westward migration. The eponymous hero, a pathetic loser in his home country, emigrates from Germany, lands in

New York and sees the Statue of Liberty and the Empire State Building. Then, in a typical realization of the American dream, he buys a car to continue his journey to the frontier, pausing to visit relatives who have made the journey before him. He buys a temporary "mobile" home, a trailer that the loan officer and the RV dealer deliver to him with a great deal of unctuous enjoyment. Herzog films the delivery sequence brilliantly: In a vast open space, we see Stroszek foregrounded in medium shot; from the side of the frame the long trailer is driven in and parked in middle ground behind his back. Stroszek, ignorant of consumer obligations, fails to make payments. Several sequences later, Herzog reverts to the same composition, only this time the trailer is driven out of the frame and we see the solitary figure of Stroszek, dispossessed and lost within the open, barren, and desolate space of a northern plains landscape. Herzog has established a correspondence between the psychological condition of the character and the setting. In the final section of the film, Stroszek has made his way to the Pacific Northwest, where he finds himself talking to an Indian in a highway rest-stop restaurant. The immigrant and the Native American seem equally dislocated.[34] In an audacious high-angle long shot, Herzog characterizes the automobile culture's futile but destructive invasion of the wilderness by showing Stroszek's self-driven automobile circling mechanically in a parking lot, its engine turned on and its steering wheel tied, set in motion to go nowhere. The film concludes with further dystopian exhibitions of automaton behavior: a ski lift that endlessly loops a mountainside, and a dancing chicken behaviorally modified to continue hoofing until a grain of food drops from a little tube. *Stroszek* thus combines the genres of the Western and the road movie in a horrifying version of the immigrant experience.

The mythology of internal immigration and the idealization of the pioneers who settled the West and supposedly tamed the land are subverted in *McCabe and Mrs. Miller* and in John Huston's *The Misfits* (1961). In *McCabe,* set as described above in turn-of-the-century Washington state, the settlement of the small town at the Canadian border is marked by the establishment of church, school, saloon and brothel—each of these institutions marking a territorial boundary as well as demarking a cultural province. But
on the frontier the law is not institutionalized, co
pelling a withdrawal into solipsism on the one ha
and *faustrecht* on the other: thwarted in its atten
to buy McCabe's property, the corporation hire
bearish rifleman to assassinate the naive gamb
Altman undermines the heroic individual and su
tly foregrounds the role of the community, whi
must act collectively to save the burning church
order to sustain the American dream. The spirit
Henry Fonda (say, as Wyatt Earp) and John Way
seems to belong to another era, perhaps even anoth
species of man.

In *The Misfits,* in the screenplay by Arthur Mill
internal migration brings together a group of ou
siders—marginalized people who come to Reno fro
places that don't matter—who gamble, divorce,
perform as rodeo cowboys. The central characte
played by Marilyn Monroe, Montgomery Clift, ar
Clark Gable, join together in a momentary leap
faith, in an intoxicated belief that they can redee
their lives, which have gone nowhere. It is almost
truism that this notion of a second chance is a fou
dation of the American psyche.[35] *The Misfits* revea
the fragility of this delusion. The shattering of th
dream of new beginnings comes in a brillian
sequence that integrates the vast landscape of th
high Nevada desert with the cowboy convention o
the "last roundup." As the men scheme to mak
quick money by rounding up the last herd of wil
mustangs to sell for slaughter, Monroe's characte
finally realizing the fate of these animals, is frame
in extreme long shot as she screams in horror—sh
herself identified with the "innocent" horses, a van
ishing species in a landscape nearly devoid of life
Huston's camera captures phenomenologically th
intensity of this disillusionment. By contrast, th
archetypal roundup in Howard Hawks's *Red Rive*
(1948) envisions the cattle drive as a means of bond
ing between an older and a younger man who hav
a father-son relationship (and rivalry), whereby th
cowboy community reproduces masculine empowerment and filiation. The *Misfits* triangle of Gable,
Clift, and Monroe thus provides a tragic-ironic commentary on the *Red River* triangle of Wayne, Clift, and
Joanne Dru.

John Schlesinger's post-Western *Midnight Cowbo*
(1969) demythologizes the cowboy as heroic figure
and reverses the westward emigration. In an open-

Clint Eastwood at the Salinas Rodeo with one of his co-stars from the TV series "Rawhide," ca. 1960s. *Courtesy Pat Hathaway Collection, Monterey, California, 97-071-0001.*

g montage, one of several key "traveling"
quences, Joe Buck (Jon Voight) puts on cowboy
cessories, unaware that his fantasy of a career as
New York gigolo will be debased to the street life
a male hustler. The zest of his aspirations, por-
yed in the opening montage and edited with
itish "New Wave" stylistic energy, stands in ironic
ntrast to his later Times Square humiliations.
hlesinger, however, in undermining the cowboy
sthetic—that of the tough, independent stud—
veals the essential humanity and sweetness of the
ung "Buck" as he befriends the hapless urban
rounger "Ratso" Rizzo (Dustin Hoffman), who dies
his arms on a bus journey south to Florida. Just as Buck has migrated from west to east (and then south—to the frontier of the aged), so his character has emerged from behind the cowboy façade as a new kind of hero, one feminine and dispossessed.[36]

John Sayles's *Lone Star* (1996) opens and closes with shots at the edge of the desert, just outside the Tex-Mex border town Frontera (Spanish for border, or frontier). Throughout his film career concerned with boundaries of geography, ethnicity, race, and class,[37] Sayles uniquely observes patterns of migration and border flux. Racial divisions and national boundaries now merge or hybridize. The Native American, for example, demonized in the conventional Western, is now showcased or made exemplary in *mestizo* culture, whether as Anglo / Latino or Seminole / African. Instead of dispersal and emigration, Sayles emphasizes a convergence of cultures and search for roots. *Lone Star* begins with a sculptor's hunt for metal in the desert; unearthed instead is a mystery in the form of a skull and a sheriff's badge. At the end, all roads lead to the decayed El Vaquero Drive-In at the edge of town, bordering the desert. Thus, Sayles equates the discourse of the West with cinema itself, the popular art form that has shaped the American mythos. Intertextually underscoring the equation, *Midnight Cowboy* also features a drive-in in its opening shot. Both films, then, self-referentially identify the Western with American cinematic mythology, the last roundup with the last picture show.

Sayles visualizes the conventional man-to-man confrontation and shootout in an unconventional way, employing an inventive and suspenseful system of flashbacks—structured by "non-edits," which evoke a subjective continuum of past and present. When the shootout is reenacted in flashback, the expectations of both the central character and the viewer are overturned. As Sam Deeds (Chris Cooper), the current sheriff of Frontera, seeks to know the history of his dead father, the former sheriff, he comes to realize his enmeshment in the (Freudian-Lacanian) Law of the Father: the connection of the symbolic order (which includes all racial, national, and ethnic discriminations) with the order of authority in general and the incest taboo.[38] Such complexity, though providing an ethical framework, challenges the narrative convention of the Western—that good and evil can be easily resolved—positing instead that one's subjectivity is never free of the inherited conflicts of the symbolic order. Indeed, one's patrimony is the Oedipus complex. Accordingly, as is typical of the post-Western, *Lone Star* refuses to oversimplify either the psychology of its protagonists or its polemics.

Sayles's complexity embraces a bittersweet humor. By contrast, the post-Westerns of Sam Peckinpah and Sergio Leone hegemonize and aestheticize violence,[39] whether in the slow-motion balletics of blood and gunplay counterposed to grungy male bonding in *The Wild Bunch* (1969), with its key line, "If anybody moves, kill 'em," or the intense facial closeups and sudden explosions of gunfire in Leone's "Man with no Name" trilogy. The "no-name" character, icor cally portrayed by Clint Eastwood, who moves in kind of etched silence, parodies the loner hero of th classic Western by exaggerating all of his conve tional traits as an implacable force of "justice" (for price). Similarly, the titles of Leone's spaghetti wes erns themselves—*Fistful of Dollars* (1964), *For a Fe Dollars More* (1964), and *The Good, The Bad, and T Ugly* (1967)—mocked the cynicism of both merc nary justice and the studio system. Neither righteou in their presentation of the ideology of patriarchy, nc sentimental in extolling the virtues of pioneer cu ture, the films of Peckinpah and Leone relish the cir ematic potential of violence and thus unmask th lawlessness of desire—or desire for lawlessness— that underlay the imperial project. Peckinpah bril liantly renders the desire for spectacle in a falle world in the title sequence of *Wild Bunch*, in which a gang of bank robbers, disguised as soldiers, ride into a small Tex-Mex border town and observes circle of Anglo-American and Mexican children star ing hypnotically and gleefully toward the center o the circle. The camera cuts to a close-up of what fas cinates the children: a pair of scorpions tormented by swarms of red ants. This image may be "read" allegorically in the context of the Cold War or Viet nam War, but its primary effect is to undercut innocence and thus, by inference, legitimize the carnage that follows.[40] If soldiers are indistinguishable from thugs, children are entranced by violence, and the law is enforced by mercenaries, then the world may consist only of ugliness and beauty. Questions of good and bad become meaningless, morality trivi alized.

Mel Brooks's *Blazing Saddles* mercilessly satirizes conventions of the classic Western, and through that, the American egalitarian dream of the frontier as well. One character demands:

> I want you to round up every vicious criminal and gunslinger in the West. Take this down: I want rustlers, cutthroats, murderers, bounty hunters, desperadoes, mugs, pugs, thugs, nitwits, half wits, dim wits, vipers, snipers, con men, Indian agents, Mexican bandits, muggers, buggerers, bushwhackers, hornswogglers, horse thieves, bull dykes, train robbers, bank robbers, ass kickers, shit kickers, and Methodists.[41]

Such might be the cast of the intersection of films by

oks and Peckinpah.[42] Of course such types appear
ne classic Western, but usually, if they are not exe-
ed for their own good, they are sanitized and
entially redeemable.

ne measure of American political life is the
ree of compensatory idealization; perhaps
ional identity, like so many "objective" facts even
ne physical sciences, is by definition an idealiza-
. This paper has argued that American expan-
nism was grounded in a specious logic, that of
nifest Destiny, which gained credibility at least
art through an additional narrative superstruc-
: a mythology of the Old West. The traditional
rative fundamentally proposes a vast, empty ter-
ry to be occupied by a race strong enough, and
e enough to the essentials of survival in the fron-
, not to be distracted by the sublime in its imme-
cy, but rather remain focused on the dream of
uisition. Usually such acquisition was accom-
shed by violent means accompanied by an
questioned sense of entitlement. The West was a
ving ground for the aristocracy of resourcefulness
l strength.

ne post-Western seems to look back at westward
ansion with the profound longing of idealization,
f to a golden age. Terence Malik's masterpiece,
ys of Heaven (1978), portrays the westward migra-
n and the frontier landscape in an extraordinary
etics of space and time. Malik evokes the utopian
spectives of this era of American life: part dream,
t rapture, and sometimes perverse. Paradise and
ocalypse nearly coincide in a nostalgic, idyllic
ion that merges the western and the pastoral.
lik thus enriches the tradition of the sublime,
orporating a pure, flat expansiveness gilded by a gently setting sun. In consequence, we see the promise offered the (internal) immigrant traveling by train from proletarian poverty in industrial Chicago to join a community of agricultural laborers on the Great Plains. Malik envisions a migratory community, at home in a vast space, yet isolated in an ideal time—a vision only possible before the dominance of an emergent technology of automobile and mechanical harvester, a technology that would transform both the ambience and the discourse of the West. It is with the haunting images of *Days of Heaven* that our primary thesis—that the dystopian temper of the post-Western is an essential reflection of the brutality of empire building—must be qualified to allow for the continual reference in recent films to the paradisiacal promise of the West.

See notes beginning on page 83.

Diane M. Borden is professor of English and film studies at the University of the Pacific. She has published books on filmmakers Bertolucci, Bergman, and De Sica, and has published numerous articles on film, critical theory, and psychoanalysis, including upcoming work on Hitchcock, Mamet, and cinema and the city.

Eric P. Essman received an M.A. in English literature from San Francisco State University, where he also studied U.S. history and film. He has taught literature and composition courses at San Francisco State and at Golden Gate University. He is a founding member of the San Francisco chapter of the Forum for the Psychoanalytic Study of Film and is the program coordinator of the annual Susan B. Zuckerman Memorial Film Program.

II. Fi

YOSEMITE SAM NEVER SETTLES DOWN

by Bruce McKenna

> *"Everyone knows I'm the meanest, toughest, Edward Everett Horton-est hombre that ever strapped on a six shooter."*
> —Yosemite Sam first meets Bugs Bunny

In the early 1850s, the discovery of Yosemite Valley by whites while they were capturing the local Indian inhabitants was cause for the start of the region's tourist trade. Within a few years, way stations and soon thereafter hotels were established to facilitate visiting this part of the wilderness. A quick change from habitable place to marketable commodity was accomplished, and as a result Yosemite stands as a symbol of the West "tamed" by white settlers. What has helped guide the vision of so many visitors to the valley and the West, and created the vision for millions more who have never been there, has been its representation in popular culture.

The cartoon figure of Yosemite Sam has been and is now a staple of the United States–dominated cultural marketplace. His rapidly firing guns and equally volatile temperament provide dramatic opposition to the cartoon character Bugs Bunny. To understand Yosemite Sam and these cartoon representations of the West, it is useful to trace the history of Bugs Bunny in terms of his whiteness, demonstrating that as Brer Rabbit became Bugs Bunny, as Warner Brothers created a successful commercial cartoon, the commercial Bugs picked up a darker shadow figure to help define him as white. As the stories moved from folk tales to the commercial movie screen, they picked up this necessary defining element of whiteness. The liberated energy that defines Bugs Bunny comes from his African and Indian predecessors, and he has come to stand as a symbol of freedom and unrestraint for modern America because of the ways that Bugs and his antagonists act out our understanding of race and ethnicity. Yosemite Sam is one of the tripartite forces of the racial drama; he is the European American who is not yet white, there are representations of nonwhites, and Bugs is the white figure that dominates the non-whites.

In *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Litera Imagination,* Toni Morrison argues that we cann understand white America without understandin how white America conceives of black America Black America informs white America, provides th measure that defines white America. This America Africanism, this white American idea of what blac America is, performs many functions, among ther making white males powerful and ahistorical b placing blacks and women in powerless and historical roles. Morrison argues that the New Worl offered European immigrants the opportunity to b new men, gentlemen, even noblemen, because of th power and authority that could be wielded ove what they saw as a savage world and its inhabitants The source of white authority is the role assigned t blacks and American Indians, and thus, as sh demonstrates through readings from the eighteent to the twentieth century, we cannot understand white America without its defining counterpart.

The time and place of Bugs Bunny's creation coincided with the film industry's rise to media dominance in the twentieth century. Hollywood's rise to dominance of the popular cultural market was necessarily intertwined with the newer medium's re-creation of the same pattern of social dominance, the same pattern of freedom and whiteness defined through its counterparts of enslavement and darkness.[2] So, in films, we can see the continued reenactment of race, the continual creation of difference based on spurious histories. Yosemite Sam is part of the Western film genre, a crucial myth in the collection of spurious race histories. The establishment of Hollywood's dominant production and marketing systems meant a focus on the largest numbers of potential viewers, urban viewers, many of them immigrants or first-generation offspring of the European immigrants who came in such large numbers

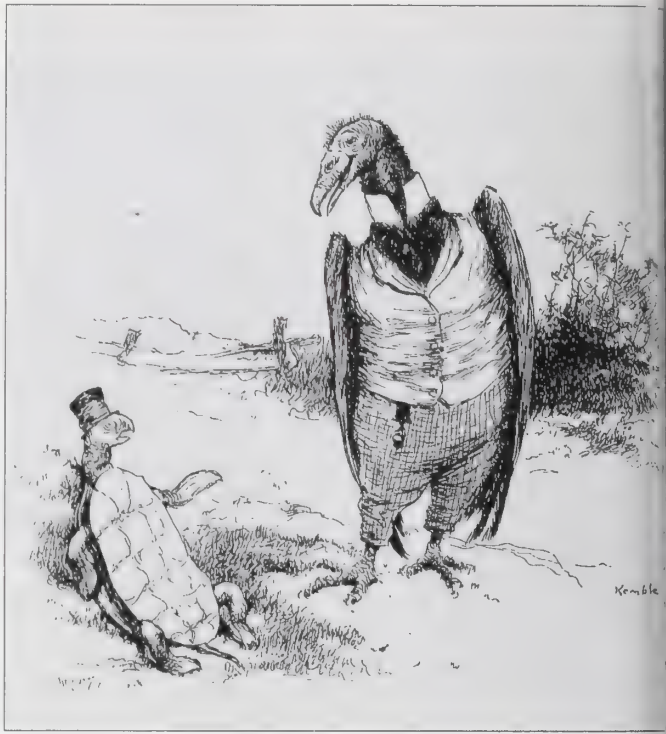
Warner Brothers Studio, creator of Bugs Bunny and Yosemite Sam as well as many other famous cartoon characters. *California Historical Society/Title Insurance and Trust Photo Collection, USC Special Collections.*

he turn of the century. It was also an industry run successful eastern European immigrants whose n status as white was uncertain. It was decades ore film was considered as worthy as the "legit- ate" theater, and then only because television had rped film's place as the dominating popular dium. In such circumstances, as a community of ividuals and groups fighting for social accep- ce, the industry's need to support whiteness was ong. The Hollywood dream machine took on the siness of creating an American myth of success ough whiteness. If Fred Astaire and Gene Kelly d black novelty acts dancing in their films, it was l clear who the star was: the white figure who had stered the black form of American dance. Bugs nny would grow to fit the niche of American film d then television audiences, becoming a figure of ntestation, created commercially as a white figure fined in terms of black shadow figures and not- -white figures, although he is read elsewhere th greater honor for his dark roots.

Bugs owes everything to his literary ancestors, Brer Rabbit and Nanabozho, as well as other African American and American Indian folk figures. Joe Adamson's history, *Bugs Bunny: Fifty Years and Only One Grey Hare*, suggests that Bugs's characteristics were drawn from African American culture.[3] The author presumes that Tex Avery, an early producer of Bugs's cartoon, was familiar with Brer Rabbit tales from his youth in Texas. However, having noted that possibility, Adamson moves on without considering any of its implications. As we trace the figure of Bugs Bunny over the course of the 1930s and 1940s, the pattern of his development provides us with ample evidence of what defined his growth to success. If Tex Avery and the other Warner Brothers workers were familiar with Brer Rabbit stories, it was probably through Joel Chandler Harris's Uncle Remus collections. The Uncle Remus tales are true to their African American origin, but of course with the mediating presence of a white author and his white creation—the myth of the utopian plantation. The revolutionary acts of Brer Rabbit, as author Robert Hemenway argues, had to be "sanitized for acceptance by the predominantly white reading public of the nineteenth century."[4] The stories within the stories, the actual tales contained within the sanitizing framework of the kindly Uncle Remus, are authentic stories told by African Americans, and those stories in turn had their roots in Africa. Folklorist Florence Baer has shown that more than half of the stories contained within the Uncle Remus collections can be traced to Africa.[5] Just as changes were made to the stories based on the circumstances of those retelling them, and the Uncle Remus stories were created by the situation of the white author Harris, so the circumstances of the authors of Bugs Bunny led to more changes as the figure was adapted again.

Three cartoons that form a series from Bugs's early years show how this rabbit grew from folk stories towards commercial acceptance. They are all variations on the "Tortoise and the Hare" race, which many readers know from Aesop. Early Bugs cartoons offer dramatic variations on this tale, and in doing so rely on changes already created by both African American and Cherokee storytellers. These folk stories were dramas of racial dominance and resistance to racism, or, as author Gerald Vizenor would say, stories of "cultures of survivance."[6]

In all the folk stories, the turtle wins and the rabbit loses. Bugs is always the winner as we commonly find him, except in these early cartoons. Indeed it was Bugs's defeat that first drew my attention to these three cartoons and led to my reading the folk stories as their source. In the oral stories, the turtle survives by banding together with his friends and relatives to fool the rabbit or, in one case, the deer.[7] The turtle depends on the racism of his competitor. The winning turtle in the Cherokee tale explains that he was able to win because the turtles all "looked just alike."[8] The turtles take advantage of the hare's racism—that is, his inability to perceive them as individuals instead of seeing them as one entity—by spacing themselves along the race course in advance. No matter how fast the rabbit runs, there is the turtle, actually *a* turtle, in front of him. The rabbit's inability to see beyond his racism leads to his defeat. The rabbit assumes the turtle is slow, not only physically, but mentally. That underestimation can be used to the turtle's advantage, too. Brer Terrapin is said to appear to be dozing even as he hatches that clever plot. What appears to be immobility is actually preparation. Even though his eyes may be shut, as they would be



Brer Tarrypin as illustrated in Joel Chandler Harris's "Unc Remus" tales. From *Daddy Jake the Runaway and Short Stories To After Dark by "Uncle Remus,"* 1910.

if he were sleeping, the storyteller says he has " bright eye."[9] That is, he is still quite intelligent eve though his appearance might suggest otherwise t some.

These stories inspire the listener to resist those wh are apparently stronger, in spite of the odds. The instruct the reader to resist by knowing the enem well enough to use his expectations against him Most importantly, they do so in such a way that thos listening can hear the message safely. Neither the sto ryteller nor the listener is in danger of being accuse of fomenting rebellion, of encouraging resistance because of the way the story has been told. White would not likely understand such stories for two rea sons. One is the different tradition most European share. In this view, animals more simply stand in fo humans in the manner of Aesop. Sharp political commentary and social satire may be developed with these figures, but there is no sense of animals sharing the world with humans as other cultures understand it. For example, the figure of the wolf would signify danger, the threat of the wilderness, not a fellow living spirit. Second, the stories depend upon the subtle interaction of the speaker and listener to ke the meaning complete. Changing that context nges the meaning. The popularized versions of ginal African American tales, the Uncle Remus es, are black narratives that are safely contained hin a framework of white authority. The myth of happy plantation slave, telling kindly stories to te children, overlays the powerful implications he original stories. The text itself, collected and lished by a white author, with a foreword by the hor, eliminates the original context created by the sence of the storyteller and listener. White Amer- often welcomes black narratives that are so safely tained.

One of the first Bugs Bunny cartoons, *Tortoise ts Hare*, produced in March 1941, sticks closely to original stories. The behavior we usually find in gs, the clever, commanding, adroit figure who ays wins, is seen more in the tortoises, who band ether to defeat him. When the race starts, Bugs s off, leaving the tortoise in his dust. The tortoise s to a bank of nearby phones and starts calling er tortoises. They are interrupted in the midst of ious human activities, such as taking a shower l fishing with a rod and reel, which they all drop help out. As the cartoon develops, we see that the nning strategy is the same as in the original folk : the tortoises have spaced themselves out along race course, so that as the hare speeds away from , he continually discovers himself behind what ks to him to be the same tortoise. Not only does first tortoise use technology, the telephone, that hare does not, but he uses it to rally a number of friends and family to defeat a single common my. The tortoise masters this world; this early ver- n of Bugs Bunny does not. It is Bugs who is frus- ed throughout the race, who redoubles his efforts y to be defeated each time. Unable to see what is pening to him, Bugs suffers the same defeat as folk tale ancestors.

This basic plot was reused twice, once in 1943 and ain in 1947. In the next retelling, *Tortoise Wins By Hare*, Bugs has learned some tricks, but he is still match for the tortoise. In fact, this cartoon starts h Bugs reviewing a print of the first cartoon in an ort not to repeat his mistakes. He talks his way ough his and our review of the first race, calcu- ng how to respond differently this time. He does make the same mistakes, but he again is unable defeat the tortoise. The way he hopes to defeat the toise is to match what he erroneously presumes he tortoise's superior speed. Bugs plots to steal the tortoise's race plans. He disguises himself as an old man in a beard and glasses and goes to interview the tortoise, asking him the secret to his speed. The tortoise immediately sees through the disguise and allows Bugs to steal his "plans" in order to set up his winning strategy. Bugs proceeds according to the plans, which claim the tortoise's great speed is due to his aerodynamically-designed shell and head. Bugs builds a metal shell and buys a bathing cap to imitate the tortoise's supposedly faster shape.

However, the outcome of the race is influenced by gangsters, also rabbits, who are controlling the money bet on the race and wish to ensure the expected outcome. They plan to beat up the tortoise before he reaches the finish line. The gangster rabbits mistake the costumed rabbit for the actual tortoise and beat him soundly. The gangsters then lift the actual tortoise, who has disguised himself in a rabbit costume, up over their heads and carry him triumphantly across the finish line past the struggling Bugs, who is being held down. The key theme here is "passing," or trying to be accepted for what you are not. The tortoise can see easily through the surface appearances, instantly recognizing Bugs beneath his beard and glasses. All the rabbits cannot, even though the differences are readily apparent to the audience. Bugs's outfit is clearly not even a disguise. The piece he wears on his body is functionally similar to a tortoise shell, but it is obviously made of metal, with the seams of the different plates visible, as well as the rivets holding them together. His headpiece is only a bathing cap. The tortoise's rabbit suit is so poorly constructed, with zippers and seams showing, the fabric sporting a patch, that it is no more like the real thing than a child's Halloween costume. Even so, the rabbits all perceive Bugs as the tortoise and beat him despite his protests, all the while cheering wildly for his competitor. There is something more going on here than recognizing simple visual cues. The rabbits see what they expect to see, making appearances fit their expectations.

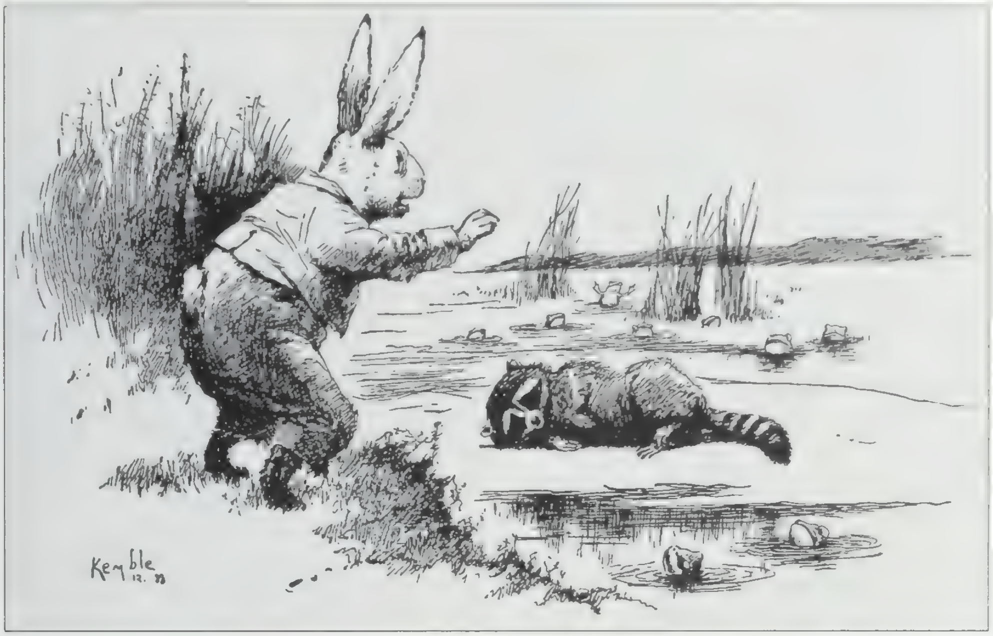
This second cartoon also has changed some other important characteristics of the first. The scene of the whole story is Bugs's community. All his backers are rabbits as well. Bugs is now working within his own community, and the tortoise operates alone. One element essential to the original tales of resistance, the community binding together to resist racism, is gone in this version. The tortoise must battle the wider community alone, without the support of family and friends. The original story of resistance by the nonwhite community to the white one has become a story of the white community duped by a solitary non-white figure. Changing the basic elements of the stories upon which Bugs was originally modeled was necessary to make Bugs a commercially successful figure.

The third cartoon in the series, *Rabbit Transit,* shows how much Bugs has changed from the original defeated rabbit. By 1947, Bugs was an acknowledged hit, due in part to the cartoons made in support of the war effort, and he had assumed most of the wily characteristics we are familiar with. A copy of *Aesop's Fable* appears early in this cartoon as the source of the race, an attempt to deny the existence of those intervening stories of resistance. The two contestants here battle over access to a rocket pack that powers Cecil the Turtle's shell. The turtle and the rabbit battle as individual competitors with no crowds, no sense of community propping up either one as they race across country. The cartoon starts with the two figures sharing a steam room, sharing space in a way unimaginable in 1947 race-segregated America. Technically, the rabbit wins this race. Cecil lets Bugs win at the end because he sees that there is a policeman nearby who will arrest Bugs for speeding. Thus Bugs both wins and loses, as Cecil loses and wins. If we did not know about the previous two cartoons and their earlier tales, we would have little idea as to why this character of all characters should defeat Bugs Bunny in even this limited fashion.

We are used to a more familiar scenario of Bugs as the antic winner who shares many characteristics with traditional trickster figures. The self-consciousness that Bugs displays about the story he is in points to a trickster's sense of the world. Even in these earliest cartoons Bugs addresses the audience directly and visually steps outside the frame of the picture. In his later incarnations he is a master of language whose opponents are usually slower speaking and thinking; he outwits his stronger but less clever opponents; his wit is quick and spontaneous, always able to respond to a rapidly changing contest. He shows a mastery of his condition that is more energetic and dual-edged than simply heroic, with a trickster's guile rather than a hero's strength.

The only way for Bugs to grow in power and authority was for the source of his power to grow increasingly distant and submerged, though not forgotten or gone. As Bugs defeats his antagonists in virtually every cartoon in which he appears, that opposition can be read in racial terms. Bugs's cartoons offer a vast range of antagonists, but there many who fit a pattern of a darker presence that Bu dominates: Marvin Martian, whom Bugs must p vent from destroying Earth and civilization, h black skin; the Tasmanian devil, who must returned to that other territory that is foreign to Bu but native for him, is clearly a wild and savage fi ure; Daffy Duck is black and bears a strong reser blance to the minstrel-inspired crows of earli cartoons. Daffy always comes out second-best Bugs even though he is the second most popul Warner Brothers character and is an exuberant fi ure of freedom in other cartoons. He is reduced sputtering, inarticulate frustration only in the fac of the cooler, better-spoken, and whiter Bugs. A Bugs became commercially successful, he became character who dominated the dark forces tha opposed him.

Bugs's interaction with his white challengers als calls the ethnicity of whiteness into play. There ha been an outpouring of critical effort in recent year to examine the creation of whiteness. David Roedi ger's *The Wages of Whiteness* argues for the advantages to be found when working-class Europea immigrants worked to become "white."[10] Noe Ignatiev's *How the Irish Became White* focuses on the advantages that the oppressed Irish, long described as ape-like and savage, found in choosing whiteness in the New World.[11] Bugs was created so that his dramatic interactions with his white antagonists demonstrate a similar pattern of choosing whiteness, a process of becoming white. When Bugs challenges, or is challenged by, characters such as Yosemite Sam or Elmer Fudd, it is the overly stiff, blind vision of the "not-yet-white" world (to use Roediger's term) that he spoofs so easily. Bugs is more free and powerful because he crosses the color line and contains the dark energies that Fudd and Sam exclude entirely. The freer, whiter character is the one who is white with signs of blackness gathered about him. The all-white figure is less powerful, is not yet fully white. As Ralph Ellison dramatized through his creation of Optic White paint in *Invisible Man*, the whitest white, the whiteness most pleasing to the eye, contains a tiny amount of black to make it a paint white enough for painting the White House and other national monuments.[12] Similarly, Bugs's whiteness contains the dark forces he has conquered. Elmer's and Sam's efforts will fail because they think purity and single-mindedness are the keys to freedom, and do not understand the need for a



Brer Rabbit from the stories of "Uncle Remus" was a possible model for the cartoon character of Bugs Bunny. From *Daddy Jake the Runaway and Short Stories Told After Dark by "Uncle Remus,"* 1910.

h of darkness to make them powerfully white. y obey the rules and understand only the surface l kinds of signs, from Hunting Season signs to t Bugs says or looks like at any given moment. e Fudd and Sam contain no multiples themes, they are not capable of understanding or coning the complex, multilevel, ambiguous world s dramatizes.'

Hare Trigger (1945), his first venture out West to t Yosemite Sam, Bugs plays the soft-spoken, inrol, Gary Cooper-type sheriff and a plaid-suited, ied Easterner, but, to fool Sam, also the role of a k railroad porter. It is in his control of those wild gies, his control over dark forces, his ability to e back and forth from one world to the next, that s achieves his dominance, his whiteness. Sam not control the dark forces, cannot control his gies at all, as he bursts out shooting uncontroly whenever he is frustrated.

hen Bugs first meets Yosemite Sam, they are on in heading West. Late in the cartoon, he tricks into stepping off the still-moving train by ming the dress, mannerisms, and voice of a k porter. "Yas suh, yas suh, watch your step, yas watch your step," Bugs says to convince Sam ke the wrong step. Bugs's assuming the porter's is appropriate since the movement to the westterritories was part of the continuing battle over American independence based on race. Western movies are based traditionally in the immediate post–Civil War era, and their battles over community are usually joined violently in open space that contains non-whites as a savage threat to the white community. The Western movie was and remains central to American ideological history because it places the American Indian back at the center of the white perception of the New World and points to a unity of white America's interpretation of native Americans and Africans. After all, Toni Morrison's argument starts relatively late in the history of the Europeans' arrival. William Dunbar, whose diary she cites, arrived in the colonies in 1771, some one hundred-fifty years after the first Africans were brought across the Atlantic and almost three hundred years after Europeans first began claiming sovereignty over the native peoples. The first slaves were the native Americans; Christopher Columbus chained and killed the first people he met in his plundering for gold. Before Africans were defined as wild, savage, and uncivilized to help create white civilization and freedom, the original Americans were used for that same purpose.

In *Hare Trigger,* American Indians are presented as already conquered, a presumption of many Westerns that then focus on the battle among whites for control over the non-whites. At the beginning of the cartoon there is a shot of the train's locomotive, called the Super Chief, and the figure that decorates the front is a combination of Superman and an Indian. From the neck down it looks like the DC comic character. The blue outfit with the billowing cape, the large red S on the chest, and the high boots are all from the comic-book world. The figure wears a feathered headdress, and its features are stereotypically Indian, with dark skin and a large strong nose. In effect the Chief has been made Super by the imposition of this symbol of American supremacy onto a stereotype of an Indian figure. In this Western cartoon the only presentation of Indians is this modern-day caricature. This silenced Indian figure and Bugs's imitation of the black porter define Bugs's independence and freedom while collapsing the time periods. The type of train and all the other elements of the setting place the cartoon in the typical period of the Western; yet the presence of the Super–imposed chief and Bugs's imitation of a black porter indicate the period of the cartoon's creation as the 1940s, rather than the supposed time period within the cartoon of westward movement, the nineteenth century.

The pseudo-history of the West has always been a staple of the American Hollywood production factory, and this cartoon makes more than a passing reference to that history by including within it two brief film clips from an anonymous Western. Bugs opens the door of one car on the train at two different times to reveal saloon scenes. The first shows women dancing on a stage before a crowd, the second shows a fight engulfing the same room. Here is the Western in capsule version—the battle between whites to establish civilization—the fight a necessary battle to establish order and regulate drinking, sexuality, and other signs of wildness. From Edwin S. Porter's *Great Train Robbery* through the mid-century dominance of the studio era and careers like John Ford's and Clint Eastwood's, through television's long-standing reliance on the genre, from *Gunsmoke* to not only *Wagon Train* but "Wagon Train to the Stars,"—that is, *Star Trek* and all its spinoffs—the history of the industry is that of the Western, of retelling the story of the community's founding through race-based freedom.

So Bugs is shown traveling West by train to indicate his origin in the East, his tale the pseudo-history of white Americans civilizing the wilderness by transforming other races into savage presences, of freedom defined by confining others. When the cartoon opens, we hear the strains of "Yankee Doodle Dandy" being produced by the sound of the engine and its wheels. We then see Bugs playing a banjo in a lazy, relaxed manner, appearing without a costume. This manner will be seen again when he plays the quiet, soft-spoken sheriff who challenges the thie Yosemite Sam. However, it is not until the end, when Bugs is miraculously the winner even though mos logic would tell you Sam had the upper hand, tha he is dressed for the first time as a city dandy, recalling the opening scene: the Yankee Doodle Dandy heading West. He has on a large top hat, waistcoat a formal coat, and a cravat with a jewel in it. Here the white, civilized, eastern figure is the winner over the white, wild western figure.

Not only must the ever-changing witty style and authority of this trickster be read against the porter and the painted figure who are confined and cannot break out of their rigidly defined and confining roles, but this figure who can assume the role of nonwhite when it serves his needs best stands against the not-yet-white figure. The white Bugs is both civilized and wild, controlled and uncontrollable. As Morrison notes in both the fictional and factual figures of Faulkner's Colonel Sutpen and William Dunbar, freedom and independence are defined by the choked presence of nonwhites. So Bugs challenges the fierce gunslinger for supremacy of the white town with that silent Indian figure and that black porter as defining figures. The black porter and the Indian are by definition already excluded from such a challenge, are marked as present but on the sideline of any such battle for supremacy. Only in the end, after his victory, is Bugs ready to assume his proper outfit as a Yankee. Yosemite Sam fits into that pattern that Roediger calls not-yet-white, those European Americans who trouble the definition of American whiteness. Irish, Italian, Greek, Polish, and Jewish—immigrants from many countries were not easily accepted as part of the white culture.[13] Yosemite's large hairy moustache, his uncontrollable challenges, shooting off too soon and to no avail—that is, his hair-trigger gun and emotion—mark him as a figure out of control, one not yet able to contain those forces that Bugs plays with so well. He is the alternate pole of Elmer Fudd, who is so contained and repressed that he has little strength or agility. Fudd is physically and mentally soft, defined by the strictures and habits of polite society, just as Yosemite is defined by a white idea of the wilderness.

As the marketing of Bugs reached farther and wider into the world economy, his image eased

Bunny (as a stuffed toy) and Yosemite Sam (as a cof- ug) have both become important icons, their images ing everything from baby toys to big rig mud-flaps. *ial staff photos.*

There was often little hint left of his black ancestry, and less and less of the fierce energy that makes so many of the cartoons complex. You can buy a warm and cuddly Bugs Bunny doll, and the glasses and shirts and paraphernalia bear an image of a smiling, friendly creature. That friendliness is not what enables the earlier cartoons to be so popular year after year to adults and children. The flexibility of his wit, the energy that enables him to survive every situation, is strong rather than friendly, more appealing than cuddly. The hip-hop youth of America have recognized Bugs's darker and more energetic roots, adopting him as one of their symbols. The recent movie *Space Jam* offers a replay of the more commercial use of these forces, showing a "whiter" Bugs controlling one of the best-known black figures in the commercial world, Michael Jordan. The Bugs who appears on T-shirts with rasta braids is truer to the character's roots than many such commercial incarnations. He remains a figure read and constructed alternately by those with different agendas, different ideas of America. In Yosemite Sam we see the continual reenactment of the European immigrants' settling of the West. It must continually be reenacted, of course, because it is an ongoing effort by one group to assert control over another, continually creating a pseudo-history to maintain social advantages.[14] Thus Yosemite Sam can never settle down, will never stop shooting off uncontrollably, will always be there, on cable TV reruns and videocassettes, his guns blazing, as long as this enactment of racial forces suits some parts of the culture.

See notes beginning on page 84.

Bruce McKenna received the doctorate in English and American literature in 1988 from Brandeis University, and has been assistant professor of writing and communications at National University since 1993. "Yosemite Sam Never Settles Down" is part of a longer essay examining the history of Bugs Bunny as a trickster figure.

On the Road to Nowhere? California's Car Culture

by R.C. Lutz

If California represents indeed the terminus of the American Dreamscape—the place where the sun finally sinks into the ocean, the ultimate destination of the westward migration before contemplating the leap across the Pacific—then it is also the place where the American Dream is pursued most fiercely, its spoils contested most brutally, and its contents re-examined, re-arranged, and re-packaged most vigorously. Similarly, American culture of the twentieth century is almost unthinkable without the car. Its impact has been of truly seismic proportions.

From its first days as the "horseless carriage" and a brief stint as ambulance or mud-stricken transport vehicle in World War I, as immortalized in Ernest Hemingway's *A Farewell to Arms,* the motorcar matured quickly into the coveted status symbol of the flappers and tommy gun-toting gangsters of the Jazz Age, became Jay Gatsby's "green leather conservatory," and gave the era its alternative name of the "Roaring Twenties." As the Depression struck, the overloaded, overheating family truck helped John Steinbeck's Joads to arrive in the promised land of the Golden State, only to discover that California was "Bad Medicine Country" for the humble hordes of desperate Okies.

The car's contribution to Allied victory in World War II was substantial, and gave rise to two automotive legends. Its service, primarily in the western and Pacific theater of operations, immortalized the jeep—showcased by the troops' frequent decoration of their vehicles. Besides the jeep, another American "victory vehicle"—the truck—saw service even on the Soviet side. There, after successful sea passage on Liberty Ships, thousands of U.S.-donated one and one-half-ton trucks drove Stalin's reserves to the eastern front, gradually chasing the Wehrmacht out of Russia and pursuing the Nazis all the way to their lair in Berlin, where, soon after, at the dawn of the Cold War, Chrysler and Chevrolet staff cars carried Gen. Lucius Clay's officers and subordinates along boulevards freshly purged from the pre-war presence of swastika-flagged Mercedeses.

In the United States, post–World War II prosperity saw the emergence, in earnest, of the nation's nascent freeway system; it is perhaps no accident that one of the oldest stretches of the American "au- bahn" is the Pasadena Freeway, running betw downtown Pasadena and downtown Los Angel snaking its way near Hollywood, a fixture of Ca fornia's Movieland, the world's premier Dre Machine. With the nation exploding in wealth, d tributed unequally but trickling down into almo every corner of the culture and the economy, the c quickly became the hottest of the hot new consum items, and nowhere was the apotheosis of the c more pronounced than in the Golden State.

Why is it, then, that the car should have becor the "golden calf" of California? California's car wo ship, as satirized in Nathanael West's *Day of t Locust,* occurs in one of its purest forms when t automobile, in its most exuberant incarnation, t luxury car, is wheeled before the faithful on Osc night. Crowds gape, in person and later, before tel vision screens, when the celebrated High Priests popular culture, the movie stars, starlets, an moguls, wheel out their most expensive vehicles t minister to the age-old mass craving for glamor an spectacle.

The answer to the question of California's cultura alliance and obsession with the automobile may b found most productively if one focuses less on material issues, but rather on the cultural construction o idea, image, and vision of California and the car i America. Similar, perhaps, to the idea that "sex" i biology and "gender" is the cultural construction o sexual identity, let us consider California and the ca as a product of the American imagination.

Focusing, then, not on material hardware, what a car really "is" in a technical sense, but instead o what people want it to be, let us look at what images are evoked by a 1949 car advertisement (advertising copy) being, of course, arguably one of the most fictitious forms of writing, its promises often miles apar from the treachery, say, that awaits the deceived consumer a few thousand miles down the road from the gleaming mirage of the showroom. Here, the imaginative similarities between car and California are perplexing. In the cultural imagination, California and the Buick Roadmaster have become almost one: the appeal is that of the Promised Land to be tra-

A WWII-era Willys Jeep. The jeep legend was made famous by its use in American military conflicts, including WWII and the Korean War. *Courtesy Los Angeles Examiner, Hearst Newspaper Collection, USC Special Collections.*

ed in the Promised Car. Both are "ready, will- -and waiting" to be mastered and possessed for nate pleasure.

evitably, the culture that gave rise to the paral- reams of the 1949 Roadmaster and the Golden is also gendered and, here, clearly catering to lesires of the male: The 1949 Buick and Califor- of that year both exist within the cultural para- ers of what may be called "constitutional archy." With economic means generally con- ed by men, the person invited to consume, to d money, is inevitably male. The female reader reamer is omitted, or relegated to the margins, subject but an implied object of the text.

hat car and country promise the male is aston- ngly similar. Bright sunlight promises both max- n exposure of the bodies of car and driver, and w of—perhaps, in the reader's wildest dreams— es" with "tops down." Car and California are ate, but linked, islands of pleasure. If one of the did not exist, the other would have to be nted in order for the dream to be complete. Car California are intrinsically insular, self-con- ed, and narcissistic, and also strangely exhibi- stic. They are in love with themselves, willing isplay their narcissism to others, and perfectly ent to "just be." Notice that California's most famous landmark is its coast, and its most famous highway, state Highway 1, runs along the coast. By contrast, the freeways connecting California laterally to the continent are decidedly unromantic, businesslike, mundane, drab—not the stuff of dreams of Highway 1. California's hinterland does not really exist in the popular cultural imagination of the Dream State. An inland California city might just as well be in Indiana.

Just as the car is the country's premier vehicle for conspicuous consumption, so is the California of popular imagination the perfect locus for consumption's consummation. Although between the 1920s and the 1970s California was a major manufacturer of automobiles, in the last several decades almost all auto factories have closed, and now the great majority of cars traversing California's roads are produced elsewhere. Thus, the material base for realizing the dream lies elsewhere, in Detroit and overseas—in Japan, Germany, and Great Britain. Perhaps since even "domestic" cars are not native products of California—the state produces agriculture and aircraft instead—California has the most "foreign" cars registered of any state.

The fact that foremost among the imports are cars manufactured by the former Axis powers of Germany and Japan has not troubled mainstream America, writer Thomas Pynchon being of notable exception. Haunted by the facts that Volkswagens were assembled by Nazi slave laborers during the war and that Mitsubishi produced the Zeros, planes that sank the USS *Arizona* at Pearl Harbor, among others, Pynchon's heroine Oedipa Maas takes her rented Chevrolet Impala "chasing Volkswagens and Toyotas" on southern California freeways when she feels depressed about the absence of a more lasting cultural moral memory in *The Crying of Lot 49*.[1]

Returning to the Buick advertisement, the plethora of sexual allusions, easy-to-detect double-entendres, and over-sexed imagery give the ad the feel of early techno-porn. The Roadmaster is clearly sexualized, a slave to the pleasure of the putative male owner. Under its "bonnet," a "Fireball" engine awaits "the touch" of its master's "toe," and the transmission "is ready to take shifting off [his] mind—and put sa smoothness in all [his] going." The language, r iniscent of a sexually explicit novel, continues attract with a slight shift: The car also promises ultimate in "your comfort"—it obeys at the touc a finger, and "billowy tires and gentle coil spring assure a ride that's like a dream."

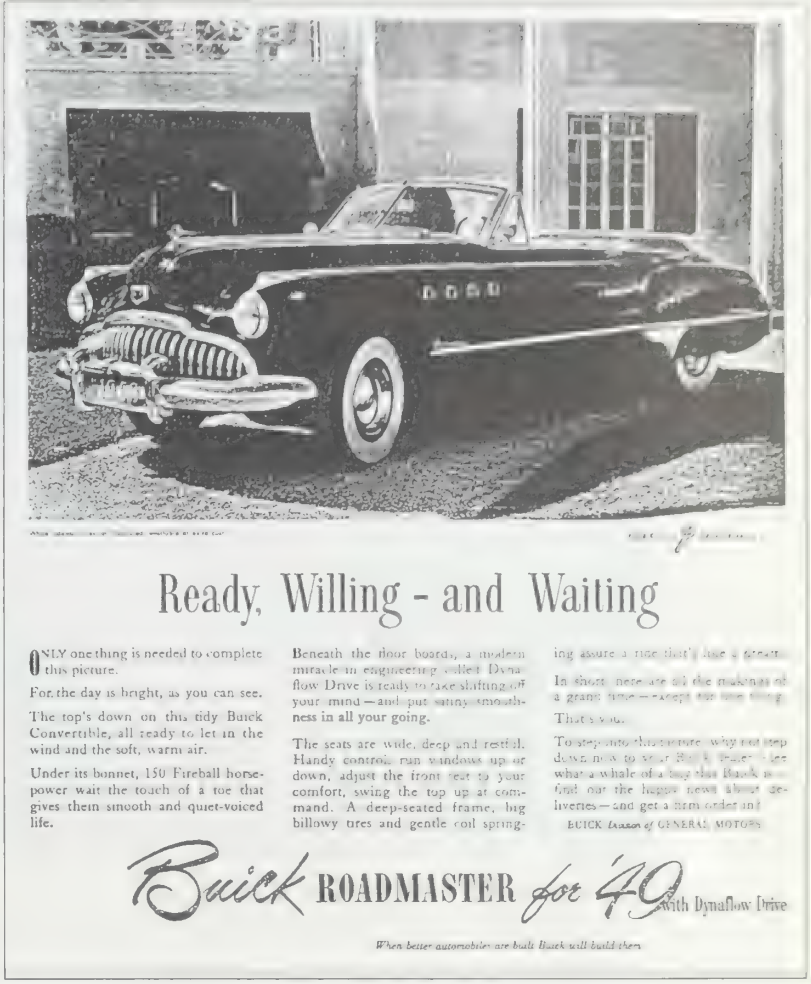
Cars rolling off the assembly line at a southern California automobile factory, 1930s. Numerous auto and truck factories in both the Los Angeles and San Francisco Bay areas, along with Hollywood's focus on cars, helped fashion California's car culture. *Courtesy Whittington Collection, USC Special Collections.*

Yet the advertising copy ends on a curious not there is talk about a "whale," "happy news ab deliveries," once the reader or dreamer has manag to "get . . . in" a "firm" purchase order. What stri a 1990s reader is how many functions this car, l California, is asked to fulfill for the economically w endowed male.

Surprisingly, the car is envisioned as androgyno almost a hermaphrodite, a "she-male." It embodi primarily on the exterior, the phallus (the "wha of the advertisement), as well as, primarily in interior, the vagina—"get a firm order in,"—as w as the womb, both with its uterine imagery of "de and restful" comfort and its final allusion to "del eries." While there is some biological logic behi the general association of the exterior to the phall and the interior to the vagina and uterus, one notic how the shell of the car is commonly referred to the "body"—an anthropomorphing of the machi that enables it to contain a dual sexual identity as male and female body. Thus, perhaps the car h become the premier object of consumerist affecti not only because of its price and display value, b also because of its multi-sexed status as phallu vagina, and womb all rolled into one hard, soft, su ple, wet techno dream.

It is not hard to see how the Dream State of Ca fornia carries similarly multiple dimensions of ero cized cultural wish-fulfillment potentialities. Th coast and the beach are both masculine and feminin For the male, they facilitate the autoerotic display his bronzed, buffed, and built-up body, as well as a opportunity for voyeuristic ogling of the bodies scantily clad women in skimpy bathing suits. On th issue of swimsuits, a cultural critic has a field da with the fact that the island of Bikini, namesake the ultimate in risqué swimwear before the adven of the Brazilian thong, was bombed into thermonuclear oblivion by American planes involved in th atomic tests of the 1950s. However, unlike the missile (which is produced in California), the America car is generally privately rather than state-owne and -controlled, even though it utterly depends o public roads. One could say the car is destructive but again unlike the missile or the bomb it was no intentionally designed to accomplish its mission i one grand act of self-destruction like a militar rocket hurtling its explosive payload along a preo dained and preprogrammed trajectory—an inhere

1949 Buick Roadmaster advertisement.
Courtesy of the author.



Ready, Willing - and Waiting

ONLY one thing is needed to complete this picture.

For the day is bright, as you can see.

The top's down on this tidy Buick Convertible, all ready to let in the wind and the soft, warm air.

Under its bonnet, 150 Fireball horsepower wait the touch of a toe that gives them smooth and quiet-voiced life.

Beneath the floor boards, a modern miracle in engineering called Dynaflow Drive is ready to take shifting off your mind — and put satiny smoothness in all your going.

The seats are wide, deep and restful. Handy controls run windows up or down, adjust the front seat to your comfort, swing the top up at command. A deep-seated frame, big billowy tires and gentle coil springing assure a ride that's like a dream.

In short, here are all the makings of a grand time — except for one thing.

That's you.

To step into this picture, why not step down now to your Buick dealer — see what a whale of a buy this Buick is — find out the happy news about deliveries — and get a firm order in!

BUICK *Division of* GENERAL MOTORS

When better automobiles are built Buick will build them

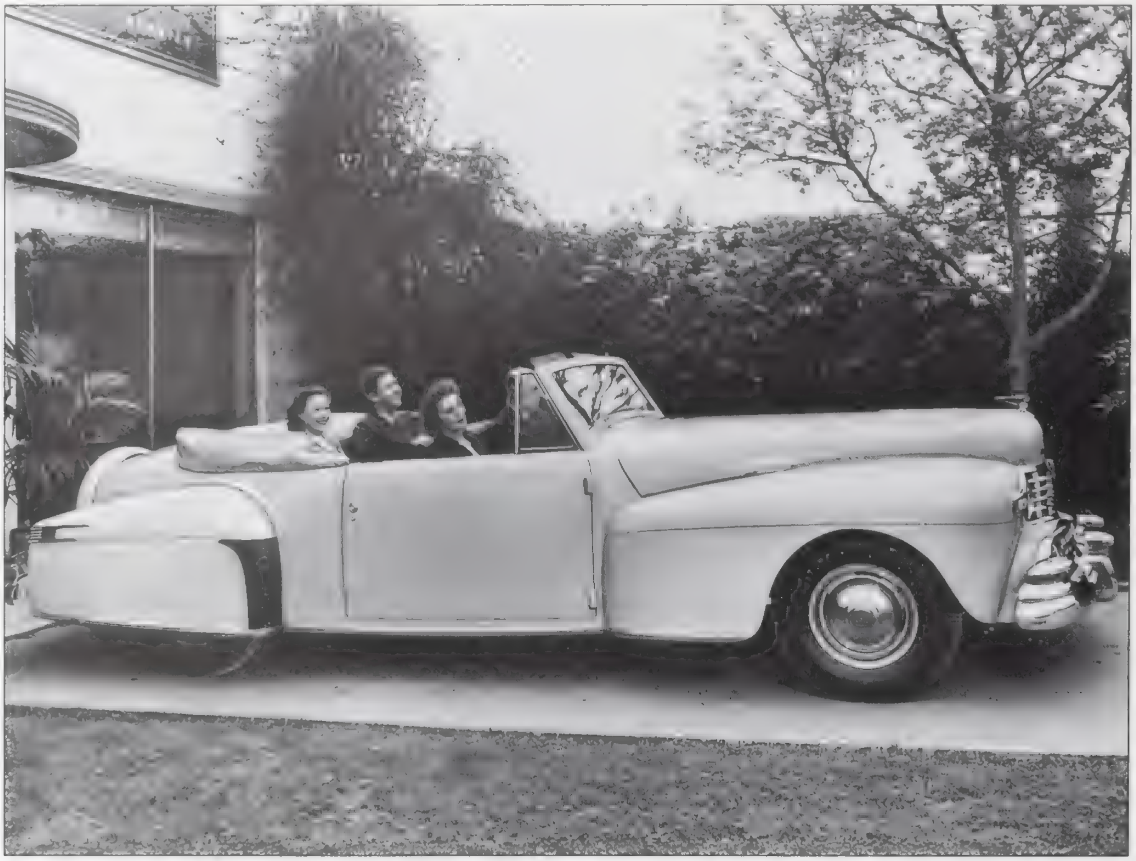
e h-wish brilliantly illustrated in Thomas y hon's *V*, in which the V-1 and V-2 rock-ts e the ultimate dream machines of their io oid Nazi scientist creators.

I rhaps it is the car's partial affinity to the n le body that distinguishes it from the lt -phallic missile and again links it so o erfully to the dream state of California. ik their waxed and polished car bodies le ning and reflecting the western sun, a ornia's inhabitants are imagined to o ship relentlessly the avatar of a new ll ion of The Body. Yet, unlike their Soviet r azi counterparts heroicized in the films f rgei Eisenstein or Leni Riefenstahl, the o es of Californians, like those of their o ts cars, chrome-studded trucks, or lux-r sedans, exist solely for the pleasure of ie private owners. Californian bodies are e vered by wombs, fine-tuned in gyms, n boldly accessorized on the operating i es of skilled cosmetic surgeons deftly i rting silicone and adroitly removing x ss fat. Yet all this work is done for pri-a pleasure, neither to glorify the stern t ngth of the Worker and the Peasant nor l dvocate genocidal fantasies of an Aryan master a . Like the car, Californians flee state control of i bodies, existing for the pure undiluted pleasure f vning the best there is on this Earth. That, at least, e fantasy.

ith the car and California occupying a center p e in the American Dream, it is no surprise that n the counterculture began rocking the estab-s nent in earnest in the 1960s, the car culture was h lenged seriously and creatively in the very state i had exulted most in its assumed perfection. In n fiction of the period, "internal combustion n ne" has become a dirty word; in *The Fall of* *rica*, for example, Allen Ginsberg bestows upon i car a status akin to that of the anti-Christ of i lieval lore.

or a superbly complex assault on California's car u ure as it was known to exist at that time, let us o sider the ending of Mike Nichols's 1967 movie, *Graduate*. The choice for Dustin Hoffman's car v inspired. The red Alfa Romeo Spyder is clearly n e feminine than the black bulk of the 1949 Road-n ster (which later appears in its cream-colored version in Hoffman's *Rain Man*), and thus more appropriate for the "sensitive new man" of the 1960s. Early in the movie, Mrs. Robinson tells us that Elaine was conceived on the back seat of a Ford. Without major athletic ability, such a feat does not seem possible in the Alfa. Yet this is the 1960s, and the car no longer needs to function as a stand-in for the bedroom. Now, the car will get a guy the woman, and a bedroom is obtainable without major hassle, since hotels no longer perceive it their duty to enforce public morality.

While the film revels in the glamour of the car and gives viewers an impossible trip from Berkeley to Santa Barbara (in reality, the bridge and tunnel Hoffman passes through are not on that road), *The Graduate* also hauntingly foreshadows the "running out of gas" of the car culture, as would happen with the first oil crisis of 1973. Ben and Elaine upset not only church crosses, but challenge the car culture as well, when at movie's end they decide to start life together by utilizing public transportation—in the form of a bus. The movie's idea here is persuasive. The end of California's car culture may come indeed with a

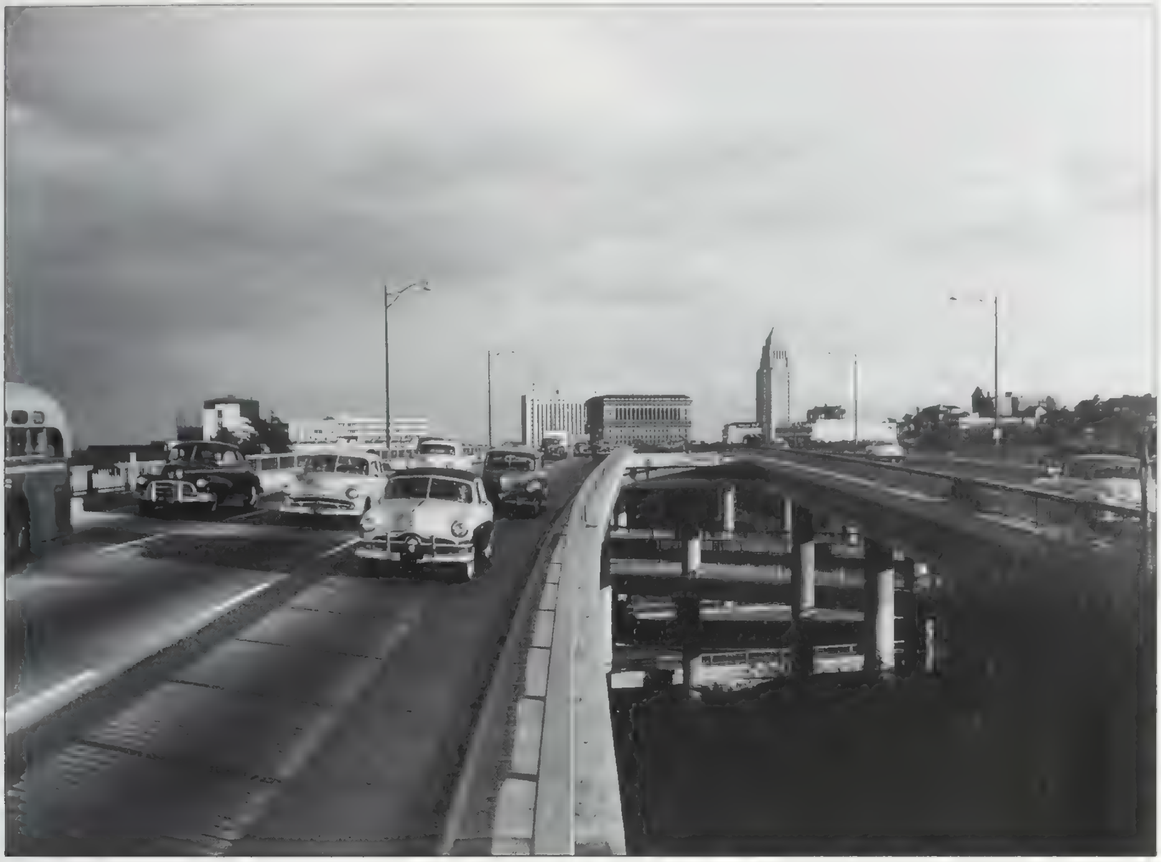


A custom 1946 Lincoln Continental Cabriolet, the first one to arrive in southern California. It has a V-12 engine under the hood and an automatic convertible top. Opulent luxury cars, particularly those driven by movie stars, were an important part of the state's "car culture." *Courtesy Los Angeles Examiner, Hearst Newspaper Collection, USC Special Collections.*

whimper, a pathetic petering out as pitiful as the much-televised 1989 image of the car caught on the edge of a partially collapsed section of the Bay Bridge during the Loma Prieta earthquake. Unable to escape as did its more fortunate passengers, the car hung over the edge, its red hazard warning lights blinking all through the afternoon, sunset, and night, during which television station helicopters, as if mesmerized, kept periodically revisiting the scene, zooming in on the earthquake's most photogenic victim.

It is only fitting and in keeping with the theories of cultural criticism that the imaginative centerpiece of the dominant culture should also be re-appropriated by a previously suppressed minority, by silenced and dissenting voices. That California's freeways will collapse together with its economically polarized and riot-torn society, whose threadbare fabric can no longer resist multiple strains, is hauntingly envisioned in Cynthia Kadohata's eerie 1992 dystopia, *In the Heart of the Valley of Love*. Although the novel is ostensibly set in the southern California of 2052, it is really an oblique vision of what could have happened if the economic and cultural crise of the 1970s had continued unchecked, if the Reaga Revolution and the "decade of greed" had neve turned back the trend of economic stagnation, mis ery, and "malaise" of the Carter years.

Written (but not published) a year before the Lo Angeles riots that followed in the aftermath of th brutal beating of Rodney King after his high-spee chase along a freeway in February 1991, Kadohata' novel sets its characters in a run-down landscape where freeway overpasses end in mid-air, trappin inattentive truck drivers, and where everyday stree aggression leads to many a shot-out rear window To this silently collapsing world, the characters o Francie and her misfit friends have adapted well. I the end, they decide to abandon their quest for Fran cie's kidnaped stepfather, and choose not to pursu government trucks rumbling at night towards wha are rumored to be massive detention centers strad dling the desert freeways. Instead they turn back t the relative comfort of the decaying city of Los Ange les, to continue life in a quietly upbeat California



Westbound Hollywood Freeway, looking at the spectacular and famous four-level Hollywood and Arroyo Seco freeway interchange shortly after its opening in 1953. This interchange symbolized the "Golden Era" of California freeways. *Courtesy California Department of Transportation.*

ve sion of T.S. Eliot's *The Wasteland*. Perhaps fit- ti gly, this novel is the product of a writer who once sa l of her endless road trips as a young woman that,

> don't remember where I was going or where I was
> oming from, except that I was in a slightly seedy bus
> tation at three in the morning in the middle of
> owhere. I had this feeling of "I am really happy at
> is moment."[2]

f the end does come with a bang, however, and C ifornia does live up to its reputation for hosting th Apocalypse, nowhere has the end been envi- si ned more often and in more spectacular fashion th n in Hollywood. The movies have been there. la nes Cameron's ultimate solution for Los Angeles's tr fic jams, and his creation of stark roadside fatal- it s featured in the opening shots of his *Terminator* 2 *udgement Day*, seem uncannily to anticipate real sc nes from the "Highway of Death," the term a plied to the road running from freshly liberated K wait City all the way to Basra in Iraq in February 1 1. As we can see in *Terminator 2*, one fact that dis- ti guishes people from machines is that humans still drive Toyota pick-up trucks, albeit in the gun-equipped version first popularized by the soldiers of Chad chasing Libya's Ghaddafi out of their north-central African nation in the late 1980s, and later revived as "technicals" by the various warring clans of 1992's Somalia.

At the end of the movie, humanity triumphs over the machines, with cars and motorcycles transporting Schwarzenegger and the Connors all the way to their desert hide-out and back to save civilization. To this avid observer of California's Car Culture, the fact that in *Terminator 2* the world is saved in southern California makes for a deeply satisfying outcome.

See notes beginning on page 84.

R. C. Lutz is an associate professor in the English and Film Studies departments of the University of the Pacific. After receiving his B.A. in American studies and journalism from the Free University of Berlin, Germany, in 1983, he enrolled in the University of California at Santa Barbara, where earned his doctorate in English in 1991.

III. Poetry and Mus

From Granite and Hawks to Human Wishes

CALIFORNIA'S POETRY OF PLACE

by Adrielle Mitchell

GENERATING A SYLLABUS

Sitting on my porch in the redwoods of Santa Cruz County, California, listening to the Steller's jays squawk at my cats, I prepared to write the latest syllabus for my course "American Poetry and Poetics." For four years, the course had followed a fairly traditional Modernist trajectory, but now I was becoming aware of another possible route. It was 92 degrees, and phrases and images were wandering around my listless mind—objective correlative, imagism, jars in Tennessee, stations in metros, women singing by the sea—forming no crystalline syllabus, and calling forth no particular book list. By now, the squirrels were screaming at the cats too, and the whole idea of coolly discussing Anglophilic formulations of poetry seemed preposterous in a place like this.

A place like this.

What sort of a place is this? Could we, perhaps, tear our eyes away from London, New York, and Boston long enough to think about poetry that emerged from this ground? What if we narrowed that vast and unwieldy course title to something more manageable, like "California Poetry of Place?" It would be like taking a walk together in the nearby Coast Range. There could be field trips, with note taking and poetry writing. There could be comparisons between Robinson Jeffers's Carmel Point, and one's own Carmel Point. We could pop up to Palo Alto: The Marshes, and see if Robert Hass "got it right." Go stare at Adrienne Rich's migrant farm workers down the coast just half an hour away. Write our own poems.

Feverish from the weather, and my ex-New Yorker fantasies of exploring the California landscape with my students, I shaped a class that sounded more like "Introduction to Botany" than "American Poetics." Things were getting out of hand. When would we perform close readings of poems? Reading poetry, writing our own, comparing and contrasting, fiel
trips . . . fine, but what would qualify as "poetics?
As the weeks passed, and it became crucial to orde
texts, I found it necessary to omit the field trips an
commit to the poems and essays we would stud
We would begin with some provocative essays b
the poet John Haines, continue with Gary Snyder'
loose and moving formulations of "ethnopoetics" i
The Practice of the Wild, and then (slowly) immers
ourselves in the poems of Robinson Jeffers, Willia
Everson, Snyder himself, Robert Hass, Carolyn Kize
and Adrienne Rich's latest phase. Neurotically anx
ious about the "poetics" aspect of the course, I adde
a supplemental text, *Conversant Essays: Contemporar
Poets on Poetry*, edited by James McCorkle, a stimulating, wide-ranging collection that made me feel w
would have something to stabilize us if the wilderness of California poetry was too nebulous and visceral. By the end of the course, students would be
required to write a three- to five-page "creative
piece, a seven- to ten-page research paper, and a five- to seven-page consideration of the term "poetry o
place" in relation to the texts we read.

STARTING FROM HOME

We began with the word "place" itself, lest we
assume that the word "California" on a map, and the
word "California" in a poem, are the same thing
John Haines immediately complicated the concept
for us by suggesting in his essay, "A Place of Sense,"
that geographical definitions of place are only one-third of the story.[1] And perhaps even less if we
understand that it is not by superficial means that
we derive the spirit of an actual geographic:

> I have come to feel that there is here in North America a hidden place obscured by what we have built upon it, and that whenever we penetrate the surface of the life around us, that place and its spirit can be found.[2]

Robinson Jeffers. Jeffers used the vast landscape of the Cali- nia wilderness, particularly the rugged central coast, as the setting for his poetry. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

his was the first of many such statements we ld encounter as the term progressed. What the s were telling us shook our sense of landscape s uch as it questioned traditional terminology; ead of trusting surfaces, we were being advised earch for what lies underneath. An unusual d was born in that classroom; while we studied , we also inculcated reverence for the underly- spirit of landscape. Often, there was a pleasure bverting the intensely verbal domain of poetry ugh the invocation of forces or spirits that were entirely containable in language. Later, Robert s would teach us that this very dualism could be en into the poetry itself: the war between word physical entity; the difference between "black- y" and the purple juicing in the mouth. For dif- nt reasons, Gary Snyder argues similarly: "There ens of millions of people in North America who e physically born here but who are not actually g here intellectually, imaginatively or morally."[3] is not enough to hold to already formulated con- ions—America, California, blackberry. Snyder's erence for the name "Turtle Island" for North erica bespeaks a desire to reinvent the language which we bind ourselves to our land:

> Turtle Island—the old / new name for the continent, based on many creation myths of the people who have been living here for millennia, and reapplied by some of them to "North America" in recent years. Also, an idea found world-wide, of the earth, or cosmos even, sustained by a great turtle or serpent-of-eternity.
>
> A name: that we may see ourselves more accurately on this continent of watersheds and life-communities—plant zones, physiographic provinces, culture areas: following natural boundaries. The "U.S.A." and its states and counties are arbitrary and inaccurate impositions on what is really here.[4]

The old / new name. My students and I pondered the implication that language can keep you on the surface, or plunge you deeper, into the core of things. A certain degree of skepticism arose, too: which words were socially acceptable (new, politically correct, poetic . . .), and which were not (dead, overdetermined, prosaic . . .)? Even before we confronted the poetry, we began to ask questions about the connotative and denotative power of words.

We also became keenly aware of the favoring of the natural over the political. Time and again, the essays we read—and many poems were to confirm

Prize-winning poet Gary Snyder.
Courtesy UC Davis News Service.

this—suggested that to know an area well, to write from it/about it, is to know it as a bioregion. Snyder believes that we must return to the child's viewpoint of landscape, and not pay much heed to borders, names, or fences. The child, he writes, learns the landscape by circling out from home, in wider and wider arcs, until the body comfortably understands the region it inhabits: "We learn a place and how to visualize spatial relationships as children, on foot and with imagination. Place and the scale of space must be measured against our bodies and their capabilities."[5] From this grew the students' first assignment: write a three- to five-page walk from your natal home out as far as your child feet would have taken you. Show us the place, bring the focus down to the plants, the buildings, particular spots. The essays were fascinating. I hoped that this creative piece would, in addition to making students more aware of environment in lived experience and in literature, reveal some of the ways in which words about a place become more than just an itemization of elements. I wanted them to experience how memory filters, language alters, mood (remembered and current) colors, and writing calcifies, certain facts. This would help us to address the issue of naming. Is it, I asked often, an acceptable number of botanical and animal references (scrub oak, manzanita, Pacific Ocean, Steller's . . .) that makes a poem a "California poem," o it something more or altogether else?

Indicator Species

We soon realized that this question comes up the time and is, in fact, bitterly contested by po and critics alike. On one hand, Robert Hass assu us in "Palo Alto: The Marshes," we are indeed familiar territory (those of us who walk the regi as well as read about it):

> She dreamed along the beaches of this coast.
> Here where the tide rides in to desolate
> the sluggish margins of the bay,
> sea grass sheens copper into distances.
> Walking, I recite the hard
> explosive names of birds:
> egret, killdeer, bittern, tern.
> Dull in the wind and early morning light,
> the striped shadows of the cattails
> twitch like nerves. (ll. 1-10)[6]

In contrast, Carolyn Kizer, in "For Jan as the En Draws Near," makes us worry that we have no suc foothold:

> I don't believe that they grow peas
> in California, even on the coast.
> Who knows? There may not be a California.
> To us it meant a hellish kind of heaven,
> a kind that unbelievers could believe in. . .(ll. 14-18)[7]

Furthermore, she complains in "Western Space," "whenever the subject of regional literature arises—particularly when the discussion concerns Wester poetry—somehow the topic gets bogged down in botany: desert vs. slum, tree vs. highrise, lilac vs transit system."[8] Look at the interestingly chthoni term she uses: bogged down. Mired in a litany o nouns. Kizer is reluctant to limit her sense of western poetics to names, though of course her poem make use of them. Gary Snyder echoes this positio in his essay "The Etiquette of Freedom" by callin it a particularly proprietary gesture, a capitalis Domesday Book, as it were, of natural possessions "Nature description is a kind of writing that come with civilization and its habits of collection an classification."[9]

Images such as this one of the rugged California landscape have long served as inspiration for poets, nature writers, and artists. *Courtesy of the author.*

ly students and I were frequently thwarted at e moments. How, the question went, were we to ognize "California" nature poetry if it did not disuish itself from, let's say, New England nature try, through the use of particular flora and fauna? s seems reductive, yet it often formed the basis our initial considerations of individual poems. at's uniquely "California" here? The fog, the redods, the desert flora, even the Los Angeles frees would qualify right away. Harder to claim for Golden State were moods, images, rhythms. Yet, were being instructed to turn toward these things.

THE CREATION OF SPACE

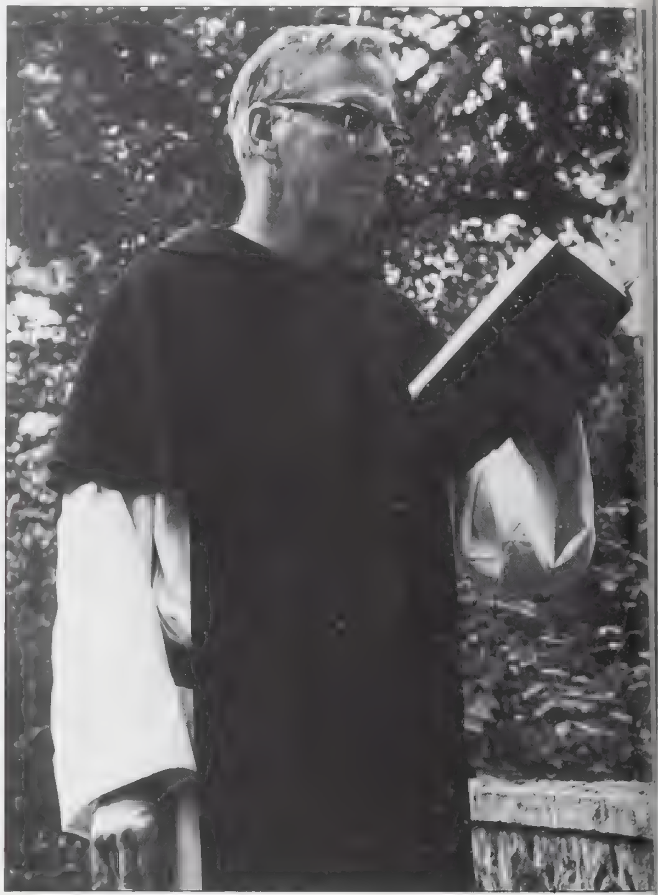
or assistance, we returned to John Haines, who inded us that geographical, actual place is not ugh for poetry. In "A Place of Sense," Haines forlates a version of place that includes something ond the actual, something he terms "dreampe":

> he place is also within us, corresponding to some reamscape which is in essence everywhere; a gathring of all the places we have seen and lived in, and ome we haven't. . . . When the two [landscape and reamscape] are brought together by an act of imagnation there occur those sometimes brief moments f compelling clarity and completeness.[10]

'oetry, for Haines, becomes a method for creely blending actual and imaginary landscapes. s concept echoes the view of another poet, Larry is, who goes so far as to favor the imaginary as haping force. In an essay entitled "Eden and My neration," Levis suggests that the perceiving conusness inflects the ostensibly external material uch an extent that it must be given top billing: "it he geography of the psyche that matters, not the ce."[11] He quotes Donald Hall, in *Goatfoot Milkgue Twinbird*, in support:

> or some poets, poetry derives from a place. Poem fter poem reaches back and touches the place, and ehearses experiences connected with the place. . . . 3ut I am not thinking only of poetry which is geoŗraphic or descriptive. I am thinking of places which o the poets embody or recall a spiritual state.[12]

n our class, we spent a lot of time thinking about variations on this theme. It required that we realize that "California" is a necessarily polyvalent term and that our notion of its meaning or, as was more likely, our *multiple* notions of the term, inform both our own usage of it as well as our expectations of its manifestation in poetry. This led to in-class exercises that considered the markers of the Central Coast, our own mental images as well as those recurring in Robinson Jeffers's poetry (in which we were now fully immersed). If rocks meeting ocean recurs in Jeffers's poems, we reasoned, then they are there not just to identify a place (the Central Coast), but to convey a feeling state, a mood, a position, an image. We were off and running into symbolic readings, and that occasioned some further reflection on methods of poetry reading. For example, the following lines from Jeffers's "Continent's End" inspired students to begin a new line of query: Can we say that the California poem reflects a deep unease in those who live where land meets sea, where Manifest Destiny must either cease, plunge into the water or veer north or south?:



William Everson in Berkeley performing a reading of his poetry in the 1960s. Already a well-known poet, Everson adopted the name Brother Antoninus when he converted to Catholicism in 1951 and joined the Dominican Order as a lay brother. The intense imagery of the wild California landscape in his poetry was influenced by the earlier work of Robinson Jeffers, whom he admired. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

> I gazing at the boundaries of granite and spray, the established sea-marks, felt behind me Mountain and plain, the immense breadth of the continent, before me the mass and doubled stretch of water. (ll. 3-4)[13]

This line of questioning caused us to expand our gaze "back East" (it amused the non-California-born that native Californians in the class employed this expression) and further west to, paradoxically, the Far East. When we got to William Everson, we were startled by his overt acknowledgment of the power of the eastward gaze. In a conversation with Nathaniel Tarn and Lee Bartlett, included in Bartlett's *The Sun is But a Morning Star: Studies in West Coast Poetry and Poetics*, Everson unabashedly conjectures that the California poet has a sense of inferiority and anxiety regarding the East Coast and its writers, and thus strives, consciously or unconsciously, to impress them (and not fellow west-coast writers).[14] Tarn's response is one of horror, but Everson holds to the position. In other essays, Everson continues this line of reasoning, and my students found themselves needing to ask new questions about readership and critical acclaim. For example, if a west-coast writer can feel this, what if the overwhelmingly east-coast critical and review establishment bases its own assessment of quality on the writer's residence? Could that be why west-coast poetry (with the exception of the San Francisco Beat poets and perhaps Gary Snyder—and he mostly for his reputation as a practitioner of Zen, not as a California landscape poet) seems to be the poor stepchild of the American poetry scene?

WHO IS THE CARTOGRAPHER?

This question caused our class much musing on the tangentially related topic of critical reception and promotion of texts. Perhaps, some students thought, Robinson Jeffers was so badly maligned in reviews not for the quality of his poems, but for his stubborn refusal to go along with the cheerful optimism of the politically reactionary east-coast literary establishment. While they cheered themselves in post-war ecstasies, Jeffers looked out at the waves crashing against the rock cliffs, and refused to "get over" th violence of war and human acts of cruelty agains members of its own species as well as toward th land. The argument here creates a sharp dichotomy between the eastern states and the far off (more elemental, more "wild," more "primitive"?) western states. In the above quoted interview, Nathanie Tarn wonders whether the landscape itself creates this particular viewpoint:

> Well, you have the running dream of the West which is never reached. It occurs to me that this is a transformed metaphor for immortality, because if you never reach the place where the sun goes down you never die. But in fact when you reach the great ocean, you can't move further forward. What then happens? Does the whole thing then retract upon itself? Does it go inwards and promote some kind of sickness? I'm wondering about this because you've [Everson] talked a great deal about violence. . . .[15]

A psychological reading of this could easily lead nd, in fact, did in some discussions) to an assess- nt of California poetry as quite literally "on the de," a heightened manifestation of ubiquitous hos and entropy. In key with this, we read Loren ley's 1932 assessment of Robinson Jeffers and nd his words to be all to the point of our larger siderations:

> he] secret of Jeffers' strength is. . . that very rare henomenon which happened once at Walden and few other places, namely, the complete identifica- on of the individual with his environment, or, ther, the extension of the environment into the indi- dual to such a degree that the latter seems almost lens, a gathering point through which, in some psy- hic and unexplainable manner is projected a por- on of the diversified and terrific forces of nature that herwise stream helplessly away without signifi- nce to humanity.[16]

ffers's words encourage this view; he never pped championing the "unhuman" in his few ys and in his poems. In "Carmel Point," he inds us to shift our gaze away from ourselves and the land and its other creatures:

> e must uncenter our minds from ourselves
> e must unhumanize our views a little, and become
> s the rock and ocean that we were made from.
> (ll. 13-15)[17]

REVEALING THE LOAM

his man of stone had an interesting effect on ure poets. Gary Snyder, considered the improved binson Jeffers of the latter half of the twentieth cen- y, shows his own affinity with the non-human in following lines from "Piute Creek":

> Warm. Sky over endless mountains.
> All the junk that goes with being human
> Drops away, hard rock wavers
> Even the heavy present seems to fail
> This bubble of a heart.
> Words and books
> Like a small creek off a high ledge
> Gone in the dry air. (ll. 11-18)[18]

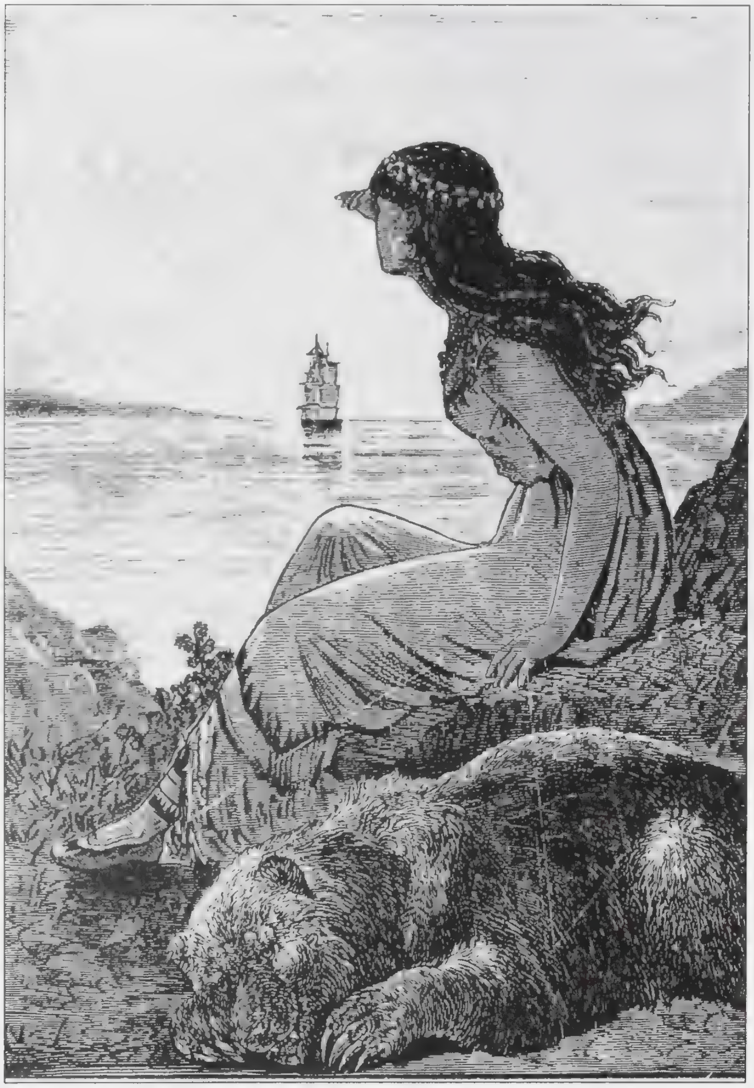
n the other hand, Robert Hass returns the gaze he human (as he often does) in his invocation of binson Jeffers—the poet, and the man. The fol- ving is from "The Return of Robinson Jeffers," a em which, in its loving yet critical consideration Jeffers's work, deeply impressed my students:

> He had given himself to stone gods. . . .
>
> . . . And I imagine that he saw, finally
> That though rock stands, it does not breed.
> He feels specific rage. Feels, obscurely, that his [illegible]
> Is his, not god-force only, but his own soft flesh grown
> thick
> With inconsolable desire. . . .
>
> He knows he has come back to mourn,
> To grieve, womanish, a hundred patient years
> Along this fragile coast. I imagine the sky's arch
> Cloud-swift, lifts him then, all ache in sex and breasts,
> Beyond the leached ashes of dead fire,
> The small jeweled hunger in the seabird's eye.
> (Section 2, ll. 1, 9-13, 21-26)[19]

What the students loved about this poem is that it reconciled the two pulls we were feeling all term: the human, the all too human (often to the extent of engaging in severe pathetic fallacy), vs. the safe other world of the Earth and its non-human creatures. Hass gave us a new sense of nature poetry—a poetry that connects the internal world with the external. In turn, we found it was nearly impossible to elucidate a precise definition of California poetry. Our explorations yielded a fascinating portrait, though; we found that asking questions about region and community leads naturally to questions about writing and poetics themselves. Every time we tried to pin a poet or a notion down, and stick the label "California" on it, it wriggled away and we were forced upon ourselves, asked to look at our frantic desire to categorize. More mythic than ever, California as literary region teased and provoked us. Distinctive terms became chimeras, place names and botanical labels revealed themselves to be superficial, and the very notion of region itself broke down in the face of scrutiny. We were left standing on the back porch, tethered to home, to humanity, to psyche, while gazing out longingly at the forest, the fox, the distant coast ridge.

See notes beginning on page 84.

Adrielle Mitchell is a lecturer in literature and writing at the University of California, Santa Cruz. Her scholarly and pedagogical interests include natural history writing, British and American modernism, and poetry. She recommends the [illegible] of Donald Peattie to those interested in lyrical [illegible]



The romantic idealization of women is portrayed in this 1893 woodcut lithograph by French-Californian artist Jules Tavernier. In the nineteenth century, California was commonly symbolized by a woman. From *The Story of the Files,* 1893.

PROVERBS ABOUT WOMEN
From the Pacific Northwest and California

by Lois Kerschen

Folklore is an important indicator of a people's way of life and attitudes. It is the expression of a culture and its customs, beliefs, and practices. ed folklorist Jan Harold Brunvand writes in *The y of American Folklore* that folklore reveals "the mon life of the human mind apart from what is ained in the formal records of culture that com- the heritage of a people."[1]

is "voice of the folk" is capsulized in proverbs, ch are short, homely statements that teach a les- or give practical advice. There is generally a mat- of rhyme and meter to consider, and a binary cture that presents a problem in the first half and es it in the second half; for example: "If you want now a bad husband, look at his wife's counte- ce." Usually, proverbs contain humor, but that or, particularly when the subject is women, can itter, satirical, even macabre.

ldom is there a known author, but proverbs have documented back to the time of Aristotle and and can be found as rules of conduct in the most itive societies. The importance of their function in a society is explained by Joyce Hertzler in her le "The Social Wisdom of the Primitives with cial Reference to Their Proverbs": "Proverbs g drawn from the experiences and study of a ple's lives are among the most accurate index of people's life and thought. They may not be true epresent truth, but they indicate what the peo- hold to as their rules and ideals of life and con- t."[2] Hertzler concludes that proverbs more rately represent a people's rules and ideals than r religious or ethical systems. Thus, proverbs are just humorous retorts, but are an important medium for teaching and learning. Further emphasizing this point, Charlotte Sophia Burne writes in *The Handbook of Folklore* that "The morality of a people, what they think is good or evil, what they advise and what they condemn, who is respectable and whose conduct is unacceptable, this can be found in their proverbs and popular sayings."[3]

Hertzler thought as long ago as 1933 that modern society should be too complex for proverbs because our problems are not so simple that they can be covered by a pat saying. However, proverbs are still alive and well. While they are perhaps not used as much as in previous eras, and many of those presented in this paper may not be familiar, the seven sources for this collection of proverbs from the Pacific Northwest and California date from 1947 to 1992. Proverbs are still widely used in literature, journalism, and song lyrics, because they quickly convey a great deal of meaning in a few words. Put positively, proverbs are a convenient way to get a point across for writers and speakers because their message is commonly understood; put negatively, reaching into one's grab bag of clichés for a proverb saves one from original thought, and therein lies the danger. The concern for modern society is not whether proverbs are too simple for today's complexity, but whether a given proverb still expresses our attitudes and beliefs.

Thus we come to the issue of women in proverbs. What do proverbs say about them and is what we say through our proverbs a true reflection of how we feel about women? So far, folklorists, psychologists, anthropologists, and linguists have studied proverbs in terms of their impact in general or have studied sexism in language as a whole, but this study of American proverbs about women is apparently the first of its kind. Until recent times, the study of folklore has largely excluded women. Whether this neglect has resulted from a preponderance of male folklorists and anthropologists who failed to be sensitive to the possibility of another viewpoint, or from the less personal but more pervasive bias of a male-dominated world, its consequence has been an invisibility of women in what might be termed a picture of civilization's progress and few attempts to focus on women and their relationship with folklore.

Although the *Journal of American Folklore* published a bibliography of women's folklore as early as 1888, folklore scholarship pertaining to women has been minimal and, except for the areas of midwifery, charms, and some games, customs, and beliefs suggestive of a woman's perspective, women were not consulted by folklore field workers unless a male storyteller was unavailable. Premier folklorist Archer Taylor has been quoted as saying, "If it could be seen from the kitchen window, it was woman's domain."[4] Consequently, a woman's distinctive form of expression and women's folk specialties such as needlework and weaving were left almost unrecorded until recently. Now, however, with the rise of feminism, scholarly efforts have been made to locate women's contributions in history and give them an appropriate place. However, these studies look at what women have brought to folklore, while this essay examines how folklore, proverbs in particular, have affected women.

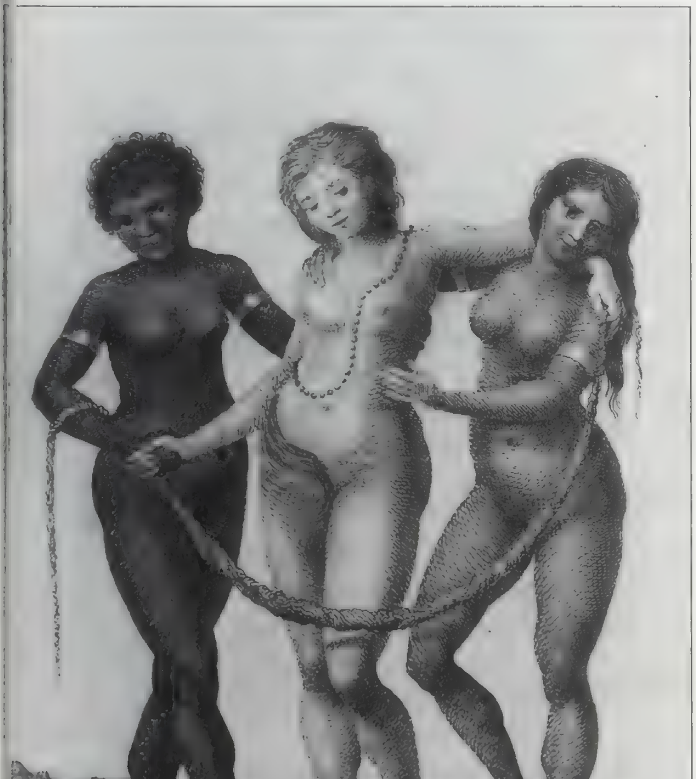
This author searched hundreds of books and articles about proverbs seeking to analyze the use of proverbs and extracting from all relevant collections those proverbs that pertain to women and are known to have been in use in the United States. She has published a book that contains about eight-hundred proverbs. Like so many things American, a large number of our proverbs originated in some other country. Where such information is known, the work lists alongside the proverbs the country of origin, a date of origin or first known published use, and the state or section of the country where the proverb originated or where it is known to have been used. Of these approximately 800 proverbs, 113 were from the Pacific Northwest (including Oregon and Washington by name) and California. That 12 percent of American proverbs can be traced to the Pacific C is notable. Whether this percentage means t proverbs are more popular in this section of the co try or just that collectors have paid more attent to the Pacific Northwest and California is unclear, there is a significant enough number to catch attention.

In general, American proverbs about women characterized by biting wit and bitter complai While some proverbs in the collection are the s charine, up-on-a-pedestal kind ("God couldn't everywhere; therefore, He made mothers"), o one with that sentiment could be identified from t Pacific Northwest–California (hereinafter referred as PN–C): "Men should be careful lest they cau women to weep, for God counts their tears." Inde of the nine proverbs in this collection about wom and tears, four are from the Pacific Northwe including the one just mentioned, "A woma strongest weapons are her tears," and "A woma tears are a fountain of craft." Apparently, there some doubt about the sincerity behind the tears!

It should be remembered that, almost witho exception, proverbs were coined by men and th reflect their interpretation of events or their reactio to women, which are not necessarily compatible wi reality. The last of these Pacific-Northwest prover of feminine tears illustrates this: "A mother's tears a the same in all languages." While this saying may we be very true, the sexism is implied. What about father's tears? Again, proverbs originate from th male point of view, so the speaker is assumed to b a male. Thus we have proverbs such as:

> "Give your wife the short knife, keep the long one yourself."
>
> "Judge a maiden at the kneading pan, not at the dance."
>
> "Look after your wife; never mind yourself, she'll look after you."
>
> "When you choose a wife, shut your eyes and commend your soul to God."
>
> "A woman is always grateful to you—for having thrown you overboard."
>
> "A woman is like your shadow; follow her she flies; fly from her, she follows."
>
> "Woman—she shares our griefs, doubles our joys, and trebles our expenses."
>
> "Women, you can't live with them, and you can't live without them."

A mid–nineteenth–century portrait of a California husband and wife. Regardless of the private quality of a couple's marriage, the husband-wife relationship inspired endless humor and ridicule. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*



This romanticized, mermaid-like etching, by English engraver William Blake, of three women with roses strewn at their feet, illustrated an eighteenth century political treatise on slave rebellion in Guiana, and typefied historic attitudes often portraying women as sweet, decorative creatures. The earliest novel naming California depicted the women as Amazons. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

This last proverb appears also in the female version: "Men, you can't live with them, and you can't live without them." Otherwise, it is rare to find a proverb with a female speaker. However, another one from the Pacific Northwest states: "The only way to get the upper hand of a woman is not be more woman than she is herself."

Proverbs that have women as the subject tend to fall into certain categories, such as roles (wives, mothers, whores) or characteristics (flightiness, goodness, badness, talkativeness). The majority of proverbs portray women as sharp-tongued, long-winded, empty-headed, toylike creatures who are faithless to the men by whom they should be ruled and to whom they belong like property or livestock. The largest number, by far, discuss wives, perhaps reflective of the role of most concern to the male authors. The PN–C group is no different. Besides the ones already mentioned, there are eleven others, not all of which criticize wives. A healthy share criticize husbands as well (although this is atypical):

> "A bad wife likes to see her husband's heels turned to the door."
> "Generally when a man feels the need of economy he thinks it ought to begin with his wife."
> "He that hath a fair wife never wants trouble."
> "He who has a wife has a master."
> "If you want to know a bad husband, look at his wife's countenance."
> "A man must ask his wife if he may be rich."
> "The man who never praises his wife deserves to have a poor one."
> "A sensible wife looks for her enjoyment at home"—or in silly versions, "abroad."
> "There are men who go to a gymnasium for exercise while their wives are sawing the wood."
> "A true wife is proud of her husband; he, the calves of her legs."
> "When a man takes a wife, he ceases to dread hell."

This last proverb above is the only one from California and perhaps explains why all of the proverbs cited below about whores are also from California. Whores are an oft-mentioned subject in proverbs, but this group is unique in that they are all members of two subdivisions of proverbs: comparisons, which have a fixed traditional form but contain no moral advice; and phrases, which permit variations in person, number, and tense. All of them come from Archer Taylor's book, *Proverbial Comparisons* *Similes from California:*

> "As cold as a whore's heart."
> "As soft as a whore's heart."
> "More commotion than a whorehouse on Saturda night."
> "To smell like a whorehouse on Saturday night."

Courtship is also a common topic among prove about women, not because women are romantics, probably because the process of wooing a wom caused the male proverb-makers a great deal of c sternation. The following are examples from this g graphic area:

> "Of all the paths leading to a woman's love, pity is straightest."
> "Faint heart never won fair lady."
> "A man chases a woman until she catches him."
> "Where the cobwebs grow, the beaux don't go."
> "The woman who confides to one man her partiality for another seeks advice less than avowal."

Concerning the characteristics of women, there so much lore about their talkativeness that a sep rate chapter in this author's book is devoted to t thirty-three found on that subject. Of those, on three come from the Pacific Northwest:

> "The best of women is never at a loss for words."
> "Where women and geese are there is no lack of noise."
> "A woman's hair is long; her tongue is longer."

Nonetheless, the collection from this region contai plenty about other negative traits:

> "In craft women can give points to the devil."
> "An ill-tempered woman is the devil's door-mail."
> "No woman is too silly not to have a genius for spite."
> "An opinion formed by a woman is inflexible; the fact is not so stubborn."
> "Thou lovest thine own will; but as for that matter show me the woman that does not."
> "A woman is seldom tenderer to a man than immediately after she has deceived him."
> "Hell hall no fury like a woman scorned."
> "There's hardly a strife in which a woman has not been a prime mover."
> "Never trust a red-headed woman."

It's no wonder that one proverb says "If a woma

Young women in costume for the 1929 Tournament of Roses preparing to ride a float. *California Historical Society/Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce Collection, USC Special Collections.*

vns, hunt her upstream" (superstition holds that
hes will float upstream), and another says "Twice
woman dear; when she comes to the house and
n she leaves it"! Added to the above is the con-
ous criticism of women as vain and silly:

t never occurs to a fashionable woman that there is enough goods in the train of her dress to make a poor child a Sunday frock."
lever a looking glass told a woman she was ugly."
o long as a woman is on friendly terms with modesty just so long is woman vindicated and no longer."
woman doesn't worry as much over how she is to gain a crown of glory as she does how she is to gain a new bonnet."
woman need not always recall her age, but she should never forget it."
woman's bonnet must be orthodox before her prayer-book is."
woman's fame is the tomb of her happiness."
Vomen and hens are lost by gadding."
Vomen swallow at one mouthful the lie that flatters and drink drop by drop the truth that is bitter."
he wants to be the bride at every wedding and the corpse at every funeral."

If women are thought to be as flighty, cunning, and vindictive as the proverbs portray, then it makes sense that men would insist on taking control and being the boss. Eventually, the ruling status of men leaves women in the position of being just another responsibility like livestock or property. This attitude is reflected in the following proverbs from PN–C:

"A man cannot possess anything better than a good woman, nor anything worse than a bad one."
"Women are ships and must be manned."
"A whistling girl and a crowing hen, always come to some bad end."
[girls should not act like boys nor try to take their place]
"A woman is only a woman." [usually followed by: "a good cigar is a smoke"]
"Ladies in slacks should not turn their backs."
"Farmers' luck: bull calves and girl babies."
"A whistling girl and an old black sheep are the only things a farmer can keep." [such aberrations are undesirable]

Lots of American proverbs state positive points about women, but they do not stand out in those collected from the Pacific Northwest and California. Of the other categories noted, only one or two examples are from this PN–C group:

Widows

"He who marries a widow with three children marries four thieves."

Mothers and daughters

"When mothers-in-law fall out, then we get at the family facts."

"A bad daughter-in-law is worse than a thousand devils."

"A mother wants her daughter married well, but her sister doesn't want her married better than she is."

Sex

"Hotter than a grass widow's kiss." [a grass widow is a divorcée]

Women's rule

"Two things govern the world—women and gold." [perhaps because men are governed by their desires]

"When a woman reigns, the devil governs." [contrast to "What a woman wills God wills"]

The remaining proverbs from the 113 found from PN–C are a miscellaneous but interesting group. Some make some intriguing observations such as "A woman listens to a play with her mind and judges it with her senses" and "Women distrust men too much in general and not enough in particular." Proverbs discussed in this article that come from the Pacific Northwest all come from Donald Hines's book *Frontier Folksay: Proverbial Lore of the Inland Pacific Northwest Frontier*, published in 1977. All of those from Washington come from Henry Person's article "Proverbs and Proverbial Lore from the State of Washington," published in *Western Folklore* in 1958. The rest come mostly from Wolfgang Mieder's *A Dictionary of American Proverbs*, published in 1992, with one from his book *American Proverbs*. Two articles by O. S. Adams account for many of the California proverbs.

The proverbs about women from the Pacific Northwest–California are fairly typical of those found across the United States except for their more noticeable lack of positive things to say about women. Again, the question arises, does it matter what proverbs say? We know enough about the power of language to be concerned about expressions that are passed off as "the wisdom of many, the wit of one" (the traditional definition of a proverb), but which are actually the expressions of male fe jealousies, and misconceptions about women. Th cute sayings may not seem to matter much at f glance, but they function like subliminal cuts short and unobtrusive that they slip into our s conscious and program our thinking without ever knowing the source. After all, how many tin can one hear "Hell hath no fury like a wom scorned" before one believes that women truly vicious and vindictive? Like so many matters of fa or the status quo, one does not question, but sim accepts such sentiments as truth. The very famili ity of proverbs begs acceptance and trust, but fo lore scholars today question the appropriateness the proverbs' messages. Interest in women's issu has prompted an examination of the treatment women by proverbs. Our attitude toward wome shared by both men and women, may have been pa tially formed by the negativity of proverbs, whi has contributed to men's maintaining superiori and women's accepting subordination and ridicul despite modern enlightenment. The confusion th results has become a primary topic of American soc ety. We reason that women are capable enough to b business leaders, for example, yet women's salarie fall far below those of men, and a glass ceiling keep women out of high-level positions.

In "Problems in the Study of Proverbs," Arche Taylor drives home some important thoughts abou how the historical and stylistic investigation c proverbs, and therewith of our cultural roots, expose our current values. Chance did not determine th course of history. Powerful influences have shape world events and are reflected in the developmen of a phrase. Thus a "simple turn of speech lets us view civilization from a mountain peak." Value, however "comes only from interpreting the facts to meet ou cultural needs or to feed our spirits. The interpretation may be in terms of history, cultural history, aesthetic standards, or, in short, any social activity. The fact is necessary and equally so the interpretation."

If we don't examine carefully what we've been taught by proverbs to determine what we really believe and discard the rest in our personal use, we risk perpetuating resentment, misunderstanding and prejudice. The battle of the sexes will rage on with no victors, only victims.

Matilda Heron (1830-1877), American actress who performed in California in the 1860s. Her most famous and successful work was her own translation and performance of *Camille*, a play she had seen many times in Paris. *Courtesy California State Library.*

SOURCES OF PROVERBS

IFIC NORTHWEST

ines, Donald M. *Frontier Folksay: Proverbial Lore of the Inland Pacific Northwest Frontier.* N.p.: Norwood Editions, 1977.

IFORNIA

dams, Owen S. "More California Proverbs." *Western Folklore* 7 (1948): 136-44.

—. "Traditional Proverbs and Sayings from California." *Western Folklore* 6 (1947): 59-64.

ieder, Wolfgang. *American Proverbs: A Study of Texts and Contexts.* New York: Peter Lang, 1989.

aylor, Archer. *Proverbial Comparisons and Similes from California.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1954.

CALIFORNIA and OREGON

Mieder, Wolfgang, ed. in chief, Stewart A. Kingsbury and Kelsie B. Harder, eds. *A Dictionary of American Proverbs.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

WASHINGTON

Person, Henry A. "Proverbs and Proverbial Lore from the State of Washington." *Western Folklore* 17 (1958): 176-85.

See notes beginning on page 85.

Lois Kerschen has taught English at Texas Tech University and the University of New Orleans. After several years as a grants administrator at Lamar University, Dr. Kerschen is currently grant coordinator for public schools in Houston.

The Wild, Wild West

Images of California in Contemporary Rap Music

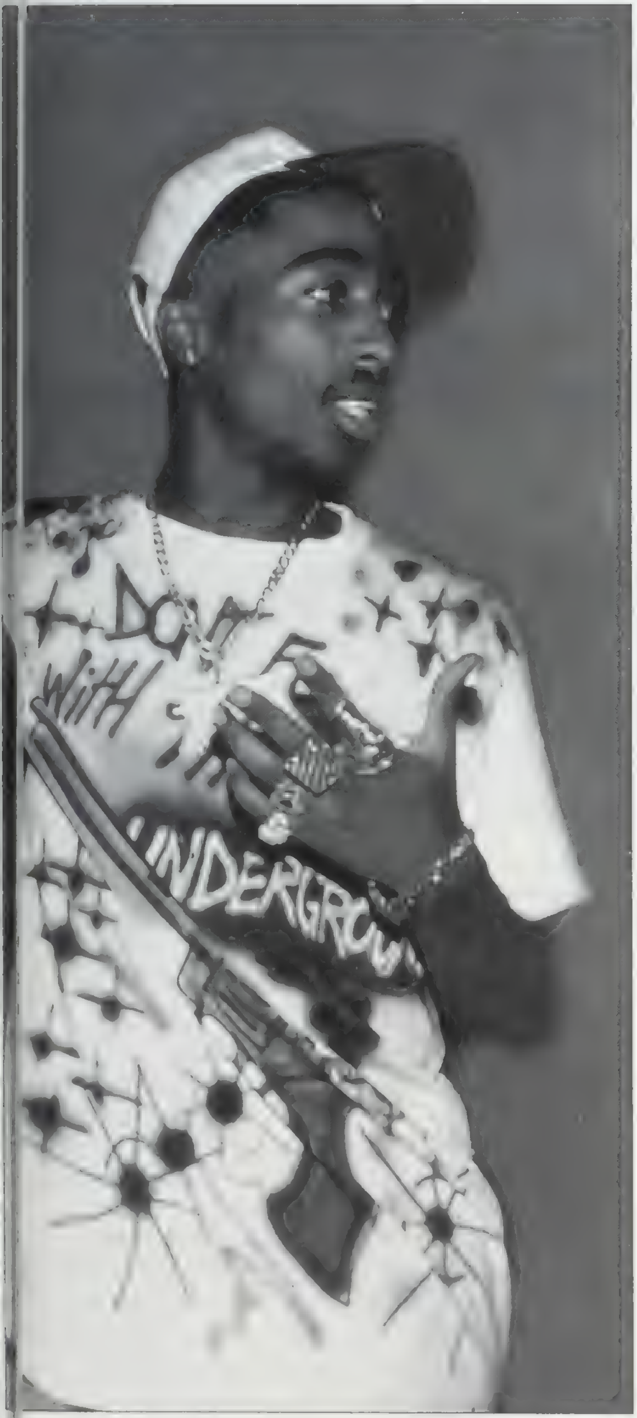
by Heather J. Mayne

In his 1993 manuscript *Black Studies, Rap and the Academy*, Houston A. Baker, Jr., professor of English and African American literary critic par excellence, makes a case for "engag[ing] rap at the site of the academy in order to begin a cultural studies project that may, if we are extraordinarily lucky and courageous, get us on our feet again."[1] Advocating the return of black studies to the expressive urban culture that engendered it and noting the "Postindustrial, hyper urban" style and the subversive oppositional posture embodied by rap, Baker continues: "I believe rap is here to stay. Other forms such as 'house' and 'hip-house' and 'rap-reggae' may spin off, but rap is now classical black sound. It is the 'in effect' archive where postmodernism has been dopely sampled for the international nineties."[2] In other words, despite its cryptic birth in the black urban centers of the 1970s and 1980s as an African American vernacular idiom, rap has now emerged as "classical black sound," combining "deft rhymes and highly percussive stylized verse . . . performed against a background of sounds 'sampled' from previously recorded music . . . a patchwork music vigorously quilted together from fragments granting it a sparkingly, pastiche–like effect . . . often whimsically comical and self-mockingly reflexive."[3]

Perhaps, then, it is an aspect of rap's postmodern self-reflexivity that has produced from this performance art a contested poetry of place. It is an all too often violent poetry steeped in the spatializations of East and West, which engages the following question: How then does the black studies' scholar "inside" the academy productively sound the territories of rap and analyze its "outside" energies i meaningful ways?[4] The answer to this questio serves as both the challenge and content of th essay, as I attempt to "sound the territories of rap from a west-coast perspective.

Contextually, rap's east-coast roots in the Sout Bronx, New York, among the genre's originator such as Grandmaster Flash and Afrika Bambaataa have extended their reach both artistically and commercially into major sites of production such as th highly profitable Bad Boy Entertainment compan with Sean "Puffy" Combs at its helm. On the Wes Coast, Death Row Records, headed until ver recently by Marion "Suge" Knight, boasted talen like Snoop Doggy Dogg, Tupac Shakur, Warren G Ice Cube, Ice-T, and Dr. Dre, all pioneers of the notorious sounds of "gangsta rap." This bi-coastal situating of rap, however, rather than merely extending its domain, has instead engendered a rivalry s intense that recently it has claimed the lives of tw of rap's biggest stars—Tupac Shakur from the Wes and Christopher "The Notorious B.I.G." Wallace from the East. It is Tupac Shakur's lyrical ode to California, titled "California Love," that is the subjec of this essay, for in its acoustical spaces Shakur, with some help from fellow rapper Dr. Dre, reconstructs images of California's past, present, and future, ushering in a vision that is at once historical and apocalyptic.

"Well, let me welcome everybody to the Wild, Wild West, a state that's untouchable like Elliot Ness/the track hits your eardrum like a slug to your chest/Pack a vest for you' Jimmy in the city of



Tupac Shakur at a New York club in 1992.
Ernie Paniccioli, photographer.

cess." These opening lines to Shakur's "California Love" initiate one of the major imagistic motifs within the song—the pose of gangsterism so prevalent within the ranks of west-coast gangsta rap. In fact, "Gangsta rap was just a term that the media came up with to describe groups like N.W.A. (Niggahs Wid Attitude) and other west–coast rappers because the West Coast for the first time was talking about gang life and street life and the murders and drug dealing that they saw," says Elliot Wilson, rap music editor for *College Music Journal*.[5] What Shakur does with gangsterism, though, is to heighten its impact by redefining its landscape historically with his evocation of the "Wild, Wild West," a clear textual allusion to California's outlaw past. In this sense, the gangsta pose of west-coast rap is not a new phenomenon. Rather, it is merely a contemporary urban manifestation of a historical reality. Shakur and his crew did not invent the violence and lawlessness associated with the West; they have simply recontextualized that violence in the form and content of gangsta rap. By evoking the legacy of the well-known images of the outlaw West, Shakur and Dr. Dre counter the charges made by those who have blamed rap music for everything negative in America's urban centers, from teen pregnancy to drug use. Instead, as music critic Walter Dawkin points out, "Rap, like all music, is a reflection of what is happening in society. The harsh lyrics that are found in many rap records today reflect the helplessness, poverty, and depression that many young African Americans feel in their everyday lives."[6] Further, contrary to what many may think, this gangsta pose is not simply a feature of black urban nihilism. For example, in the African American vernacular tradition, this same gangsta or "badman" pose is simulated by "competitive trickster toasts and badman boasts such as those of Stackolee and Shine."[7] In the African American literary tradition, this projection of the "bad nigger" who is forever and hopelessly alienated from mainstream society and its values can be read as Bigger Thomas-

In the nineteenth century, Wells Fargo's shotgun messengers ensured the delivery of money between branches of the bank and protected the shipments from outlaws who dared to attack them. *Courtesy Wells Fargo.*

of Richard Wright's *Native Son*. Clearly, then, the role of the gangsta / trickster / outsider character as a narrative device in rap music is not a new one in the African American cultural context, and, in fact, the importance of this device and posture as a survival strategy cannot be overestimated.

Transversing time and space, Shakur then moves forward to another American era of violence and lawlessness—the Prohibition era of the 1920s. His lyrics allude to the character of Elliott Ness, the detective who becomes every gangster's nemesis in the 1960s television crime drama "The Untouchables." California's "untouchability" is linked to the prowess of characters associated with a slick, commercialized, commodified, and televised gangsterism. Similarly, references to Hollywood in Shakur' "California Love" remind us of "The potent role o film, particularly the Western, in shaping identit with its carnivalesque constructions of masculinity." With rap's spaces of creativity—Compton, Lon Beach, and Lynwood—so close to Hollywood, th ultimate site for the manufacturing of violent fantasies, it is no wonder then that west-coast ra appropriates the characters and conventions mythically associated with Ness's televised gangsterism Furthermore, in an article about gangsta rap for th *New York Times*, pop music critic Jon Pareles write that the genre of gangsta rap "joins favorite Amer can pastimes like movies and video games offerin violence without real consequences."[9]

r Robert Stack as Elliot Ness in the television series "The uchables," 1961. *Courtesy Los Angeles Examiner, Hearst News- r Collection, USC Special Collections.*

---

the “Wild, Wild West” is the musical landscape, the “lyrical gun” is certainly the weapon. Used metaphor to represent the “machine-gun like firs of chanted sound,”[10] Shakur's track “hits your drum like a slug to your chest.” This metaphor- firing, however, is, of course, not meant to kill listener. Instead, this lyrical gunfire is meant to wcase the verbal virtuosity of the rap artist, a skill African American literary critic Henry Louis es, Jr., describes as “a signifying site of black, artis- cultural transmission,”[11] akin to the verbal virsity of the African griot or the improvisational calese” of scat singers in the jazz and blues traons. Interestingly enough, as Carolyn Cooper nts out in her essay “‘Lyrical Gun': Metaphor and Role Play in Jamaican Dance Hall Culture,” “‘Lyrical' is not a word one would ordinarily use to describe a gun. ‘Lyrical Gun' is a Dance hall term, the language of subversion and subterfuge. Mixing things up. Turning them inside out and upside down. A lyrical gun is the metaphorical equivalent of a literal gun. Words fly at the speed of bullets and the lyrics of the DJ hit hard.”[12] Thus, within this projection of California as the “Wild, Wild West,” the rap artist becomes a “lyrical gangster” and his performance a “lyrical gun,” which he must use with great skill less it backfire.

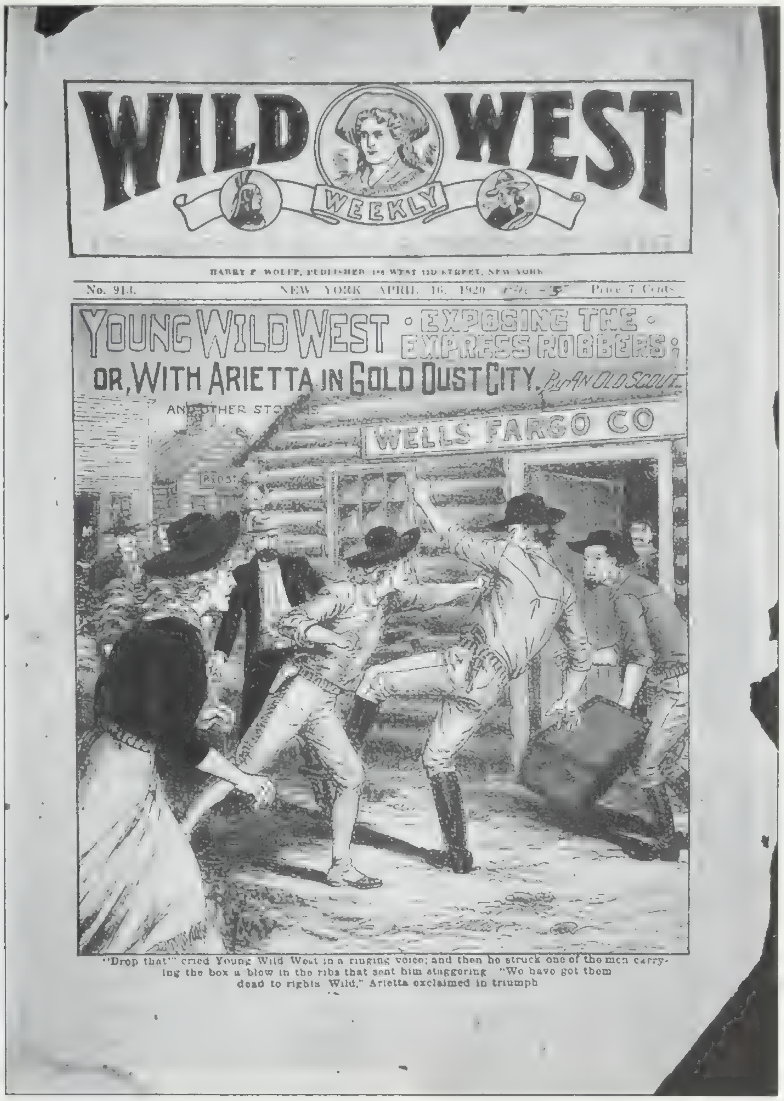
Once Shakur establishes the West Coast as his lyrical turf, he proceeds in the next stanzas of “California Love” to take possession of California through a cataloguing of various geographical centers throughout the state. In expansion of the traditional image of California as “the sunshine state,” he enshrines California's urban centers, especially those known for having a significant African American population, in the fabric of his song—”Oakland, Sactown, the Bay Area and back down”—and also South Central, Long Beach, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Pasadena, Inglewood, and even Hollywood—as proof of west-coast superiority. In fact, this catalogue of cities is followed by the phrase “The West side is the best side,” a not-so-thinly-veiled reference to the east-coast/west-coast rivalry as geographical subtext.

The image of California as “the sunshine state” seems at first to perpetuate the standard California myth of ever-present sunshine, perhaps symbolizing the hope, promise, and success that Shakur signals textually in “California Love” as an emblem for social success through his description of the west-coast party scene. Yet, Shakur's articulation of “that sunshine state where the bomb as hemp be / the state where you never find a dance floor empty / And pimps be on a mission for them greens / Lean mean money makin' machine servin' fiends” also conjures up images of sexual exploitation for material gain, which simultaneously presents the reverse of the "sunshine state" image. In an interesting example of life imitating art, Shakur has described how he left Baltimore, where he had attended that city's High School for Performing Arts, and went to northern California where "there's supposed to be palm trees, sand and easy money." After two years there, spent homeless and hungry, catching naps on public benches, Tupac had to admit, "it ain't so."[13] Although northern California did not provide Shakur his California Dream, after his relocation to the southern part of the state, he found himself living in a rapper's paradise, "Diamonds shinin', looking like I robbed Liberace."

An interesting corollary to Shakur's use of the image of California's outlaw past and his present-day coopting of the state's reputation as the "sunshine state" is the visual representation of California's future as encoded in the music video for "California Love." Whereas the lyrical representation of "California Love" utilizes and then deconstructs conventional images of California as an "outlaw state" and/or the "sunshine state," the visual representation of "California Love" portrays another California—California imagined as a futuristic wasteland plucked straight out of a scene from "Mad Max: Beyond Thunderdome." In Shakur's music video, in what is clearly a post-catastrophe California—perhaps a vision of California after the "big one"—Shakur and his band of rap warriors ride through the barren, arid desert of southern California in military tanks, armed only with their "lyrical guns," proclaiming fiercely that they have survived and are at home in apocalypse, an image aptly foreshadowed by Shakur's title for his 1991 debut album, *Apocalypse Now*.

This theme of impending doom is anticipated in the lyrics of "California Love." After all, the song's refrain includes the words "We keep it rocking, we keep it rocking." With the added injunctions to "Shake it, shake it baby, shake it, shake it Cali," it becomes clear by the end of the song that the ro ing and shaking described here is more than t dancing of female bodies to the hip-hop beats gangsta rap. In the black prophetic mode so oft adopted by rap artists and other postmodern who rail against the injustices of "Babylon" or t oppressive systems of "the man," Shakur's last lin in "California Love" articulate a vision of impen ing disaster—the end of California as we know it enjoined in the prophetic lines "Richter scale, talki bout an earthquake on the Richter scale." Shakur defiant stance in the face of the California apocalyp may add credence to this quote, taken from t March 17, 1997, issue of *Newsweek*, which examin the virtues and vices of rap and other forms of hi hop culture: "Hip-Hop offers only a partial answe For all its subversive virtues, it is not a culture of co tinuity or hope. It is about thriving in Armageddo not transcending it."[14]

As the music of resistance, organized noise, the la est rendering of black artistic expressions compose in a minor key, rap has the capacity both to thrill an to threaten. According to a special 1996 magazin devoted to Tupac Shakur, "Rap is a powerful a form that commands the attention of young mind all over the world. The power that rappers have i enormous and it should be used constructively an not squandered. Rappers have the power to chang the world and once they realize this they will."[15] T come full circle, as Houston Baker, Jr., reminds us "Unlike rock and roll, rap can not be hastily and pro lifically appropriated or 'covered' by white artists For the Black urbanity of the form seems to deman not only a style most readily accessible to black urba youngsters, but a representational black urba authenticity of performance."[16] It is also this element of "authentic performance" that makes "sounding the territories of rap" so important for scholars who investigate the registers and displacements of post-modern black culture. More and more, African


WILD WEST
WEEKLY
HARRY E. WOLFF, PUBLISHER 166 WEST 23D STREET, NEW YORK
No. 913.
NEW YORK APRIL 16, 1920
Price 7 Cents
YOUNG WILD WEST · EXPOSING THE · EXPRESS ROBBERS;
OR, WITH ARIETTA IN GOLD DUST CITY.
By AN OLD SCOUT
AND OTHER STORIES
WELLS FARGO CO
"Drop that!" cried Young Wild West in a ringing voice; and then he struck one of the men carrying the box a blow in the ribs that sent him staggering. "We have got them dead to rights, Wild," Arietta exclaimed in triumph

Wild West Weekly, a dime novel publication, told dramatic stories about western outlaws and gunslingers. *Courtesy Wells Fargo.*

rican scholars are being asked, in the spirit of lack Arts Movement of the 1960s, to make their arly work relevant to the everyday lives of day people—in other words, to bring the "out- energies of the community "inside" the ivory r of the academy. This, in essence, is the chal- of the academy's engagement with rap, and particular case of this author, with images of Vest in west-coast rap—a cultural nexus that is left untapped when we think and theorize t California's cultural spaces. After all, as some nt connoisseurs of rap at the University of the ic said after hearing of this article—"it's all t keeping it real."

See notes beginning on page 85.

Heather Mayne, assistant provost and associate professor of English at the University of the Pacific, received a doctorate from Stanford University with specialities in twentieth-century American literature and African American literature. Dr. Mayne's scholarship has focused on the work of African American women writers such as Toni Morrison, Alice Walker, Zora Neale Hurston, and Terry McMillan and the particular intersection of religion and culture in their works. Currently, she is preparing a book-length study of Terry McMillan's four novels focusing on the postmodern geography evident in these textual representations of black middle-class life. Her other areas of scholarly interest include multiculturalism and postmodernism, Christianity and literature, and black writers in the West.

REVIEWS

Edited by James J. Rawls

The Shirley Letters From the California Mines, 1851-1852.

By Louise Amelia Knapp Smith Clappe. Edited with an introduction by Marlene Smith-Baranzini. (Berkeley, Calif.: Heyday Books, 1998, xxxvii, 195 pp., $12.95 paper.)

Voyage to California Written at Sea, 1852: The Journal of Lucy Kendall Herrick.

By Lucy Kendall Herrick. Edited by Amy Requa Russell, Marcia Russell Good, and Mary Good Lindgren, with an introduction by Andrew Rolle. (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library Press, 1998, xi, 135 pp., $24.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by Susan Lee Johnson, *assistant professor of history at University of Colorado at Boulder and author of* Roaring Camp: The Social World of the California Gold Rush.

The California Gold Rush, an event whose earliest participants were overwhelmingly male, generated relatively few first-person accounts by women. By 1852, however, more white American women had begun to arrive from the East. Two such women were Louise Clappe and Lucy Kendall, both of whom wrote about their gold–rush adventures. Now, thanks to editors Marlene Smith-Baranzini (for Clappe) and Amy Requa Russell, Marcia Russell Good, and Mary Good Lingren (for Kendall), we can read of those adventures in accessible new volumes that belong in any good collection of gold-rush personal narratives. Louise Clappe and Lucy Kendall were not among the first female gold-rush participants—native and Mexican women already resident in California and many Latin American emigrants win that honor—but these women's arrival in the early 1850s was part of a larger transformation that secured white American dominance in the Golden State.

Louise Clappe's striking descriptions of mining technology and labor and of gold-rush social relations are already familiar to scholars and history enthusiasts alike. Published initially in 1854-55 as a series of letters in the short-lived periodical *The Pioneer,* the "Shirley letters"—so-called because of Clappe's pen name, Dame Shirley—first appeared in book form in 1922. Other editions followed. Lacking, however, has been a paperback version that includes an introduction giving Clappe her due as both historical actor and literary figure. Smith-Baranzini, who is also writing a longer biography of Clappe, provides just such an introduction in this volume, arguing against earlier interpreters who suggested that Clappe never intended her letters for publication. And the letters themselves still sparkle in their astute observations of gold mining men, still satisfy in their criticism of white American self-aggrandizement, still frus in their propensity to see native peoples as one more turesque aspect of nature. Whether they provoke ange delight, the Shirley letters bear rereading, as they are pere ally instructive about the experiences and perspectives of w American women in gold-rush California.

Unlike Louise Clappe, Lucy Kendall has been all unknown to students of California history before now. Bor England but emigrated to California from New York City young woman, Kendall seems not to have shared Clappe's erary ambitions. But she did keep a journal of her sea voy and that journal, heretofore unpublished, comprises the h of this volume. Editors Russell, Good, and Lindgren- Kendall descendants—include a brief reminiscence by Ken of her childhood in England as well. And the editors also p vide summaries of other portions of Kendall's life, including family's migration from England to the United States Kendall's adulthood in California. But this volume concentr on Kendall's 137-day journey aboard the freighter *Joseph* indeed, the sea journal ends abruptly with the landing at Francisco. Thus the reader learns much of Kendall's mate and mental life shipboard as she rounds Cape Horn, but alm nothing of what became of her in California, where the edit report that she matured, married, and bore nine children. Th too, Lucy Kendall seems to have been more sentimental and l rebellious than Louise Clappe—though the volume does rev a few instances of firm, family-defying resolution in Kenda life—and thus Kendall's writing does not bristle with the sa wry humor and stubborn self-assurance that Clappe's letters even if Clappe sometimes apologizes when she strays from w mid–nineteenth–century white Americans considered woma opinions and observations.

Despite their personal differences, both Clappe and Kend were part of that substantial immigration of white women California as the gold boom began to give way to a bust in t early 1850s, and as Anglo Americans sought ways to conso date their control of California culture, economics, and politi Their personal narratives offer an intimate glimpse into o piece of that process.

Books sent to *California History* for review that are n reviewed, but pertain to the collection, are catalogued in the California Historical Society library.

fornia Art: 450 Years of Painting and ter Media.

ancy Dustin Wall Moure. (Los Angeles: Dustin
lications, 1998, 560 pp., $95.00 cloth.)

wed by Janice Driesbach, *Curator of Art at the Crocker*
useum and co-author of Art of the Gold Rush *and* Tran-
Poet: William Allan Retrospective.

T ddress California art history in many media is an ambi-
ask, and Nancy Moure's substantial book is well founded
king to redress the relative neglect publishers have shown
ibject. Numerous publications, many in the form of arti-
r exhibition catalogues, examine specific themes or indi-
l artists in depth, but these sources are widely scattered
ten not easily accessible. Thus Moure's endeavor to share
nsiderable research she has conducted as a curator, author,
-most recently—tutor on California art is welcome.

S h an effort to present an all-encompassing survey of Cal-
a art is fraught with challenges, however, including eval-
ns of which paintings, drawings, and sculptures are fine
ther than primarily documents or amateur efforts. Since
ecture, photography, craft media, and new art forms are
ned here in addition to painting and sculpture, the task
anizing the vast material available is particularly daunt-
his is compounded by the largely independent art histo-
northern and southern California (as well as distinctive
nal developments in Carmel, San Diego, and elsewhere)
e vast number of artists working in diverse media and
in California during the past thirty years alone. The
nce of ideas offered in thirty-eight chapters tends to over-
repeat, thus inhibiting understanding of the complex sub-
Given the myriad of artists and styles Moure introduces,
500-plus pages prove insufficient to understand their con-
ions. Although the author obviously faced difficult choices
ecting which information to present, it is unclear why copy
oted to Ralph Goings, who has lived in New York for some
but fails to mention H.C. Westermann, whose brief resi-
in San Francisco proved enormously influential.

reader is further frustrated by the fact that a number of
t works discussed are not reproduced (references to other
es are given) and that pieces produced before or after the
d of time being examined are illustrated in a number of
ns. For instance, six of the seven images that appear in
ter 29 ("1960–1975: Modernism's New Non-Painting
a") are of works created later, including sculptures by
rd Long and Eric Orr dating to 1989 and 1991 respectively.
umber of misspellings and errors compromise *California*
450 Years of Painting and Other Media as a reference book.
ng them, the assertion that "Painted before the 1880s,"
les Christian Nahl's *Incident on the Chagres River* "is exem-
of his realistic/naturalistic style rather than his later, melodramatic style" (p. 60) is countered by the fact that the artist died in 1878 (noted in the caption to the illustration on the facing page). Similarly, William Merritt Chase taught his summer class in Carmel in 1914 (as his landscape painted there is dated), not 1913, as the text states.

Moure is most effective in covering artists in southern California at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, the area on which she has published most extensively. It is illuminating to see high-quality color reproductions of capable works by Paul Sample, Henrietta Shore, and other relatively unknown artists. In contrast, the final chapters are the least effective, with simplistic generalizations offered to describe both complex developments in the visual arts over the past several decades and their historic context. Here, the application of stylistic designations to artists and their works becomes particularly unwieldy (see discussion of "Post-Painterly Abstraction of the 1960s" on p. 403). The suggestion, for instance, that "the West Coast's Light and Space movement was not acknowledged by New York, where there was no equivalent movement," ignores Dan Flavin's impressive *oeuvre.* To her credit, the author notes she drew upon issues of *Artweek* to address this area, and she seeks to acknowledge the contributions of California's diverse populations. Regrettably, however, the work of African American, Latino, female, and gay artists is largely discussed in discrete sections, rather than incorporated into the overall presentation. Additionally, although the scant attention given to Ansel Adams (three very brief references amounting to fewer than four lines) in addressing photography is perhaps Moure's most glaring oversight, one wonders if Mildred Howard, Oliver Jackson, and Betye and Alison Saar might not be referenced alongside Robert Colescott, the only artist named in the section on "Multiculturalism" in discussion of the Postmodern Era. The participation of other scholars and critics who might be able to more effectively address the dynamics of contemporary California art in this region could have greatly benefited these chapters.

Moure not only undertook an ambitious task, but brought considerable resources to this handsome, well-illustrated volume. Its production costs were offset in part by contributions from private collectors and California art dealers, the latter listed on the accompanying insert "Where to Buy California Art." Although Moure notes that these dealers supported the publication of *California Art: 450 Years of Painting and Other Media* in her acknowledgments, the fact that the flyer fails to include a similar disclaimer unfortunately blurs the distinction between the recognition of contributions and the presentation of scholarly research.

Artful Players: Artistic Life in Early San Francisco.

By Birgitta Hjalmarson. (Los Angeles: Balcony Press, 1999, 256 pp., $34.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by Claire Perry, *curator of American art at the Iris and B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University.*

San Francisco has always provided authors with rich material for their musings. There are multi-volume histories, travel narratives, novels, scholarly essays, and newspaper articles that describe almost every aspect of the city and its colorful past. One of the most interesting aspects of early San Francisco, and a subject that has received relatively little attention in recent years, is the flowering of artistic culture that took place in the city during the latter decades of the nineteenth century. Several books have addressed San Francisco's artists and their milieu during this period as part of broader historical investigations or chronological surveys of art in early California. These works include *California Art,* by Nancy Moure, *Americans and the California Dream,* by Kevin Starr, *San Francisco, 1806-1906* and *The First Hundred Years of Painting in California,* 1775-1875, by Jeanne Van Nostrand, as well as articles published in this journal by Alfred Harrison, Raymond Wilson, Anthony Kirk, and others. *Artful Players: Artistic Life in Early San Francisco,* by Birgitta Hjalmarson, complements these worthy introductions with a more comprehensive examination of the eccentrics, schemers, and visionaries who made up the art world of early San Francisco. Based on the author's extensive research into relevant primary sources, *Artful Players* provides a rollicking good read for both the specialist and the general reader. Those expecting a comprehensive study of artists in nineteenth-century San Francisco may find the coverage of certain topics brief or superficial, but Hjalmarson's fast-paced, engaging narrative and her elegant use of language make her book a valuable addition to the historical literature of the period.

Hjalmarson takes the reader on an excursion through the art studios, tailor shops, saloons, and elite residences of nineteenth-century San Francisco, introducing the world of art through the details of ordinary life and the firsthand descriptions of artists and contemporary observers. We learn that artist Albert Bierstadt liked to drink Pisco Punch with railroad baron Collis Huntington at the Bank Exchange and that painter Grace Carpenter Hudson was a crack shot with a twelve-gauge shotgun. We also discover that the beautiful model Corinne, who posed for the life class at the Mark Hopkins Institute of Art, would sit for only ten minutes at a time and would rest for half an hour after each session, wrapped in a fur coat. The wealthy art patron William Ralston, we are told, kept his horses in stables of carved mahogany where the harnesses hung from pegs of solid silver. Through such entertaining anecdotes, which reveal the complex interaction between painters, art stu
galleries, journalists, and the fluctuating fortunes of colle
the reader is provided with a vivid portrait of San Franc
artistic life. Ideally, *Artful Players* will serve as a prelude to a
substantial examination of one or two early San Fran
artists. The "players" rush by rather quickly in the chapters
one longs to know a few of them better. Certainly such a
ject, in Hjalmarson's capable hands, would result in a book
worth reading.

True Garden of the Gods: California-Aus tralian Environmental Reform, 1860-19

By Ian Tyrrell. (Berkeley: University of Califo
Press, 1999, xiv, 313 pp., maps, $48.00 cloth, £3
foreign.)

Reviewed by Carroll Pursell, *Adeline Barry Davee Dis
guished Professor of History at Case Western Reserve
versity and author of* The Machine in America.

This study is one of that interesting breed, not simply a c
parative history, but a transnational one. California and A
tralia during the years covered had much in common: clim
economic marginality, an egalitarian ideology, and a shared in
lectual community of biologists, nursery owners, and agri
tural reformers. So long as the Pacific Rim offered m
convenient ties than either national (in the case of Califor
or imperial (in the case of Australia) belongings, the two co
erated on a series of plant exchanges that followed not o
accepted environmental theory but shared political goals.

We already know at least something about some of these s
ries. Eucalyptus trees were brought over at the time of the G
Rush and were cultivated in San Francisco by 1853. Ladyb
were brought from South Australia in the late 1880s to con
agricultural pests. In turn, the Monterey pine was sent to A
tralia to provide a commercial lumber supply, and agricultu
irrigation in Australia benefited greatly from visits and proje
undertaken by American engineers and enthusiasts.

Three important areas of similarity provide a context
explaining these exchanges. For one, both economies were he
ily dependent upon the export of staple crops and sought to div
sify internally. In California, for example, the inherited econo
of large cattle ranches was reinforced by vast tracts of former ra
road land devoted to wheat farming. In Australia, large cattle a
sheep holdings created a similar society. For another, ideolog
of self-reliant and prosperous (white) yeoman farmers dicta
a mixed agriculture based on family-sized holdings. Irrigati
and horticulture were seized upon as tools with which to cre
garden societies in which small holdings precluded both vast c

te operations and the peasant workings of small, often Asian, farmers. Third, widely held scientific theories promoting afforestation and acclimatization (the deliberate spreading of species around the world) led both Californians and Australians to expect that botanical exchanges would benefit both societies. The aesthetic as well as food value of trees joined the economic importance of lumber to recommend the planting of both small orchards and large plantations. The results of these efforts, more than a century later, help account for the fact that people from both places seem so at home in the other.

This is a wonderful book, rich in detail and concept, that recounts the efforts of social dreamers and entrepreneurs to create "True Gardens of the Gods" in widely separated but importantly similar parts of the world. It is highly recommended.

Farewell, Promised Land: Waking From the California Dream.

By Robert Dawson and Gray Brechin. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999, xix, 233 pp., $60.00 cloth, $35.00 paper.)

Reviewed by Allan A. Schoenherr, *professor of ecology at Fullerton College and author of* A Natural History of California.

Robert Dawson is co-author of *The Great Central Valley: California's Heartland* (UC Press, 1993), a beautiful photo book about the rich natural and social history of California's agricultural heartland. In *Farewell, Promised Land* he teams up with environmental writer Gray Brechin to document the historic aspects and consequences of rapid development and urbanization. With Dawson's outstanding photographs, many of which also appear in his other book, and Brechin's fluid writing style, a unique image of California is depicted. The message of this volume is that California is a wasted treasure.

A mood of futility, yet cautious optimism, is set in the foreword written by Raymond Dasmann, author of *The Destruction of California*. He comments that he thought we had reached a low point thirty years ago when he published his book. Since that time, however, the population has doubled. "So the wild retreats vanish, often only in small increments, an easily ignored acre here and there, but collectively they add up to major losses." He comments that he had hoped his book would help stop the downward trend. "But, nothing has halted the flood of people moving into California." He goes on to say, "I am optimistic enough to believe that *Farewell, Promised Land* can make a difference. It combines the visual impact of impressive photography with well-chosen words more successfully than any previous work."

In the first six chapters the history of the population explosion and land exploitation are graphically illustrated with well-chosen prose and poignant photographs. Chapter one, "The Absence of Things," talks about the loss of wildlife and aquatic habitats and the displacement of Native Americans. Most of the emphasis is on the Central Valley, but that is where the change is most obvious.

Chapter two reviews the Gold Rush and the devastation wreaked by hydraulic mining. Chapter three is about agriculture and chapter four about energy. One of my favorite photographs is at the beginning of chapter four. Here, a statue of Father Serra points the way while an endless blur is created by the headlights of a stream of commuters on the highway under his outstretched arm. The history of oil, electricity, and California's love for the automobile is outlined.

In chapter five, entitled "Alabaster Cities," the impact of imported water and development is discussed. The history of California's aqueduct systems is summed up in one terse paragraph. "Following a rousing scare campaign, voters passed a bond issue to build an aqueduct, and in 1913 Mulholland brought in another river, one from the Owens Valley, 233 miles away. The taxpayer-funded growth that it spawned soon made even the Owens River insufficient, and so Mulholland laid the groundwork for importing the Colorado River across the Mojave Desert, and the Sacramento River over the Tehachapi Mountains. Those, too, have proved too paltry for the demands of southern California's developers. Mulholland's successors dream of getting the Columbia, the Yukon, and the rivers of Canada." It is here that the evils of urban life and the flight of emigrants from the Los Angeles Basin are described. In a particularly graphic statement, the author declares, "The 'spiritual pollution' of California's cities reflects the murder of nature required to build them. Both arise from the dream of limitless power that drives urban growth, and from the binding illusion of freedom that those who yield energy promise to the dreamers in the parking lots."

Chapter six is called "The Image of Health," which is more like the "illusion of health." Its discussion of chemical pollution and "cancer clusters" leads one to believe that all is lost. It leads, however, to the introduction of environmental activism as the hope for the future. The optimism expressed by Dasmann in the foreword is saved for chapter seven, the last chapter of *Farewell, Promised Land*. In this chapter, entitled "Alternate Courses," Dawson and Brechin talk about environmentalists, the history of environmentalism, and present restoration projects. By the time the reader reaches this point in the book, the impression of hopelessness is so pronounced that it is difficult to feel cheered by the good work that is underway. Nevertheless, it is important that the reader not be left with a feeling of utter futility.

Should you buy this book? Of course. It is good reading and the photographs are stunning. Simply be prepared for a message that is less than optimistic, but don't forget that there is lots of wild California left even if the California dream h[illegible] tarnished.

About **California** from **CALIFORNIA**

California in the New Millennium
The Changing Social and Political Landscape
MARK BALDASSARE

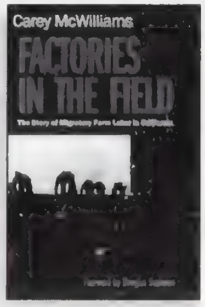
"Through his keen insights on the rapidly changing cross currents of political and social life in California, Baladassare has provided us with not only a vivid description of where the State is today, but a thought provoking view of where America may be going."
—Richard T. Schlosberg III, President and CEO, the David & Lucile Packard Foundation

$27.50 cloth

Available again in paperback
Factories in the Field
The Story of Migratory Farm Labor in California
CAREY McWILLIAMS
Foreword by DOUGLAS C. SACKMAN

"The exploitation of the migratory agricultural worker, masterfully fictionalized in John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath,* is equally masterfully told, chronologically and factually, by Carey McWilliams in this book."
—*New York Times*

$14.95 paper



At bookstores or order (800) 822-6657 • www.ucpress.edu
University of California Press

Company Men
White-Collar Life and Corporate Cultures in Los Angeles, 1892-1941
Clark Davis

"Davis has painstakingly peeled away much of the social veneer that obscures 'company men' from historical analysis. In doing so, this book has much to tell us, both about the formation of the white-collar stratum and the class crucible of early twentieth-century Los Angeles."—William Deverell, California Institute of Technology

Studies in Industry and Society: Philip B. Scranton, Series Editor
$39.95 hardcover

Transforming California
A Political History of Land Use and Development
Stephanie S. Pincetl

"*Transforming California* covers the previously neglected terrain of California's environmental history—a story which has been absolutely central to the narrative of resource exploitation in America and of some of the most far-sighted attempts to resist it."—Richard A. Walker, University of California, Berkeley

$45.00 hardcover

Cultivating California
Growers, Specialty Crops, and Labor, 1875-1920
David Vaught

"As Vaught so aptly puts it, labor relations by the very meaning of the term involves two parties, and both sides need to be understood."—Hal S. Barron, Harvey Mudd College and the Claremont Graduate University

Revisiting Rural America: Pete Daniel and Mary C. Neth, Series Editors
$38.00 hardcover

Magnetic Los Angeles
Planning the Twentieth-Century Metropolis
Greg Hise

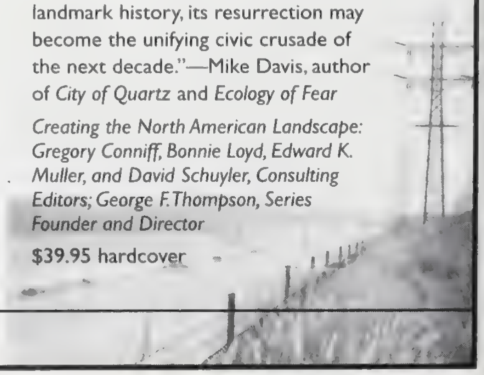
"Hise has written a fascinating history of L.A. and the thought process behind its developments. He deflates the myth that this megalopolis grew without rhyme or reason."—Jack Kyser, *Los Angeles Times*

Creating the North American Landscape: Gregory Conniff, Bonnie Loyd, Edward K. Muller, and David Schuyler, Consulting Editors; George F. Thompson, Series Founder and Director
$18.95 paperback

The Los Angeles River
Its Life, Death, and Possible Rebirth
Blake Gumprecht
Read Chapter One at www.press.jhu.edu

"Once the very soul of the city's landscape, the Los Angeles River is now just a concrete storm sewer. But, as Blake Gumprecht argues in this landmark history, its resurrection may become the unifying civic crusade of the next decade."—Mike Davis, author of *City of Quartz* and *Ecology of Fear*

Creating the North American Landscape: Gregory Conniff, Bonnie Loyd, Edward K. Muller, and David Schuyler, Consulting Editors; George F. Thompson, Series Founder and Director
$39.95 hardcover



The Johns Hopkins University Press • 1-800-537-5487 • www.press.jhu.edu

CALIFORNIA CHECKLIST

Charles N. Johnson, Librarian, Ventura County Museum of History and Art

Yong. *Chinese San Francisco, 1850 9: A Trans-Pacific Community.* ford: Stanford University Press, 0 $45.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-8047-3605- . rder from: Stanford University s; Stanford, CA 94305-2235.

ohn A., and Keith A Sculle. *Fast : Roadside Restaurants in the mobile Age.* Baltimore: Johns kins University Press, 1999. $34.95 h) ISBN: 0-8018-6109-8. Order : Johns Hopkins University Press; 7 N. Charles St.; Baltimore, MD 8-4319.

n, Susan Lee. *Roaring Camp: The l World of the California Gold Rush.* York: W.W. Norton, 2000. $27.95 h) ISBN: 0-393-04812-8. Order : W.W. Norton Co., Inc.; 800 stone Industrial Park; Scranton, 8512.

ro, Ramón Gil. *The Gold Rush Diary Ramón Gil Navarro.* Lincoln: versity of Nebraska Press, 2000. ed by David Reher and Maria eyra. $45.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-8032- -4. Order from: University of Nebraska Press; 312 N. 14 St.; Lincoln, NE 68588-0484.

The California Checklist provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent publications including reprints or revised editions that need additional publicity, are requested to send the following bibliographical information to the Checklist Editor for this list: Author, title, name and address of publisher, date of publication, price, binding (cloth or paper), International Standard Book Number (ISBN), and order address. Checklist information should be mailed to: Charles N. Johnson, Checklist Editor, Ventura County Museum of History and Art, 100 East Main Street, Ventura, CA 93001.

Steeples, Douglas. *Treasure from the Painted Hills: A History of Calico, California, 1882-1907.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1999. $49.95 (cloth) ISBN: [illegible] Order from: Greewoood Pub. Group; Post Office Box 5007; Westport, CT 06881-5007.

Normark, Don. *Chávez Ravine, 1949: A Los Angeles Story.* San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1999. $29.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-8118-2534-5. Order from: Chronicle Books; 85 Second St.; San Francisco, CA 94105.

Pincetl, Stephanie S. *Transforming California: A Political History of Land Use and Development.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999. $45.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-8018-6110-1. Order from: Johns Hopkins University Press; 2715 N. Charles St.; Baltimore, MD 21218-4319.

Urlich, Gretel. *Cowboy Island: Farewell to a Ranching Legacy.* Santa Barbara: Santa Cruz Island Foundation, 2000. $49.50 (cloth) ISBN: 1-996342-07-5; $125.00 (cloth, slipcase) special signed edition with map. Order from: Santa Cruz Island Foundation; 1010 Anacapa Street; Santa Barbara, CA 93101.

A History of California Currency

1769 ▼ Beads to trade

1849 ▼ Gold rushes in

1886 ▼ Foreign coins flood market

1929 ▼ Food is as good as gold

1978 ▼ Advent of the ATM

1996 ▼ Bills are redesigned

Proud to be a part of California history.

CAL FED

NOTES

Fine, "The Emergence of Los Angeles," pp. 4-9.

1. Frank Norris, "An Opening for Novelists," *The Wave* 16 (22 May 1897): 7.
2. Don Ryan, *Angel's Flight* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1927), 62.
3. Nathanael West, *The Day of the Locust* (New York: New Directions, 1962), 62, 70.
4. Norman Mailer, *The Deer Park* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1981), 3.
5. Raymond Chandler, *The Big Sleep* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1975), 18.
6. Gavin Lambert, *The Slide Area* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1972), 8.

Mills, "Franklin, Brautigan, and *The Pleasure of the Text*," pp. 10-17.

1. Benjamin Franklin, *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*, eds. Leonard W. Labaree, Ralph L. Ketcham, Helen C. Boatfield, and Helene H. Fineman (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), 4.
2. Richard Brautigan, *Trout Fishing in America* (New York: Dell Publishing, 1967), 1.
3. Associated Press News Obituary, quoted in *Richard Brautigan: An Annotated Bibliography* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Company, 1990), 177.
4. Donald M. Feine, "Trout Fishing in America," in *Masterplots II, American Fiction Series*, ed. Frank N. Magill (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Salem Press, 1986), 1703.
5. Thomas McGuane, quoted in *Richard Brautigan: An Annotated Bibliography*, 5.
6. Richard Brautigan, *Sombrero Fallout* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1976), 170.
7. Franklin, 112.
8. Ibid., 64–65.
9. Ibid., 143.
10. Ibid., 136.
11. William H. Pritchard, "Stranger than Truth," *Hudson Review* 24 (Summer 1971): 355.
12. See both *Sombrero Fallout* and *The Tokyo-Mountain Express* (NewYork: Delacorte Press / Seymour Lawrence, 1980).
13. Brautigan, *Trout Fishing in America*, 1.
14. Neil Schmitz, "Richard Brautigan and the Modern Pastoral," *Modern Fiction Studies* 19 (1973): 109.
15. William L. Stull, "Richard Brautigan's *Trout Fishing in America:* Notes of a Native Son," *American Literature* (March 1984): 69.
16. Brian Morton, "How Hippies Got Hooked on Trout Fishing in America," *The Times Higher Education Supplement* 16 (November 1984): 12.
17. Armine Mortimer, *The Gentlest Law: Roland Barthes's* The Pleasure of the Text (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1989), 2.
18. Roland Barthes, *The Pleasure of the Text*, trans. Richard Miller (New York: Hill and Wang, 1976), vii.
19. Roland Barthes, *Sade/Fourier/Loyola*, trans. Richard Miller (New York: Hill and Wang, 1976), 10.
20. Mortimer, 31.
21. Brautigan, *The Tokyo-Montana Express*, 6.
22. Donald Barthelme, "See the Moon," in his *Unspeakable Practices, Unnatural Acts* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1968).
23. Roland Barthes, *Roland Barthes*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1985), 32.
24. Richard Brautigan, *A Confederate General from Big Sur* (New York: Grove Press, 1964), 160.
25. Barthes, *The Pleasure of the Text*, 6.
26. Robert Adams, "Brautigan Was Here," *The New York Review of Books* (April 1971): 26.
27. Brautigan, *Trout Fishing in America*, 55.
28. Charles Russell, "The Vault of Language: Self-Reflective Artifice in Contemporary American Fiction," *Modern Fiction Studies* 20 (1974): 351.
29. Barthes, *The Pleasure of the Text*, 14.
30. Brautigan, *Trout Fishing in America*, 9.
31. Edward Haley Foster, *Richard Brautigan* (Boston: Twayne, 1983), 96.
32. Dudley Randall, "Review of *A Confederate General*," *Negro Digest* (August 1965): 92.
33. John Coleman, "Finny Peculiar," *The Observer* 26 (July 1970): 25.
34. Brautigan, *Trout Fishing in America*, 22–26.
35. Barthes, *The Pleasure of the Text*, 18.
36. David Meltzer, "Old Lady," in *The San Francisco Poets* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1971), 304.
37. Brautigan, *The Tokyo-Montana Express*, 244.
38. Franklin, 126.
39. Ibid., 44.
40. Ibid., 43.
41. Ibid., 43.
42. Lewis Warsh, "Out of Sight," *Poetry* (March 1970): 440.
43. Richard Brautigan, *The Revenge of the Lawn* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1971).
44. Barthes, *The Pleasure of the Text*, 66.

Magee, "Raymond Carver," pp. 18-23.

1. Marshal Bruch Gentry and William Stull, eds., *Conversations with Raymond Carver* (Jackson: University of Mississippi, 1990), 17.
2. John Magee, "Hemingway's 'Cat in the Rain,'" *The Explicator* 26 (1967): 8.
3. William Stull, ed., *Raymond Carver: No Heroics, Please* (New York: Vintage, 1992), 13.
4. Gentry and Stull, 13.
5. Ibid., 37-38.
6. Ibid., 37.
7. Robert Adelman, *Carver Country: The World of Raymond Carver* (New York: Scribner's, 1990), 96.
8. Raymond Carver, *Where I'm Calling From* (New York: Vintage, 1989), 287.
9. Ibid., 288.
10. Ibid., 279.
11. Ibid., 280.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid., 281.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid., 294.
16. Raymond Carver, *Fires: Essays, Poems*
    ries (New York: Vintage, 1989).
17. Ibid., 33.
18. Carver, *Where*, 471.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid., 489.
22. Ibid., 524.
23. Ibid., 522.
24. Ibid., 526.
25. Ewing Campbell, *Raymond Carver: A S*
    of the Short Fiction (New York: Twa
    1992).
26. Carver, *Where*, 525.
27. Ibid., 526.
28. Ibid.
29. Campbell, 85.

Pasternak, "Vietnam War Landsca pp. 24-29.

1. Philip D. Beidler, *Re-Writing America:*
    nam Authors in Their Generation (Ath
    University of Georgia Press, 1991), 237
2. There seems to be some controversy a
    "classifying" *Dog Soldiers*—be it Califo
    literature, Vietnam War literature, or l
    modern literature. At a time when it
    "trendy" to claim authentic Vietnam Wa
    perience for a book's author, the 1987
    perback issuance of it neglected to
    Stone's Vietnam stay in 1971. This omis
    is interesting because, in Eric Ja
    Schroeder's interview with Stone,
    pointed out that the original "dust jack
    Dog Soldiers" refers Stone's readers to
    other "Vietnam piece" written by him.
    cording to this interview, Stone's publis
    offer *Dog Soldiers* as a "serious book" and
    a thriller, because "they are being stra
    with the reading public"—an attitude St
    seems to appreciate as he perceives him
    to be a "serious writer." In his biograph
    Stone, Robert Solotaroff notes that
    length of Stone's Vietnam stay is a con
    drum." He also draws parallels to Sto
    Navy experience and the fictionalized
    periences of Hicks and Converse in
    1950s. See Eric James Schroeder, "Two
    terviews: Talks with Tim O'Brien and Ro
    Stone," *Modern Fiction Studies* 30 (1984):
    160; and Robert Solotaroff, *Robert Stone* (N
    York: Twayne Publishers, 1994), 222.
3. Schroeder, 147.
4. Ibid., 154.
5. Robert Stone, *Dog Soldiers* (New York: P
    guin Books, 1987), 5, 9, 180.
6. Ibid., 316.
7. Ibid., 37, 49, 144, 188, 267.
8. Ibid., 28.
9. Ibid., 130.
10. Ibid., 132.
11. Ibid., 226, 289, 63, 67.
12. William Everson, *Archetype West: The Pa*
    Coast as a Literary Region (Berkeley, Ca
    Oyez, 1976). See Nina Baym's discussio
    Alice and Cora and their importance to
    plot concept of "pursuit and rescue" in

nsideration of Cooper's *The Last of the Mo ans*, in *Feminism and American Literary tory*, as an interesting corollary to this a. Also, Robert Solotaroff observes, "un- , say, *The Last of the Mohicans*, the chasers atheil, and his henchmen Smitty and nskin] seek an object, not humans: the oin is both the gravitational center of the vel and the most effective symbol Stone s ever created. Consult Nina Baym, *Fem sm and American Literary History* (New inswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2); and Solotaroff, 61.

ne, 336.

derick R. Karl, *American Fictions, 1940- 80* (New York: Harper & Row, 1983), 114.

ne, 56.

omas Myers, *Walking Point: American Nar- ives of Vietnam* (New York: Oxford Uni- rsity Press, 1988), 198-99.

ne, 56-57.

n Hellman, *American Myth and the Legacy Vietnam* (New York: Columbia University ess, 1986), 140.

ne, 71, 312, 272.

d., 15, 164, 186, 110.

o Marx, *The Machine in the Garden* (New rk: Oxford University Press, 1964), 41.

ne, 304.

d., 17, 30.

d., 216, 217, 165.

d., 221.

lotaroff establishes a connection between n Kesey and the Merry Pranksters and his Honda house to Stone's character Dieter d his Those Who Are commune. Stone d Kay Bonetti that "sometimes I feel that vent to a party one day in 1963 and the rty spilled out and rolled down the street til it covered the whole country and anged the world"; Solotaroff, 19.

ne, 20.

d., 68, 112, 126.

d., 75.

ellmann, 145.

lotaroff, 23, 24, explains that Stone's first o employers, *The National Mirror* and *In- le News*, were his sources for Converse's ck experience; and see Stone, 23.

one, 23, 24.

id., 272.

id., 271.

eidler, 248.

one, 315.

id., 315, 75.

id., 202.

id., 203.

ellmann, 144.

aureen Karagueuzian, "Irony in Robert one's *Dog Soldiers*," *Critique: Studies in odern Fiction* 24 (1983): 66.

one, 133.

arl, 115.

one, 179, 184, 296.

id., 30, 31.

id., 121.

ichael Herr, *Dispatches* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1977), 195.

one, 130-31

id., 298, 301, 185-86.

id., 337.

id., 307.

id., 57.

id., 126.

Borden and Essman, "Afterimages of Empire," pp. 30-41.

1. Imperialism is defined broadly as the acquisition, appropriation, and/or exploitation of extensive territory for economic benefit by a constituted political entity. A classic definition is given by Wolfgang Mommsen a policy of expanding "a nation state beyond its own borders for the purpose of acquiring overseas dependencies and if possible unifying them in world-wide empire." Mommsen, trans. P.S. Falla, *Theories of Imperialism* (New York: Random House, 1980), 3–5. The broad usage is consistent with that of Alexander Hamilton, who called the United States "an empire in many respects the most interesting in the world." *The Federalist* 1, quoted in W. McDougall, *Promised Land, Crusader State* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997), 6.
2. Alexis de Tocqueville prophesied an even more grandiose territorial future: "At a period which may be said to be near,—for we are speaking of the life of a nation,—the Anglo-Americans alone will cover the immense space contained between the polar regions and the tropics, extending from the coasts of the Atlantic to those of the Pacific Ocean." De Tocqueville, trans. H. Reeve, *Democracy In America* I (New York: Vintage, 1945), 450. Furthermore, with his customary vigorous partisanship, Thomas Paine wrote, "The vast scale of America makes her of too much value in the scale of Providence, to be cast, like a pearl before swine, at the feet of a European island." Paine, "The American Crisis," in *Collected Writings*, ed. Eric Foner (New York: The Library of America, 1995), 166. Paine typically identified the colonies as "The Continent."
3. Quoted (with slight alteration) in Albert K. Weinberg, *Manifest Destiny* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1993), 112.
4. "[America] hath a blank slate to write on"; Paine, quoted by Noam Chomsky, "Critique of Madisonian Democracy" (lecture at Tufts University, April 4, 1997).
5. William McKinley, quoted in Weinberg, 292.
6. There are more ways than one to make a virtue of necessity. Cognizant of the U.S. precedent, Philippine nationalists might well have asserted the *necessity* of overthrowing their own colonial masters.
7. But see the discussion in McDougall, 31, 44–49. McDougall argues that the "Farewell Address" (1796, drafted by Hamilton), needs to be construed more subtly and less reductively than the conventional isolationist reading implied by selective quotation.
8. William Bennett, from C-SPAN broadcast, May 19, 1997; Madeline Albright, Harvard Commencement Address (June 5, 1997), quoted in *NY Times*, June 6, 1997, A8; Weinberg, 214-15.
9. What's more, the scientific instrument currently on the surface of Mars is called "Pathfinder." See *NY Times*, July 7, 1996.
10. Quoted in William Shirer, *Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1960), 83.
11. Ibid., 82.
12. From *Volkischer Beobachter*, quoted in R.G.L. Waite, *The Psychopath* [illegible] [illegible] (Santa Barbara [illegible]), [illegible] *[illegible] talk*, ibid.
13. For Hawks, [illegible] at one's job. Consider, for [illegible] ical remarks on *High Noon*: "I didn't think a good sheriff was going to go running around town like a chicken with his head cut off asking for help, and finally his Quaker wife had to save him. . . .[A] good sheriff would turn around and say, How good are you? Are you good enough to take the best man they've got? [illegible] was in *Rio Bravo*." J. McBride, *Hawks on Hawks* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 1, 130.
14. For example, the ante-bellum political theorist and apologist for slavery John Fitzhugh offered a radical critique of natural rights doctrine and social contract theory, as well as laissez-faire capitalism, based on a notion of "natural" inequality. C. Vann Woodward, *American Counterpoint* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1971), 119–20.
15. Conversely, the normative or moral may become the ontological, as in the Declaration's "[T]hese united colonies are, and of right ought to be free and independent states. . . ."
16. Bertrand Russell, *History of Philosophy* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1945), 617-22. Not surprisingly, J. Fitzhugh supported Filmer's view (see note 11). See Woodward, 109.
17. In other words, a contract may be invalidated if maintaining it would contradict its purpose for being. As Jefferson wrote with regard to post-revolutionary treaties with France, "if performance becomes *self-destructive* to the party, the law of self-preservation overrules the laws of obligation to others." Quoted in Andrew C. McLaughlin, *A Constitutional History of the United States* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1935), 251 (emphasis in original).
18. The Founding Fathers' intention of limited government could not be more clearly expressed than by the words of John Dickinson of Pennsylvania, known as "the Penman" of the American Revolution: "For who are a free people? Not those over whom government is reasonably and equitably exercised, but those who live under a government so constitutionally checked and controlled, that proper provision is made against its being otherwise exercised." From "Farmer's Letters" (1768), quoted by McLaughlin, Dickinson's metapolitical rationale for constitutionalism as a guarantor of rationality seems, on the one hand, as far removed as possible from notions of frontier justice; on the other hand, it can be read as a prologomenon to the wild economics of laissez-faire capitalism.
19. The notorious Dred Scott decision, denying freedom to a slave who had lived in free territory, was substantially predicated on the denial of U.S. citizenship to blacks: Chief Justice Taney ruled that "Negroes had not been part of the 'sovereign people' who made the Constitution [nor were they] included in the 'all men' whom the Declaration proclaimed 'equal'," James Mc[illegible] *Battle Cry of Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 174. Mo[illegible]

men" is an even more restricted category in the framework of Madisonian constitutionalism, for which the so-called rights of property (that is, propertied men) were to be protected against the majority. Noam Chomsky, *Powers and Prospects* (Boston: South End Press, 1996), 117–18.

20. "[T]he relation of the Indians to the United States is marked by peculiar and cardinal distinctions [found] nowhere else...[The Indians] are domestic dependent nations. . . in a state of pupilage. Their relation to the U.S. resembles that of a ward to a guardian." *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, quoted in Richard Rotunda, *Modern Constitutional Law*, 4th ed. (St. Paul: West Publishing Co., 1993), 41.
21. R. Takaki, *A Different Mirror* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1993), 234–38. Reference is to the Dawes Act (1887), the Burke Act (1902), and to the "Lone Wolf" Supreme Court case (1903), wherein the court ruled "that the federal government could abrogate the provisions of an Indian treaty."
22. See, for example, the discussion of the Mexican-American War period in McPherson, 48–49; also McDougall, 80.
23. De Tocqueville, 449.
24. De Tocqueville, quoted in Chomsky, 67-68.
25. From Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, in G.R. Taylor, ed., *The Turner Thesis concerning the Role of the Frontier in American History* (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1956), 2–3. For de Tocqueville, by contrast, equality was a slowly maturing creation of providence. See *De Tocqueville*, vol. 1: 6 and vol. 2: 1.
26. Robert Warshow, "Movie Chronicle: The Westerner," in G. Mast and M. Cohen, eds., *Film Theory and Criticism*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 439-50. Warshow dilates on the (generic) subjectivity of the Western hero. In particular, he describes the hero of the classical Western, whose relatively inarticulate conception of "justice"—the hero does "what he has to do"—is combined with personal honor and "style." Entitlement is thus connected with both duty and appearance.
27. This is not to say that the Western retained its purity as a genre until 1960. As Slavoj Žižek has argued (in part following French critic André Bazin), producers recognized the limitations of "formulaic" Western narratives as early as the late forties, and they attempted to enliven the genre by compounding it with other established genres, e.g., the *film noir* Western, such as Raoul Walsh's *Pursued*. Žižek, *Looking Away* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992), 113. In the fifties, one could equally point to Westerns that, often perversely, played with genre and gender conventions. Of particular interest are Nicholas Ray's *Johnny Guitar* (1954), with its shootout between women, and Sam Fuller's *Forty Guns* (1957), in which a rancher played by Barbara Stanwyck leads a group of cowboys.
28. Hughes, *The American Vision* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997), 186-88; Lee Clark Mitchell, *Westerns* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 83–89.
29. The theme of the construction of a gunslinger's reputation and consequent celebrity, recurrently signified by the "Wanted" poster in the classic Western, is well-documented in Clint Eastwood's post-Western *Unforgiven* (1992).
30. The narrative of *The Searchers* could be said to provide an answer to this question: Ethan's embitterment at the defeat of the Confederacy; repressed incestuous desire for his sister (which would make him to feel himself, unconsciously, the father of the niece whom he pursues after she has been kidnapped by Indians); and rage. Ethan, in the fierce grip of racism and the fear of miscegenation, believes that the Indians would have violated and thus "ruined" his niece. In contrast, in Marlon Brando's *One-Eyed Jacks* (1961), which marks a transition between the Western and post-Western, the (anti-) hero played by Brando seduces a Mexican girl—the stepdaughter of a bandit-become-sheriff (Karl Malden) who betrayed him. Here, ethnic prejudice is subordinated to the revenge motive and the broken bond between brothers in crime. As if to signal the transformation of the genre, action shifts from the Monument Valley / Tex-Mex border to the Carmel coast.
31. Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*, trans. J. Macquarrie and E. Robinson (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), 321.
32. Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, in *The Philosophy of Edmund Burke*, ed. L.I. Bredvold and R.G. Ross (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1967), 256.
33. Though, as the migratory heroes in Wenders's masterpiece *Kings of The Road* (1976) attest, they are dreadfully familiar as well with American popular culture, which they claim has "colonized the European imagination."
34. Stroszek has been dispossessed of what he has regarded as his property by a contractual credit system that he doesn't understand, just as the Indians (without a concept of individual ownership of land) were dispossessed.
35. "Second chance" risks understatement in consideration of Thomas Paine's declaration: "We have it in our power to begin the world all over again. A situation, similar to the present [revolutionary one], hath not happened since the days of Noah until now. The birthday of a new world is at hand. . . ." From "Common Sense," in Paine, *Collected Writings*, 52–53.
36. John Voight's portrayal anticipates John Travolta's Tony Manero in *Saturday Night Fever* (1977), as well as Travolta's role in *Urban Cowboy* (1980), in which manhood is demonstrated on a mechanical "bucking bronco." The title sequence of *Fever* apparently quotes the woman's-man-walk traveling shot that commences *Midnight Cowboy*.
37. E.g., *Baby, It's You* (1983), *Brother From Another Planet* (1984), *Matewan* (1987), and *Passion Fish* (1992).
38. Jacques Lacan, *Ecrits*, trans. A. Sheridan (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1977), 68, 73, 221, and *passim*.
39. Again, *One-Eyed Jacks* represents a transition, as it presents both a tender seduction based on a possibility of innocence *and* a sadism unprecedented in the genre.
40. McDougall, for his part, interprets *The Good, The Bad, and The Ugly* as a Vietnam alleg with each of its three leading charac representing a significant aspect of U.S. eign policy. *McDougall*, 1: 2.
41. Quoted in Clark, 256.
42. One need only add the "scum-sucking p Lon, the cowardly, sadistic deputy pla by Slim Pickens in *One-Eyed Jacks*.

McKenna, "Yosemite Sam Never Sett Down," pp. 42-49.

1. Toni Morrison, *Playing in the Dark: Whiten and the Literary Imagination* (New York: R dom House, 1992).
2. Werner Sollors, *Beyond Ethnicity: Cons and Descent in American Culture* (New Yo Oxford University Press, 1986).
3. Joe Adamson, *Bugs Bunny: Fifty Years Only One Grey Hare* (New York: Henry H 1990).
4. Robert Hemenway, "Author, Teller, a Hero," introduction to *Uncle Remus: Songs and His Sayings* (New York: Viki Penguin, 1982).
5. Florence Baer, *Sources and Analogues of Uncle Remus Tales* (Helsinki: Folklore F lows Communications, 1981).
6. Gerald Vizenor, *Manifest Manners: Pos dian Warriors of Survivance* (Hanover: U versity Press of New England, 1993).
7. Emma Backus, "When Brer Deer and Br Terrapin Runned a Race," "Animal Ta from North Carolina," *Journal of Americ Folklore* 11 (1898): 284-85; Joel Chandler Ha ris, "Mr. Rabbit Finds His Match At Las in *Uncle Remus: His Songs and His Sayin* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1982), 102-10 James Mooney, "How the Terrapin Beat t Rabbit," *Myths of the Cherokee* [190 (Nashville: Elder, 1982), 270-71.
8. Mooney, "How the Terrapin Beat the Ra bit," 270.
9. Backus, 194.

10 David Roediger, *The Wages of Whitene* (London: Verso, 1992).

11. Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became Wh* (New York, London: Routledge, 1995).
12. Ralph Ellison, *Invisible Man* (New Yor Random House, 1952).
13. Roediger, *Wages of Whiteness*.
14. David Roediger, "A Long Journey to the Hi Hop Nation," *St. Louis Dispatch*, March 1 1994, 7B.

Lutz, "On the Road to Nowhere?" pp. 50 55.

1. Thomas Pynchon, *The Crying of Lot 49* (Ne York: Harper and Row, 1990).
2. Lisa See, "Cynthia Kadohata," *Publishe Weekly* (August 3, 1992): 49.

Mitchell, "California's Poetry of Place, pp. 56-61.

1. John Haines, "A Place of Sense," in *Living the Country: Essays on Poetry and Place* (An Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 198 38.
2. Haines, 40.

y Snyder, "The Place, the Region, and
Commons," in *The Practice of the Wild*
w York: North Point Press, 1990), 40
y Snyder, Introductory Note to *Turtle Is*
la, in Gary Snyder, *No Nature: New and Se*
d Poems (New York: Pantheon Books,
2), 204.
y Snyder, "Blue Mountains Constantly
king," in *The Practice of the Wild*, 98.
ert Hass, "Palo Alto: The Marshes," in
l Guide (New Haven: Yale University
s, 1973), 24.
olyn Kizer, "For Jan as the End Draws
r," in *Mermaids in the Basement: Poems for*
nen (Port Townsend, Wash.: Copper
yon Press, 1984), 34.
olyn Kizer, "Western Space," in *Proses:*
Poems and Poets (Port Townsend, Wash.:
per Canyon Press, 1993), 96.
y Snyder, "The Etiquette of Freedom,"
he Practice of the Wild, 21.
nes, 40.
ry Levis, "Eden and my Generation," in
versant Essays: Contemporary Poets on Po-
, ed. James McCorkle (Detroit: Wayne
e University Press, 1990), 467.
nald Hall, *Goatfoot Milktongue Twinbird:*
rviews, Essays and Notes on Poetry, 1970-
6 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan
ss, 1978), 205-206.
inson Jeffers, "Continent's End," in *Roan*
lion, Tamar, and Other Poems (New York:
i and Liveright, 1925), 252.
Bartlett, "The Place of Poetry in the West: A Conversation with William Everson and Nathaniel Tarn," in Bartlett, *The Sun is but a Morning Star: Studies in West Coast Poetry and Poetics* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989), 191

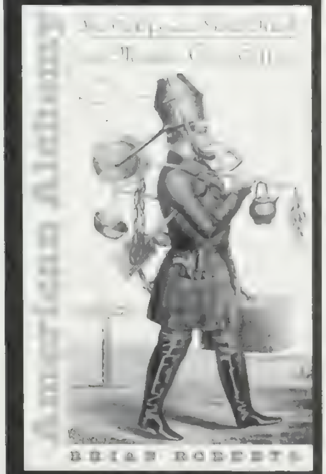
15. Bartlett, 184.
16. Loren Eisely, "Music of the Mountain," *Voices* 67 (December - January 1932-33): 42.
17. Robinson Jeffers, "Carmel Point," in Jeffers, *Hungerfield and Other Poems* (New York: Random House, 1951), 97.
18. Gary Snyder, *No Nature*, 6.
19. Robert Hass, "The Return of Robinson Jeffers," in *Field Guide*, 42-43.

Kerschen, "Proverbs about Women," pp. 62-69.

1. Jan Harold Brunvand, *The Study of American Folklore: An Introduction*, 2nd ed. (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1978), 1.
2. Joyce Hertzler, "The Social Wisdom of the Primitives with Special Reference to Their Proverbs," *Social Forces* 11 (1933): 315.
3. Charlotte Sophia Burne, *The Handbook of Folklore* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, Ltd., 1914), 280.
4. Claire R. Farrer, "Women and Folklore: Images and Genres," *Journal of American Folklore* 88 (Jan.-Mar. 1975): xi.
5. Archer Taylor, "Problems in the Study of Proverbs," *Journal of American Folklore* 47 (1934): 21.

Mayne, "The Wild, Wild West," pp. 70-75.

1. Houston Baker Jr., *Black Studies, Rap and the Academy* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), 105.
2. Ibid., 100.
3. Henry Louis Gates, Jr., and Nellie Y. McKay, eds., *The Norton Anthology of African-American Literature* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1997), 60.
4. Baker, 84.
5. *Tupac* (entire magazine on Tupac Shakur), published by Starline Publications, Inc., Paramus, N.J., 1996.
6. Ibid.
7. Gates, 60.
8. Carolyn Cooper, "'Lyrical Gun': Metaphor and Role Play in Jamaican Dance Hall Culture," *The Massachusetts Review*, 431.
9. Jon Pareles, *New York Times*.
10. Gates, 60.
11. Baker, 64.
12. Cooper, 435.
13. *Tupac*, 24.
14. "Black Like Who?: Rap, Respect, and the New Generation Gap," *Newsweek* 17 (March 1997): 52-60.
15. *Tupac*, 98.
16. Baker, 62.



Approx. 360 pp.
$49.95 cloth / $19.95 paper

American Alchemy
The California Gold Rush and Middle-Class Culture
BRIAN ROBERTS

"Brian Roberts makes fascinating use of . . . the letters and journals of forty-niners and their kith and kin back home. The gold rush, he argues, operated as a kind of boot-camp for the emerging American middle class, offering men an opportunity to steel themselves for the rough and tumble world of the marketplace. For the 'gold rush widows' left behind, the experience was equally important in encouraging a new kind of independence."
—John Mack Faragher, Yale University

Cultural Studies of the United States

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS
At bookstores or [800] 848-6224 | www.uncpress.unc.edu

Donors to the California Historical Society

The California Historical Society gratefully acknowledges the generous members and donors who hav
made gifts of $250 or more over the past twelve months ending June 30, 2000.

Individuals

$5000 and above

Anonymous
Mr. Robert G. Adams, Orinda
Mr. & Mrs. Reid W. Dennis, Woodside
Mrs. Michele du P. Goss, San Francisco
Mrs. Walter A. Haas, San Francisco
Mr. Alfred C. Harrison, Jr., San Francisco
Maribelle B. & Stephen A. Leavitt, San Francisco
Mr. Francis Martin, III, San Francisco
Miss Alicia McEvoy, San Francisco
Mr. Peter Johnson Musto, San Francisco
Mr. John T. Olds, San Francisco
Miss Elizabeth O'Shaughnessy, San Francisco
Dr. A. Jess Shenson, San Francisco
Mr. John A. Traina, Jr., San Francisco
Mrs. Alice Whitson, Willow Creek

$1000 - 4999

Mr. & Mrs. Gerson Bakar, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Scott Alan Bedford, San Mateo
Mr. & Mrs. W. Richard Bingham, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Johan Blokker, Woodside
Mr. George M. Bowles, San Francisco
Kate & Dick Breaux, San Mateo
Mr. Carl G. Brown, Jr., San Rafael
Mr. & Mrs. John Edward Cahill, San Rafael
Mr. & Mrs. David M. Chamberlain, San Francisco
Marie B. & Leonard Collins, Piedmont
Donald D. Crawford, Jr., Novato
Mr. Donald W. Davis, Belvedere
Mr. & Mrs. Joseph E. Davis, Fullerton
Mr. Richard M. Davis, San Francisco
Mr. Richard T. Dobbins, Alamo
Mrs. Morris M. Doyle, San Francisco
Mr. Rudolph W. Driscoll, Palo Alto
Mr. & Mrs. Robert Friend, Belvedere
Dr. & Mrs. Kenneth D. Gardner, Jr., Albuquerque, NM
Mrs. Gloria Gordon Getty, San Francisco
Mr. Richard N. Goldman, San Francisco
Mrs. Constance M. Goodyear, San Francisco
Mrs. Henry B. Grandin, Jr., Sausalito
Mr. Carmine Guerro, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Peter Haas, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Bill Hambrecht, San Francisco
Mrs. Charlene Harvey, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Paul Hazen, Belvedere
Mr. Louis H. Heilbron, San Francisco
Dorothy & Edward Helfeld, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. F. Warren Hellman, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. George F. Jewett, Jr., San Francisco
Mrs. Douglas Johnson, Belvedere
Ms. Joan Kiekhaefer, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. William R. Kimball, Belvedere
Mr. & Mrs. A. M. D. Lampen, San Francisco
Amb. & Mrs. L. W. Lane, Jr., Menlo Park
Mr. & Mrs. Melvin B. Lane, Menlo Park
Mr. & Mrs. George Link, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Edmund W. Littlefield, Burlingame
Mr. & Mrs. J. Patterson McBaine, San Francisco
Mrs. Nan Tucker McEvoy, San Francisco
Mrs. Elaine McKeon, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Andrew C. McLaughlin, III, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Donald C. McNear, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. James Keith McWilliams, San Francisco
Mr. Arthur Mejia, Jr., Ph.D., San Francisco
Mr. Russell R. Miller San Francisco
Mrs. Gail Bliss Moore, San Francisco
Mrs. Diana Crocker Nouri, New York, NY
Mr. & Mrs. Kenneth J. Paige, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. P. William Parish, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Julian Peabody, San Francisco
Mr. Paul F. Pelosi, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Geoffrey W. Picard, Pebble Beach
Mr. & Mrs. Malcolm Post, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Phil Quigley, Hillsborough
Mrs. Genelle Relfe, San Francisco
Mrs. Susan S. Robertson, Shaw Island, WA
Mr. & Mrs. B. H. Rose, III, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Adolph Rosekrans, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Richard M. Rosenberg, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. George W. Rowe, San Francisco
Mr. David Rumsey, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Donn R. Schoenmann, San Francisco
Mr. John Schram, San Francisco
Mr. Donn Schroder, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Norman Schultz, San Francisco
Mr. Porter Sesnon, Jr., Borrego Springs
Mr. Charles J. Soderquist, Sacramento
Mr. & Mrs. Ellis M. Stephens, Ross
Mr. & Mrs. Thomas F. Stephenson, Atherton
Mr. & Mrs. Stephen L. Taber, Esq., San Francisco
Ms. Carole C. Terry, Las Vegas, NV
Mr. A. W. B. Vincent, San Francisco
Mr. Daniel G. Volkmann, Jr., San Francisco
Mr. Paul L. Wattis, Jr., Paicines
Mrs. Paul L. Wattis, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Frank S. Whiting, Pasadena
Mr. & Mrs. Alfred S. Wilsey, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Douglas Wolf, San Francisco

$500 - $999

Mr. Victor K. Atkins, Jr., Southampton, NY
Mr. & Mrs. Peter Avenali, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Guilford C. Babcock, San Marino
Mrs. Geraldine Grace Benoist, San Francisco
Mr. Benjamin F. Biaggini, San Francisco
Ms. Cynthia Broderson, Berkeley
Mr. & Mrs. Richard Cahill, Ross
Dr. & Mrs. John N. Callander, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Lyman H. Casey, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Herman Christensen, Jr., Atherton
Mr. & Mrs. A. W. Clausen, Hillsborough
Mr. & Mrs. R. Warren Cleary, Laguna Beach
Mr. & Mrs. Newton A. Cope, San Francisco
Ms. Connie Cox, Atherton
Mr. D. Michael Cullivan, Saint Louis, MO
Mr. & Mrs. Frank E. Cummings, Sonoma
Mr. & Mrs. Ray Dolby, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. William H. Draper, III, Atherton
Mr. & Mrs. Frederick K. Duhring, Los Altos Hills
Mr. & Mrs. Robert S. Dulin, Bayfield, CO
Jacqueline & Christian Erdman, San Francisco
Robb & Linda Evans, Bakersfield
Mr. & Mrs. Gordon Fish, Pasadena
Mr. & Mrs. George H. Fitch, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. William S. Floyd, Jr., Portola Valley
Ms. Nancy S. Forster, Burlingame
Miss Muriel T. French, San Francisco
Mr. Harry R. Goff, Palo Alto
Sarah & Frank Gotch, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. George Haberfelde, Pacific Palisades
Mr. & Mrs. Timothy J. Hachman, Stockton
Mrs. John A. Hagosian, San Francisco
Mr. David W. Hall, Belvedere
Mr. & Mrs. Neil E. Harlan, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Alfred E. Heller, Kentfield
Mr. & Mrs. Austin E. Hills, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Robin Hood, Aptos
Mr. & Mrs. Michael Hooker, San Francisco
Ms. Dorothy Knecht, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Richard Kramlich, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Hugh L. Macneil, Pasadena
Mr. & Mrs. Thomas H. May, Oakville
Mr. & Mrs. James Briggs McClatchy, Sacramento
Mr. Ray McDevitt, Mill Valley
Mr. & Mrs. Burnett Miller, Sacramento
Mr. Harry E. Miller San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Owens O. Miller, Huntington Beach
Mr. Robert Folger Miller, Hillsborough
Mr. & Mrs. Robert W. Morey, Bel Tiburon
Mr. & Mrs. J. E. C. Nielsen, Mill Valley
Mr. & Mrs. Michael A. O'Hanlon, San Francisco
Mr. Charles H. Page, San Francisco
Arland Petersen & Tere Massa, San Francisco
Miss Mary E. Pike, Pasadena
Edith and George Piness, Mill Valley
Mr. & Mrs. David N. Plant, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. David Potter, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Richard W. Reinhardt, San Franci
Mr. Paul Sack, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. Rolf G. Scherman, Greenbrae
Mr. & Mrs. Earl F. Schmidt, Jr., Palo Alto
Mr. William F. Sharon, El Cerrito
Mr. & Mrs. John Sias, San Francisco
Mr. Rocco C. Siciliano, Beverly Hills
Mrs. Thomas Siebert, Fresno
Mr. Alan Sieroty, Los Angeles
Rev. & Mrs. Martin V. Skewes-Cox, Sonoma
Mr. Douglas H. Smith, San Marino
Mr. & Mrs. H. Russell Smith, Pasadena
Carol & Ned Spieker, Atherton
Mr. & Mrs. Moreland L. Stevens, Newcastle
Mr. & Mrs. W. Clarke Swanson, Jr., Oakville
Mr. & Mrs. Steven L. Swig, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Joseph O. Tobin, II, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Robert M. Tuller, San Francisco
The Hon. John K. Van de Kamp, Pasadena
Mr. Richard C. Warmer, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Paul Wattis, III, San Francisco
Mr. Frank A. West, Carmel
Mr. Thomas F. White, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. John C. Williams, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Lee Zeigler, San Francisco

$250 - $499

Anonymous
Mr. Scott C. Atthowe, Oakland
Mrs. Judith Avery, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. George D. Basye, Sacramento
Mr. & Mrs. John B. Bates, Piedmont
Mr. & Mrs. Frank Bauman, Portland, OR
Mrs. Dorothy Beatty, Portola Valley
Mr. & Mrs. Kenneth G. Berry, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Paul A. Bissinger, Jr., San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Richard Blackman, San Rafael
Mr. & Mrs. Roger Boas, San Francisco
Mr. Johnson S. Bogart, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Andrew E. Bogen, Santa Monica
Mr. & Mrs. Dix Boring, San Francisco
Mrs. Armand D. Bosc, San Francisco
Mr. Douglas Boshardt, San Francisco
Mr. Frederic W. Bost, Bel Tiburon
Ms. Barbara Bottarini, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. John T. Boyle, San Marino
Mrs. Gabrielle W. Bradley, Hillsborough
Mrs. William Bransten, San Francisco
Ms. Jean Miller Brownell, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. William Bucklin, San Francisco
Mr. Jonathan Bulkley, San Francisco
Mrs. Dewitt K. Burnham, San Francisco
Mr. Edgar Buttner, Piedmont
Mr. Ted Buttner, Alameda
Mr. Lewis Byington, San Anselmo
Mr. & Mrs. William Cahill, Ross
Mr. & Mrs. James E. Caldwell, Woodside
Mr. & Mrs. Charles Candau, San Francisco
Dr. Frank Cantrell, Fresno
Ms. Jeanne Carevic & Mr. John Atwood, San Jose
Mr. Michael Carson & Dr. Ronald Steigerwalt, Oakland
Ms. Donna Miller Casey, San Francisco
Mr. Jon B. Chaney, San Rafael
Mr. Richard L. Chew, Redwood City
Mr. & Mrs. William S. Clark, San Francisco
Ms. Eleanor A. Clayton, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. William Clayton, Jr., San Marino
Mrs. Henry H. Clifford, Pasadena
Ms. Alice E. Collins, Grass Valley
Mr. & Mrs. Robert S. Colman, Sausalito
Charles H. & Nancy Curley, Larkspur
Mrs. Richard L. Dakin, Kentfield
Ms. Renee Danson, San Jose
Mrs. Leonore Daschbach, Atherton
Mr. Richard M. Davis, Nicasio
Mr. Lloyd De Llamas, Covina
Mrs. W. E. Dean, II, Glen Ellen
Mr. R. Dick, Healdsburg
Mr. & Mrs. R. James Diepenbrock, Sacramento
Mr. Keith Doerge, San Francisco

William H. Doheny, Los Angeles
a Donnell Faggioli, Belvedere
Paul Downey, Healdsburg
Drexler, San Francisco
Ehrlich, San Francisco
S. Ehrlich, Bel Tiburon
s Elliott, San Francisco
l A. Fick, Hillsborough
John Fisher, San Francisco
Morgan Flagg, Atherton
David Fleishhacker, San Francisco
rine Flynn & Mr. William Roop,
ma
Douglas Forbes, Charlottesville, VA
s. Hugh W. Foster, San Francisco
K. Gardner, Ph.D., Belvedere Tiburon
Garzoli, San Rafael
herini, Santa Barbara
R. Gibson, III, So. Lake Tahoe
d C. Gilman, Pasadena
s John Goldman, Livermore
t B. Gordon, San Francisco
Grebitus, Carmichael
s Richard M. Griffith, Jr., Belvedere
R. Griffiths, Palo Alto
rd Gross, San Francisco
ell Groves, San Francisco
Guittard, San Francisco
s. John J. Hagenbuch, San Francisco
s. George N. Hale, Jr., San Francisco
as J. Hammer, Jr., Sacramento
s. H. William Harlan, Oakville
beth E. Harris, Rolling Hills Estates
y Jane Harris, San Francisco
s. Robert C. Harris, San Francisco
s. Andrew T. Hass, Jr., Alamo
glas D. Hastings, Lafayette
ey Hayes, San Francisco
en Heckrotte, Oakland
min J. Henley, Jr., San Francisco
s. W. Dean Henry, San Francisco
ffman, San Francisco
Maurice Holloway, San Francisco
rs. Richard Hotaling, Pasadena
rs. John F. Hotchkis, Pasadena
n Howe, Stratford
rs. David B. Hudnut, Tiburon
y F. Hunte, La Jolla
rs. Harold J. Hunter, San Marino
rs. David Jackson, Hillsborough
s. W. Turrentine Jackson, Davis
A. Jacobs, Santa Rosa
ord & Dorothy Jeffries, San Francisco
glas B. Jensen, Fresno
rs. C. Russell Johnson, San Rafael
l Heinecke Johnson, Redwood City
rs. Robert G. Johnson, Beverly Hills
ne C. Johnston, Redwood City
rs. Richard W. Jones, Pasadena
rs. Scott Jones, Mill Valley
ert L. Katz, Portola Valley
Mrs. Van Rensselaer Kelsey, Los Angeles
Mrs. Stanley Kennedy, Jr., Sonoma
id B. King, Newark
hryn Klar, Richmond
Klein, San Francisco
Mrs. Mike Kleine, Pacifica
an Giorgi Koutsoukos, Ross
& Dick Kovacevich, San Francisco
Kozel, Atherton
Mrs. Boyd Krout, Los Angeles
er Kuhn, Mill Valley
Mrs. William C. Landreth,Carmel
th & Phillip A. Lathrap, Lafayette
Mrs. John G. Lilienthal, San Francisco
rge Livermore, San Francisco
Putnam Livermore, San Francisco
bert Livermore, Danville
Mrs. William L. Lowe, Redwood City
nald S. Lucas, San Francisco
n R. Luongo, Hillsborough
Lurssen & Mary Kennedy, San Francisco
aurice A. Machris, Los Angeles
Madsen, Santa Cruz
Mrs. Leonis C. Malburg, Vernon
er E. Marble, Pebble Beach

Mr. Cloyd Masengill, Oakland
Mr. John N. McBaine, San Francisco
Stephen McClellan & Judith Hamilton, San Francisco
Mr. Michael McCone, San Francisco
Mrs. David Jamison McDaniel, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Nion T. McEvoy, San Francisco
Mr. Alexander R. Mehran, San Francisco
Dr. Knox Mellon, Jr., Riverside
Mr. Dwight L. Merriman, Jr., Kentfield
Mr. & Mrs. Frank R. Miller, Jr., Santa Barbara
Mr. & Mrs. Bruce T. Mitchell, Hillsborough
Daniel & Antonette Morales, El Cerrito
Mr. James R. Morse, Kentfield
Mr. & Mrs. Michael Moyle, Sausalito
Mr. Tim Muller, San Francisco
Mrs. Irene Simpson Neasham, Hillsborough
Mr. Michael D. Newman, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Wulfrin Oberlin, Corte Madera
Mr. & Mrs. Joseph E. Oeschger, Palo Alto
Helen F. & Paul A. O'Leary, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Steven Oliver, San Francisco
Judge & Mrs. William H. Orrick, Jr., San Francisco
Ms. Diane Ososke, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Richard C. Otter, Belvedere
Dr. Douglas K. Ousterhout, San Francisco
Mrs. Paul Patton, Kentfield
Mrs. G. J. Pelissero, Santa Barbara
Mr. & Mrs. Richard H. Peterson, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. David W. Pettus, San Francisco
Ms. Elizabeth Spenser Pfau, San Francisco
Mr. Philip Placier, Orinda
Dr. & Mrs. John O. Pohlmann, Seal Beach
Nancy L. Powers, Esq., San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. H. Frost Prioleau, Piedmont
Mr. & Mrs. Herbert C. Puffer, Folsom
Mr. & Mrs. Russell L. Quacchia, Los Altos
Biage & Bonney Quattrocchi, Santa Rosa
Mr. & Mrs. Charles M. Reed, Huntington Beach
Mrs. Marie Rich, San Francisco
Mrs. Barbara H. Riggins, Walnut Creek
Richard & Sarah Rivers, Atherton
Ms. Helen Robison, Palo Alto
Mr. B. T. Rocca, Jr., San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Hadley Roff, San Francisco
Mr. Robert E. Ronus, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Claude Rosenberg, San Francisco
Mr. Andy Rumer, San Anselmo
Mrs. George V. Russell, Santa Barbara
Mr. John H. Samter, San Francisco
Mr. Edward J. Schneider, III, Atherton
Mr. John Schnorr, San Francisco
Mr. Michael D. Schroeder, Cupertino
Mrs. J. F. Schulz, Santa Rosa
Rev. Thomas L. Seagrave, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Edwin A. Seipp, Jr., Atherton
Mrs. Muir S. Shank, Diablo
Ms. Deborah F. Shepherd, San Francisco
Mrs. Eugene A. Shurtleff, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. John, Siegel, San Francisco
Mrs. Mollie M. Sinclair, Fremont
Mr. & Mrs. David Sliptzin, San Francisco
Ms. Ann Smith, Pacific Palisades
Ms. Jeanne M. Smith, Walnut Creek
Mr. Kendall B. Smith, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Robert A. Smith, Moraga
Mr. Charles D. Sooy, Berkeley
Mr. & Mrs. Jack Stark, Claremont
Mr. Don Stephens & Ms. Patricia P. Hamilton, San Francisco
Ms. Blanche Germain Streeter, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Myron Sugarman, San Francisco
Dr. Nate Sumner, Mill Valley
Mr. & Mrs. James B. Swinerton, San Francisco
Mr. Thomas A. Techentin, Pasadena
Carter and Mary Thacher, San Francisco
Mr. James F. Thacher, San Francisco
Mr. Jeffrey Thomas, San Francisco
Mr. and Mrs. Morley Thompson, Woodside
Mr. & Mrs. Stephen Townsend, Jr., San Francisco
Ms. Suzanne Tucker & Mr. Timothy Marks, Sausalito
Mr. Charles Tuffree, Placentia
Mr. & Mrs. Stephan P. Vermut, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Lorin Vogel, San Francisco

Bruce & Fran Walker, San Francisco
Mr. John Walker, San Francisco
Mr. Peter S. Wantuch, Hillsborough
Patti & Tim Warner, San Francisco
Josh Weinstein & [illegible]
Ms. Virginia Welsh, San Bruno
Messrs. Whitcomb & McCarthy, [illegible] Valley
Mr. Warren R. White, San Francisco
Mr. Peter Wiley, San Francisco
Mrs. Edwin H. Williams, San Francisco
Anne & Kirke Wilson, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Richard Wollack, San Fran
Mr. Mark L. Woodbury, Oakland
Ms. Cynthia W. Woods, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Frank M. Woods, San Fran
Ms. Nancy C. Woodward, Carmichael
Ms. Deborah Zepnick, Calabasas

Corporations and Foundations

$5,000 and above

The C.A.W. Foundation, San Francisco
Barkley Fund, Corona Del Mar
Eva Benson Buck Charitable Trust D, San Francisco
Louise M. Davies Foundation, San Francisco
Grants for The Arts / San Francisco Hotel Tax Fund, San Francisco
The Stanley S. Langendorf Foundation, San Francisco
Mericos Foundation, South Pasadena
Metreon, San Francisco
J. P. Morgan Charitable Trust, Princeton, NJ
The Robert and Helen Odell Fund, San Francisco
Silver Giving Foundation, San Francisco
L. J. Skaggs & Mary C. Skaggs Foundation, Oakland
Transamerica Foundation, San Francisco
Kristi Yamaguchi's Always Dream Foundation, Oakland

$1,000 - $4,999

Arata Brothers Trust, Sacramento
Automobile Club of Southern Calif., Costa Mesa
Bay TV, San Francisco
Elizabeth & Stephen Bechtel, Jr. Foundation, San Francisco
Robert and Alice Bridges Foundation, San Francisco
General Atlantic Development, San Francisco
Samuel S. Johnson Foundation, Redmond, OR
The Ron Kaufman Companies, San Francisco
KRON, San Francisco
Macromedia, San Francisco
McClatchy Newspapers, Sacramento
The Northern Trust Company, Chicago, IL
Public Policy Institute of California, San Francisco
Sacramento Trust for Historic Preservation, Sacramento
San Francisco Chronicle, San Francisco
The Setzer Foundation, Sacramento
Sidney Stern Memorial Trust, Pacific Palisades

$500 - $999

Butterfield & Butterfield, San Francisco
Cypress Lawn Memorial Park, Colma
John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, NY
Pacific Gas and Electric Co., San Francisco

$250 - $499

The Hass Family Fund, San Jose
Limoneira Company, Santa Paula
Plant Construction Company, Inc., San Francisco
The San Francisco Club of Lithograph
Printing, San Mateo

Accurate gift acknowledgement is very important to us but occasionally mistakes are made. Please notify the CHS Development Departmen
ions as soon as possible

THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY is a statewide membership-based organization designated by the Legi ture as the State Historical Society. Its mission is to engage the public's interest and participation in collecting, pres- ing, and presenting art, artifacts, and written materials relevant to the history of California and to support histo research, publication, and educational activities.

A quarterly journal published by CHS since 1922, *California History* features articles by leading scholars and writers fo s-ing on the heritage of California and the West from pre-Columbian to modern times. Illustrated articles, pictorial ess s and book reviews examine the ongoing dialogue between the past and the present. Articles appearing in this journal re abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts* and *America: History and Life.*

OFFICERS

Maribelle B. Leavitt, San Francisco
President
Donn R. Schoenmann, San Francisco
Vice President
George W. Rowe, San Francisco
Treasurer
Peter J. Musto, San Francisco
Secretary
Betsy Leland Link, Ph.D., Los Angeles
Regional Vice President
Toby Rose, San Francisco
Regional Vice President
Charles J. Soderquist, Ph.D., Sacramento
Regional Vice President

TRUSTEES

Judge Marie Bertillion Collins, Piedmont
Donald D. Crawford, Jr., Sea Ranch
Harold A. Fick, Hillsborough
Charles A. Fracchia, San Francisco
Harry R. Goff, Palo Alto
Edward Helfeld, San Francisco
Andrew C. McLaughlin III, Ph.D., San Francisco
Russell R. Miller, San Francisco
John T. Olds, San Francisco
Helen Rodriguez, San Francisco
John A. Schram, Kenwood
A. Jess Shenson, M.D., San Francisco
John A. Traina, Jr., San Francisco
John K. Van de Kamp, Arcadia
Patricia R. Warner, San Francisco
Alice Whitson, Willow Creek

EMERITI

Louis Heilbron, San Francisco
President Emeritus
J.S. Holliday, Ph.D., Carmel
Executive Director Emeritus
David B. Hudnut, Tiburon
President Emeritus
Edith L. Piness, Ph.D., Mill Valley
President Emerita
Stephen L. Taber, Esq., San Francisco
Trustee Emeritus

STAFF

Michael Duty, *Executive Director*
Brenda Baldwin, *Library Cataloger*
Larry D. Campbell, *Deputy Director*
Diana Daniels, *Fine Arts Registrar*
Judith Deaton, *Director of Operations*
Tanya Hollis, *Assistant Librarian*
Patricia Keats, *Director of the Library*
Margaret Kelley, *Receptionist*
Kathryn Kowalewski, *Photography Assistant*
Cristina Magpantay, *Accounting Manager*
Mitsu Overstreet, *Store Clerk*
Chelsea Pickslay, *Director of Education*
Ray Rengo, *Membership & Development Associate*
Judy Sakaguchi, *Store Clerk*
Scott Shields, *Curator of Fine Arts*
Marlene Smith-Baranzini, *Associate Editor, California History*
Larisa Somsel, *Strategic Initiatives Coordinator*
Erengo Suto, *Receptionist*
Marian Ueki, *Graphic Design*
Wendy Welker, *Photo Archivist*
Emily Wolff, *Curator of Photography*

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL FOUNDATION

David B. Hudnut, Tiburon
President
George H. Link, Esq., Los Angeles
Vice President
David J. Clark, Esq., Lafayette
Treasurer
Dr. Francis Rigney, San Francisco
Secretary
George Basye, Esq., Sacramento
DeWitt F. Bowman, Mill Valley
Mrs. William Goodan, Pasadena
Mrs. Maurice A. Machris, Los Angeles
William G. Myers, Santa Barbara
Mrs. Julian Peabody, San Francisco
Edith L. Piness, Ph.D., Mill Valley
Richard Rosenberg, San Francisco
Donn R. Schoenmann, San Francisco
William Sharon, El Cerrito
Thomas A. Techentin, Los Angeles

CONSULTANTS

Diane DeBruno, Retail Operation
Jennifer Kaiser, Marketing / Publi Relations
Sandra Madison Reinhardt, Finance

CALIFORNIA HISTORY
Published quarterly 2000 © by CHS

$40.00 of each membership is designated for California Historical Society membership services, including subscriptions to *California History* and the *California Chronicle.*

ADMINISTRATIVE HEADQUARTERS/
NORTH BAKER RESEARCH LIBRARY
678 Mission Street
San Francisco, California 94105-4014
(415) 357-1848
FAX (415) 357-1850
Website: www.calhist.org

Manuscripts for publication and editorial correspondence should be sent to Richard J. Orsi, Editor, *California History,* Department o History, California State University, Hayward, CA 94542. Manuscripts should be typed, double spaced, with notes on separate sheets, and submitted in duplicate with a stamped and addressed return envelope. The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or opinions of the authors. Books for review should be sent to James Rawls, Reviews Editor, California Historical Society, 678 Mission Street, San Francisco, CA 94105-4014.

LC 75–640289 / ISSN 0162–2897
Periodicals Postage PAID at San Francisco and at additional mailing offices.
Publication number 084180

POSTMASTER
Send address changes to:
California History
678 Mission St.
San Francisco, CA 94105-4014

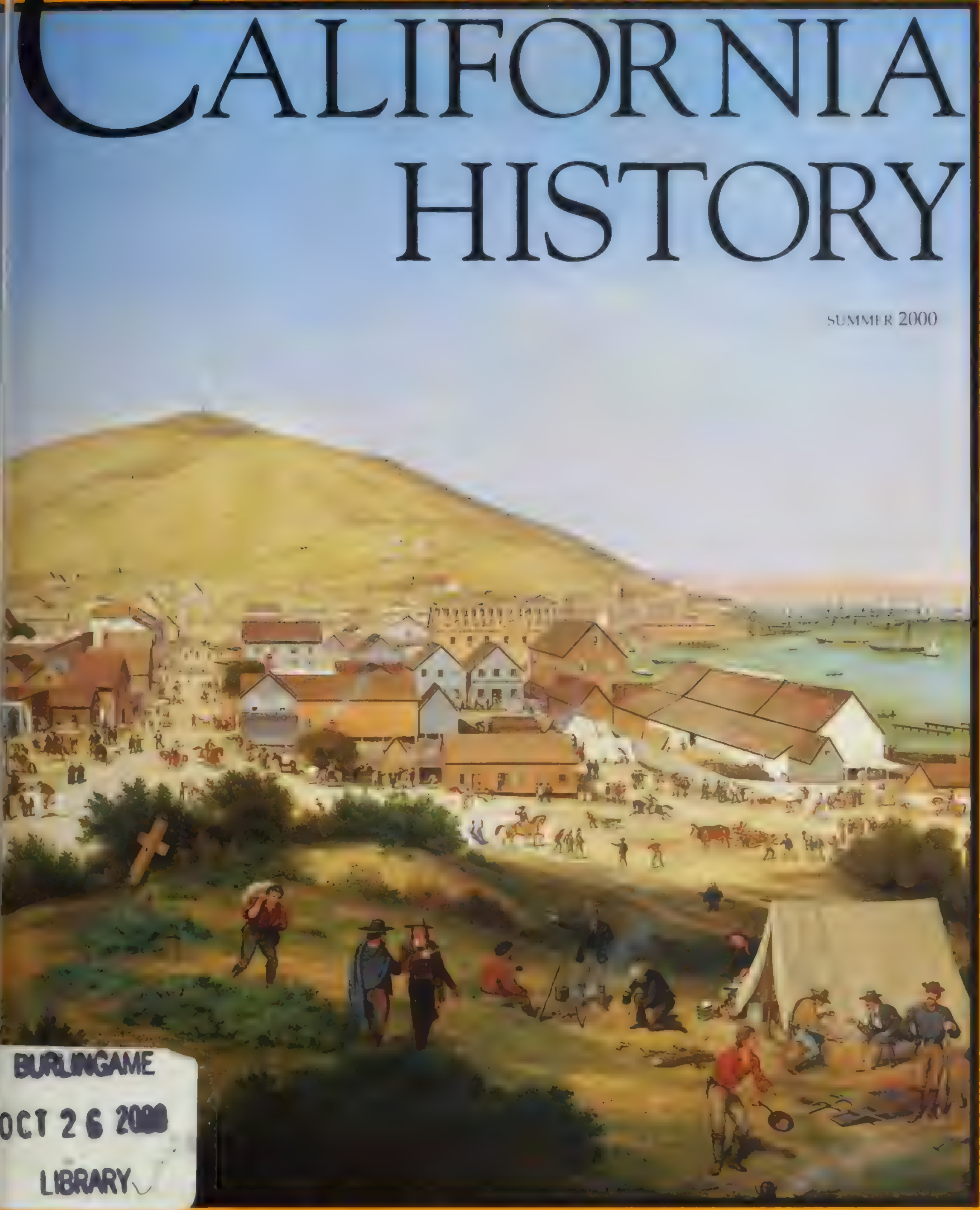
ia History
mmer

THE MAGAZINE OF THE CAL

3 9042 05166991 6

CALIFORNIA HISTORY

SUMMER 2000



BURLINGAME
OCT 26 20[illegible]
LIBRARY

ROOTED IN BARBAROUS SOIL: PEOPLE, CULTURE, AND COMMUNITY IN GOLD RUSH CALIFORNIA

THE MAGAZINE OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

CALIFORNIA HISTORY

VOLUME LXXIX NO. 2 Summer 2000

As with the issues of Summer/Fall 1997 and Winter 1998/99, this issue—of smaller dimensions and greater length—does *not* represent a radical redesign of the magazine, and with the next issue, we will return to our regular format. This special issue is the third of four volumes in the California Historical Society's California History Sesquicentennial Series, a series of essays by leading writers reinterpreting important themes of early California history. Published simultaneously as books by the University of California Press, and commemorating the state's one-hundred-fiftieth anniversary, the four volumes in the series are *Contested Eden: California before the Gold Rush* (1998); *A Golden State: Mining and Economic Development in Gold Rush California* (1999); *Rooted in Barbarous Soil: People, Culture, and Community in Gold Rush California* (2000); and *Taming the Elephant: Politics, Government, and Law in Pioneer California* (2001).

Cumulatively, these four matched volumes of the California History Sesquicentennial Series—books, not just journals—collect the best judgment of fifty of the state's finest scholars on the meaning of early California history, particularly from the perspective of the present. They are unique, valuable works for reading now and reference in the future. The authors, the editors, and the California Historical Society's officers and staff submit these volumes as contributions to the state's commemoration and evaluation of its past. We hope the Society's members enjoy and learn from them.

Richard J. Orsi
Editor

This special Sesquicentennial issue is made possible through the generous support of the Mericos Foundation, the University of California Press, the California State Archives Foundation, and California State University, Hayward.

Rooted in Barbarous Soil

California History Sesquicentennial Series
Edited by Richard J. Orsi

1. *Contested Eden: California before the Gold Rush,* edited by Ramón A. Gutiérrez and Richard J. Orsi
2. *A Golden State: Mining and Economic Development in Gold Rush California,* edited by James J. Rawls and Richard J. Orsi
3. *Rooted in Barbarous Soil: People, Culture, and Community in Gold Rush California,* edited by Kevin Starr and Richard J. Orsi
4. *Taming the Elephant: Politics, Government, and Law in Pioneer California,* edited by John F. Burns and Richard J. Orsi

Rooted in Barbarous Soil

PEOPLE, CULTURE, AND COMMUNITY IN GOLD RUSH CALIFORNIA

Editors

KEVIN STARR and RICHARD J. ORSI

Illustrations Editor
ANTHONY KIRK

Associate Editor
MARLENE SMITH-BARANZINI

PUBLISHED FOR THE *California Historical Society*
BY THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS

On the cover: George Henry Burgess, *San Francisco in July, 1849,* 1891. Oil on canvas, 62 x 143 in. *Oakland Museum of California, Gift of the Women's Board.*

Contents

PREFACE · Michael Duty and Richard J. Orsi · ix

1. *Rooted in Barbarous Soil: An Introduction to Gold Rush Society and Culture* · Kevin Starr · 1
2. *No Boy's Play: Migration and Settlement in Early Gold Rush California* · Malcolm Rohrbough · 25
3. *A People of Exceptional Character: Ethnic Diversity, Nativism, and Racism in the California Gold Rush* · Sucheng Chan · 44
4. *"Because he is a liar and a thief": Conquering the Residents of "Old" California, 1850–1880* · James A. Sandos · 86
5. *"All hands have gone downtown": Urban Places in Gold Rush California* · Robert Phelps · 113
6. *Weaving a Different World: Women and the California Gold Rush* · Nancy J. Taniguchi · 141
7. *"As jolly as a clam at high water": The Rise of Art in Gold Rush California* · Anthony Kirk · 169
8. *Romancing the Gold Rush: The Literature of the California Frontier* · Michael Kowalewski · 204
9. *From Indifference to Imperative Duty: Educating Children in Early California* · Irving G. Hendrick · 226
10. *Phelan's Cemetery: Religion in the Urbanizing West, 1850–1869, in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Sacramento* · Steven M. Avella · 250
11. *Popular Culture on the Golden Shore* · Gary F. Kurutz · 280
12. *"My own private life": Toward a History of Desire in Gold Rush California* · Susan Lee Johnson · 316

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS · 347

INDEX · 351

PREFACE

Perhaps never in the time-honored American tradition of frontiering did "civilization" appear to sink so low as in gold-rush California. A mercurial economy swung sharply from boom to bust, and back again, rendering everyone's fortunes ephemeral. A volatile assemblage of transients, nearly all of them men, hailing from diverse cultures, were fixated on "making their pile" and returning home. Competition, jealousy, and racism fueled unprecedented, nearly uncontrollable, individual and mass violence. A collective mentality of self-interest, greed, speculation, and momentary earthly pleasure seemed to call the shots at every turn. Shoddy "instant cities" of wood and canvas burst forth overnight to house and supply the sojourners, then were abruptly abandoned in the mad scramble for gold elsewhere, or were even more quickly consumed by fire or flood, only to be rebuilt to serve until they suffered the same fiery or watery fate a few months or years down the line. Like the people, buildings and even whole communities came and went, often leaving barely a trace on the historical record—"was to have been" cities, Louise Clappe, the famed "Dame Shirley," called them. For more than two years after the gold discovery in early 1848, while its non-Indian population was swelling from ten thousand to more than one hundred thousand, California even lacked a clearly established system of rule and government, save for a hastily contrived martial law haphazardly enforced by undermanned U.S. Army forces.

Yet, in the very midst of turbulence, during the first few months, years, and decades of pioneer California, social and cultural forms emerged, solidified, spread, and took hold. Even from her 1852 vantage point in a rough and fleeting Sierra foothill mining camp, Dame Shirley could see the glimmerings of culture, of order, of permanence, of opportunity. When her husband returned to "the States," Louise Clappe decided to stay and become a pioneer schoolteacher and churchwoman in

San Francisco. What she wrote about herself in her last letter to her sister might also be said about culture in gold-rush California: "The 'thistle-seed' . . . sent abroad its roots right lovingly into this barren soil, and gained an unwonted strength in what seemed . . . unfavorable surroundings."

As civilization agonized its way out of chaos and finally took root in California's "barbarous soil," some of the emerging social and cultural forms were "traditional"—reflective or reminiscent of the many old worlds the settlers had hailed from, particularly the eastern United States, home of the majority. But, in such an unusual natural and social environment—particularly the unprecedented diversity of peoples, cultures, and prior experiences—some distinctive, if not completely unique, California patterns were discernible. In the birth, or rebirth, of pioneer culture, some groups were "losers," including Indians and *californios*—the earlier Spanish/Mexican conquerors of the land. They lost lives, lands, resources, livelihoods, autonomy, cultural dominance, and as in the case of many small native tribes, their very existence as peoples. Some, especially newly arriving settlers from the United States and Europe, and to an extent Latin America and Asia, including the few women pioneers, clearly "won." They secured new opportunities; their populations increased; they assumed political control; and their cultures took root and often flourished. Many, though, such as some Indian communities, Californios, and Mexican immigrants, were often forced to measure "success" as mere survival. The gold-rush winners, the losers, and the many in between, their social and cultural forms, their complex and sometimes contradictory interrelationships, and their legacies to future generations, are the subjects of this volume.

Rooted in Barbarous Soil: People, Culture, and Community in Gold Rush California is the third in the California History Sesquicentennial Series, presented by the California Historical Society—the state's officially designated historical society—and the University of California Press, with the support of California State University, Hayward, and many other partners. Four topical, but interrelated, volumes, issued one per year beginning in winter 1997/98, reexamine the meaning, particularly from today's perspective, of the founding of modern California in the pre-1848 and gold-rush-era experiences. Each of the volumes collects essays by a dozen authors, drawn from the ranks of leading humanists, social scientists, and scientists, reviewing the best, most up-to-date thinking on major topics associated with the state's pioneer period through the 1870s. The authors have been asked to consider, within their area of expertise, the general themes that run through all four volumes: the interplay of traditional cultures and frontier innovation in the creation of a distinctive California society; the dynamic interaction of people and nature and the beginnings of massive environmental change; the impact of the California experience on the nation and the wider world; the shaping influence of pioneer patterns on modern California; and the importance and legacy of ethnic and cultural diversity as a major dimension of the state's history.

The California History Sesquicentennial volumes are published simultaneously as double issues of *California History,* the quarterly of the Historical Society, and as books for general distribution. Each volume is co-edited by Richard J. Orsi, Professor of History, California State University, Hayward, and editor of the quarterly, and a consulting editor who is a leading scholar in the specific field. Volume 1 in the series, *Contested Eden: California before the Gold Rush,* co-edited by Ramón A. Gutiérrez, Professor of Ethnic Studies and History at the University of California, San Diego, and issued in 1997/98, dealt with the social, economic, cultural, political, and environmental patterns of Native American, Spanish, and Mexican California through 1848. Volume 2 in the series, *A Golden State: Mining and Economic Development in Gold Rush California,* co-edited by James J. Rawls, member of the history faculty at Diablo Valley College, and issued in 1998/99, examined the pioneer industry of gold mining, its inception and development, and its impact on the state, the West, and the national and world economies. The present volume, the third in the series, is co-edited by Kevin Starr, State Librarian of California, and focuses on the Gold Rush and the migration and settlement of peoples, cultures, organizations, and institutions. Volume 4, to be co-edited by John Burns, former California State Archivist and State Historian and currently historical consultant with the California Department of Education, will investigate the inception of government and politics—statehood, early constitution-building, law, bureaucracy, and civil rights.

The California Historical Society's issuing of these major sesquicentennial publications is made possible through the contributions of all the Society's members, as well as a host of direct and indirect supporters. Chief among the helping agencies are the University of California Press, the California State Archives, California State University, Hayward, which furnishes ongoing support for editing the quarterly, and the Mericos Foundation of South Pasadena, which has provided a generous grant specifically for the Sesquicentennial Series.

Many individuals have also shared their time, knowledge, energy, and resources. The Historical Society's particular appreciation goes to Mike McCone, its recently retired Executive Director, whose loyalty to the Society and its people, faith in its quarterly, and executive ability that can move mountains made this series and other great things happen for the Historical Society; Lynne Withey, Associate Director of the University of California Press, who has been an indispensable part of the project from the beginning; Mrs. Johan Blokker of the Mericos Foundation, whose belief in and support of the sesquicentennial project has been critical to its success; Dr. Norma Rees, President, and Dr. Frank Martino, Vice President and Provost, of California State University, Hayward, who have provided generous assistance for the Sesquicentennial Series and the general editing office of *California History;* Dr. Kevin Starr, State Librarian of California and preeminent scholar of California culture, whose enthusiastic support of the California History Sesquicentennial Series project as Trustee of the California Historical Society and chair of its Publications Committee was indispensable to the series and whose introductory chapter and creative ideas and editing contributions grace the present volume; Anthony Kirk, illustrations editor, who applied his unequaled knowledge and appreciation of California iconography to discover, edit, caption, and interpret a stunning series of images, in many cases never before published; and Marlene Smith-Baranzini, associate editor of *California History* and true partner-editor in every facet of this volume, this series, and all other undertakings of the quarterly. Other important contributors include assistant editors par excellence Joshua Paddison and Peter Orsi; Liz Ginno, historian and member of the library faculty at California State University, Hayward; and Larry Campbell, Patricia Keats, Scott Shields, Emily Wolff, Bo Mompho, Cristina Magpantay, Kathryn Kowalewski, Jennifer Schaffner, Judith Deaton, and other members of the loyal, dedicated, and professional staff of the California Historical Society, San Francisco.

Our thanks also go to all the individuals and institutions who made it possible to use images from their collections in this work or who provided other valuable assistance. Although space precludes listing all their names, special mention should be made of Dace Taube, curator of the California Historical Society/Title Insurance and Trust Photo Collection, Department of Special Collections, University of Southern California Library; Peter Blodgett, Jennifer Watts, Alan Jutzi, Jennifer Martinez, and Lisa Ann Libby, the Huntington Library; Jack von Euw, Susan Snyder, Richard Ogar, William Roberts, and Walter Brem, the Bancroft Library; Ellen Harding and Gary Kurutz, the California State Library; Harvey L. Jones, Diane Curry, Claudia Kishler, and Jeff Kramm, the Oakland Museum of California; John Cahoon, the Seaver Center for Western History Research, Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County; Susan Klusmire, Colton Hall, City of Monterey; Elisabeth Peters, Montgomery Gallery, San Francisco; Alfred C. Harrison, Jr., and Jessie Dunn-Gilbert, The North Point Gallery, San Francisco; Patty Junker, Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco; John and Joel Garzoli, Garzoli Gallery, San Rafael; David S. Bisol, Santa Barbara Historical Society; Claudine Chalmers; and James Sandos.

One final debt needs acknowledgment: there can be no more talented, exacting, resourceful, dedicated, and collegial editor than Kathleen MacDougall, our project editor at the University of California Press.

Michael Duty
Executive Director,
California Historical Society

Richard J. Orsi
Professor of History,
California State University, Hayward
Editor, *California History*

1

Rooted in Barbarous Soil

An Introduction to Gold Rush Society and Culture

Kevin Starr

The morning of Wednesday, July 4, 1849, found the sailing ship *Henry Lee* at 29° 54' latitude, 77° 44' longitude, off the mid-Pacific coast of South America. Aboard were the 122 men of the Hartford Union Mining and Trading Company, bound for the gold fields of California. Organizing themselves as a company in Hartford, Connecticut, in mid-December 1848, the Argonauts had set sail from a pier on the East River, New York City, on the morning of February 17, 1849, on what would prove to be a seven-month and ten-day voyage around Cape Horn to San Francisco. On that Wednesday, July 4th, the men of the Hartford Union Mining and Trading Company, assembled on deck for Independence Day festivities, were enjoying, in the words of one of their members, John Linville Hall of Bloomfield, Connecticut, "fair winds, a gentle sea—bright skies—a bland, delicious air—health—cheerfulness—and peace."[1] The men had awakened to a gunfire salute, the ringing of bells, and drum rolls announcing the dawn of the birthday of the Republic.

How sweet it was! A little more than a month earlier, having sailed past the Falklands, the *Henry Lee* had rounded Cape Horn amidst ferocious storms and gales and freezing weather. As the ship tossed to and fro atop the titanic waves, the men of the Hartford Union Mining and Trading Company had huddled in their cabins throughout the short, short days and long, long eighteen-hour Antarctic nights. Many of them were wondering why they had left Connecticut in the first place. Hall himself was a printer; miraculously enough, he had brought a printing press and type with him aboard the *Henry Lee,* which Captain David Vail allowed him to install in a mid-ship stateroom. There, in the dim light and assisted by two other printers aboard, Hall wrote and produced a journal of the seven-month voyage.

Thus, in this instance, the Gold Rush began to document itself from the day the *Henry Lee* set sail from its pier on the East River. The Gold Rush would be about

Pick in hand, gold pan on his knee, a pistol stuffed in his belt, the Forty-niner Joseph Sharp confidently stares at us from across a century and a half of time—one of the tens of thousands of bold young adventurers who came to gather the golden harvest and transformed a distant pastoral province into a populous, prosperous, urbanized state. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

action—about the sheer physical adventure of it all—but it would also be an enterprise documenting itself all the while in an absolute torrent of letters, journals (including Hall's innovative shipboard publication), newspaper reports, contemporaneously published books, memoirs (published then or later), sketches, paintings, daguerreotypes, and later recollections. To borrow historian Louis B. Wright's phrase, the Gold Rush was about culture on the moving frontier: about the way that Americans imaginatively encountered the gold-rush experience or later remembered it and how they fashioned these encounters and memories into various forms of popular culture and art. The scholars represented in this volume, then, are linked to John

Linville Hall across 150 years in their mutual effort to memorialize and make sense of the gold-rush experience.

In his essay "No Boy's Play: Migration and Settlement in Early Gold Rush California," Malcolm Rohrbough analyzes how communities formed and reformed, or formed and dissolved, throughout the entire process of coming to California during the gold-rush years. Comprised as it was of Connecticut Yankees of similar background and values, the Hartford Union and Mining Trading Company represented, perhaps, the tightest possible community en route to California. Each member, after all, had bought into the project as an investor-entrepreneur in a joint-stock company pledged to a communal effort in California and elected their own board of directors and management. Their plan was to sail the *Henry Lee* as close as possible to the gold fields (their knowledge of California's geography was somewhat shaky) and commence mining operations, based out of the ship.

And what could be more communal than the exhilaration of that Fourth of July day on the high seas in the Year of Our Lord 1849 as, at half past ten in the morning, the company assembled on deck of the *Henry Lee* for speeches, readings, the singing of hymns and patriotic songs, and an astonishing twenty-five toasts, "pledged in bumpers of cold water," to the Fourth of July itself, the memory of George Washington, the heroes of 1776, the president and vice-president of the United States, the Army, the Navy, the flag, the genius of liberty, the fair sex, the Hartford Union Mining and Trading Company itself, and Cape Horn ("safely clear of your territories, may we be excused from paying our respects to you again, *old fellow,* especially in the winter"). At mid-point, toast number thirteen was to "California, The El Dorado of our hopes. May we not be disappointed, but find stores of golden treasures to gladden our hearts, and make ample amends for the ills and trials of acquisition. May our families and friends be enabled to rejoice in our success, and all end well."[2]

Alas, such would not be the case. Arriving in San Francisco in September 1849, Captain Vail sailed his ancient 500-ton ship, still supplied with a year and a half of provisions, up the Carquinez Strait to Benicia looking for gold fields within striking distance of the ship. There were none; and within weeks, perhaps even days, the happy band of brothers who had celebrated the Fourth of July on the high seas began to break up into groups and travel by small boats upriver to Sacramento for further deployment into the Mother Lode. It was at Sacramento that the company, faced by the realities of California geography and the difficulties, at the time, of large-scale corporate mining, disbanded; and the men set off, singly or in groups, into the Mother Lode.

Within a year, twelve young men, fully 10 percent of the original company, were dead. Twenty-six had returned to Connecticut with approximately $1,280 each to show for their effort. Seventy-seven were still in California, averaging some $1,239 per man in cumulative earnings. The general average of earned money for the surviving members was $1,116 each. When one deducted the cost of passage and equipment from this sum—and this averaged some $350 per man—it would have been hard to return to toast number thirteen on the high seas ("May we not be disappointed, but find stores of golden treasures to gladden our hearts, and make ample amends for the ills and trials of acquisition") without some irony and much sadness.

Hall himself returned to Connecticut in May 1850 and became a minister. The *Henry Lee* was towed down to the mudflats off the foot of Washington Street in San Francisco and turned into a storehouse, soon to be absorbed by the expanding city. And yet, the themes of Hall's shipboard journal—hope, community, physical challenge and danger, the exhilaration of being young at that epic time and journeying into El Dorado itself—reverberated, as Rohrbough captures so well in his essay, throughout the entire gold-rush experience and down into our own era.

There were predominately Connecticut men aboard the *Henry Lee.* Such monoethnicity, however, as Sucheng Chan asserts so well in the essay "A People of Exceptional Character: Ethnic Diversity, Nativism, and Racism in the California Gold Rush," would not be the case in the Golden State. Living with her physician husband in a log cabin in the Mother Lode settlements of Rich and Indian bars in March 1852, Louise Amelia Knapp Smith Clappe, writing under the pen name Dame Shirley, was amazed by the languages she heard all around her. "You will hear in the same day," Dame Shirley wrote in her Letter Fourteenth, "almost at the same time, the lofty melody of the Spanish language, the piquant polish of the French . . . the silver, changing clearness of the Italian, the harsh gangle of the German, the hissing precision of the English, the liquid sweetness of the Kanaka, and the sleep-inspiring languor of the East Indian."[3]

The Gold Rush, as Dame Shirley was experiencing it, represented an unprecedented instance of internationalism in world history. It can be argued, in fact, that the California Gold Rush more than any other event up to that time firstly and most boldly dramatized the increasingly global nature of American society in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Aside from the fact that the United States had been administering California since 1846 as a military territory, it can even be argued that the Gold Rush, in its first phases at least, was an intrinsically international—rather than American—event. Eventually, after 1849, California would settle down as an American state. In the first phases of the Gold Rush, however, the exact future of this polyglot implosion and explosion of global peoples remained, for the time being, uncertain: which is perhaps why, aside from the immemorial imperatives of racism, Americans seemed especially anxious, as Sucheng Chan so vividly dramatizes, to establish hegemony over all other peoples in the gold fields through miners' taxes and other forms of intimidation. Never before in the brief history of the American Republic, then a mere sixty years since the adoption of its Constitution in 1789,

The residents of Sierraville, high in the Northern Mines near Yuba Pass, turn out to have their picture taken, sometime in the 1850s. A supply center more than a gold camp, and later a farming and logging town, Sierraville took on the appearance of a traditional American community—with women and children figuring significantly among the population—earlier than most gold-rush towns, which long remained overwhelmingly masculine in character. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

had Americans, at that time still predominately an Anglo-Protestant people, been challenged to deal, simultaneously, with such a variety of races and peoples: not only with every variety of European (including the English and speakers of English from Canada, Australia, and New Zealand), but with large numbers of Asians (Chinese in the main, but also Polynesians from Hawaii, then termed Kanakas, and some Filipinos), as well as Hispanic miners from Mexico, Chile, and Peru—not to mention some 150,000 to 170,000 Native Americans and a small but significant remnant of Spanish-speaking Californios (Spanish, Indian, and African in their blood lines) and African Americans, slave and free, from the eastern states. For a people, the Americans, who had not yet settled the question of slavery (which th rest of the English-speaking world had earlier abolished, at least in theory), and wh as a population were aggressively white, aggressively Protestant, and aggressivel superior in their racial attitudes, the Gold Rush posed an ecumenical challenge o unprecedented magnitude.

Today, thanks to a quarter of a century of unsentimental and frequently revisionist research, it is easy to see that by and large, as Sucheng Chan's essay as wel as those by James A. Sandos ("'Because he is a liar and a thief': Conquering the Residents of 'Old' California, 1850–1880") and Irving G. Hendrick ("From Indifference to Imperative Duty: Educating Children in Early California") so thoroughly document, white Americans miserably failed to respond positively to the possibilities of the multiracial, multiethnic society that had materialized itself in California with, as historian Hubert Howe Bancroft would later put it, such a rapid, monstrous maturity.

The story told by Chan, Sandos, and to a lesser extent by Hendrick, is not a pretty story; but it is a true story, and it must be faced. Native Americans were hunted down like so much vermin, including their extermination by state-supported militia operation. Latino, Chinese, and, in many instances, African American miners were driven from the most promising of the gold fields or otherwise suppressed, beaten, or outright murdered, excluded from the protections of the court system, degraded in their fundamental rights and humanity. In assessing American civilization in that era—which is to say, when judging it from the perspective of the present, for all history is written to some degree or another in the present tense—the patterns of racial and ethnic suppression, so evidenced in the gold-rush story as developed by Chan, Sandos, and Hendrick, must be integrated into the larger pattern of America's two-century-plus struggle with racism and ethnic prejudice.

In one sense, the Gold Rush represented—although it was perhaps not recognized at the time—a wake-up call to the United States that it would at some time in its future have to deal with the global nature of American culture. True, that global nature was unclear in 1849. Indeed, it would still take another fourteen years, until the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 amidst a terrible Civil War, merely to end—at least formally—the suppression of only one American people, African Americans, through the slavery system. The racial and ethnic sins of the Gold Rush, in other words, were being perpetuated by a people who would soon be laying down the lives of hundreds of thousands of young men and maiming the bodies and spirits of hundreds of thousands of others in, as Abraham Lincoln suggested in his Second Inaugural Address, expiation and atonement for its racial sins. The misbehavior of Anglo-Americans during the Gold Rush against their fellow nonwhite miners and immigrants, in other words, serves as a dark and ominous warning that there was something very wrong in the American national character and only a great Civil War could even begin to set it right.

Even as we assess these sins, however, we can find no point outside of history to judge the frequently depressing behavior of the Forty-niners as far as racial and ethnic matters are concerned. Bearing witness through these essays to a terrible burden of past oppression, we cannot exempt ourselves from continuities and responsibilities of prejudice and racial animosities down to our own time. The Gold Rush shows us clearly for what we were, a nation with strong racist and ethnic prejudices in its heart. The Civil War made us pay dearly for these sins, but bad behavior and the burdens thereof have continued down to the present. Not until all racism and ethnic prejudice is purged from American society altogether should we feel morally superior to the California miners chronicled in this volume. The most egregious forms and possibilities of their misbehavior have been curtailed by a century and a half of struggle, down to the civil rights movement in our own time; but the surviving traces of the Forty-niners' disease—hostility to people who are different, who are the Other—is as lingering and self-evident as today's headlines.

Even today, however—no, especially today, in our postmodernist era, so desperate to reconnect with Native American environmentalism and spirituality—we can feel the horror of the genocide leveled against Native Americans in the gold-rush and frontier eras. Such murderous misbehavior continued across three decades. Bret Harte, for example, was working as a newspaper reporter in Uniontown near Humboldt Bay in 1860 when he went out on the morning of February 26 to cover the handiwork of the four or five men from Eureka who with pistols, rifles, axes, and knives had butchered some sixty peaceable Native Americans, mostly women and children, as they slept in their rancheria outside the town. Horrified by what he saw and fearful of retaliation, Harte could only report it for the San Francisco *Bulletin* under the pseudonym "Eye-Witness."

"A short time after," Harte wrote, "the writer was upon the ground with feet treading in human blood, horrified with the awful and sickening sights which met the eye wherever it turned. Here was a mother fatally wounded hugging the mutilated carcass of her dying infant to her bosom; there a poor child of two years old, with its ear and scalp torn from the side of its little head. Here a father frantic with grief over the bloody corpses of his four little children and wife; there a brother and sister bitterly weeping and trying to soothe with cold water the pallid face of a dying relative. . . . The wounded, dead, and dying were found all around, and in every lodge the skulls and frames of women and children cleft with axes and hatchets, and stabbed with knives, and the brains of an infant oozing from its broken head to the ground."[4]

Here, then, is portrayed a ghastly ground-zero point of racist criminality as seen through the eyes of a talented young writer who wished desperately to see the best in the gold-rush experience and would soon be doing so in a series of short stories that would win him international fame. For the moment, surveying the butchery, he must have seen California, as Henry David Thoreau saw California, as but one step closer to hell.

And yet, even as Chan, Sandos, and Hendrick tell their stories of persecution and suppression—and in the case of the Native Americans, outright genocide, frequently organized and supported by the state—they are also chronicling the foundations of a commonwealth, however flawed; and in that organization of a community were more than a few signs of hope. Of the peoples who came to California, no matter how much they were persecuted, none were driven out, or "ethnically cleansed" in current parlance, although there was more than enough reason for many of them to leave voluntarily in sorrow and revulsion. However clouded and compromised by Anglo-American misbehavior, a DNA code of diversity had once and for all been established for California, and this code would remain in force over the next 150 years until, by the year 2000, California once again echoes, as Dame Shirley first heard it echoing at Rich and Indian bars, with the languages—and the faces, and the hopes—of the entire human race. As Chan suggests, for example, the Gold Rush made of California an Asian place, and this Asian identity could never be erased. In the long run, the Chinese refused to remain victims. Even as they were being persecuted, in fact, as Chan shows, they protested their treatment in the name of the rich and complex civilization that had produced them. In the years that followed, the Chinese helped establish the foundations of California agriculture, achieved the western link of the transcontinental railroad (an example of Chinese engineering comparable to the Great Wall of China itself) and in the Sacramento Valley inaugurated a century-long effort at irrigation and flood control.

And as Sandos suggests, the Hispanic Californians were linked to a civilization that would in time also reclaim California for its own. Here, as in Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona, but with a more immediate and representative clash, were encountering each other two of the three dominant language and cultural groups that, along with the French of Canada and Louisiana, had most successfully colonized the New World. Despite all the negative things that must be chronicled—especially the betrayal represented by the Land Act of 1851, which placed the burden of proof of land ownership upon Hispanic Californians and thus drove so many of them into bankruptcy in the effort to pay their legal bills—the Gold Rush announced to Anglo-America that in its own cloudy and obscure way English-speaking peoples shared the New World with Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking peoples: that the United States was only part of a complex bi-hemispheric mosaic of races, languages, and cultures. The young men of the Hartford Union Mining and Trading Company, indeed all those who sailed to California around the Horn or later via the Isthmus of Panama, touching upon Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking cities, were having their first experience of such pan-American diversity. The most skilled and resourceful miners, moreover, the Chileans, the Peruvians, the Mexicans—people with a centuries-long knowledge of mining—established the mining culture of the

A southern Maidu, or Nisenan, holds a quiver of arrows for a studio portrait, about 1850. It was the near the Maidu village called Cullumah that James Marshall discovered gold in 1848, precipitating a mad rush of fortune seekers who overran Indian lands. The Maidu were among the early miners, though they chiefly worked for whites. With the outbreak of hostilities between the Maidu and Argonauts from Oregon Territory in March 1849, they were the first of the California tribes to suffer from American attitudes toward indigenous peoples, which within a couple of decades would decimate Indian numbers and nearly destroy their cultures. *Courtesy Southwest Museum, Los Angeles, N.24675.*

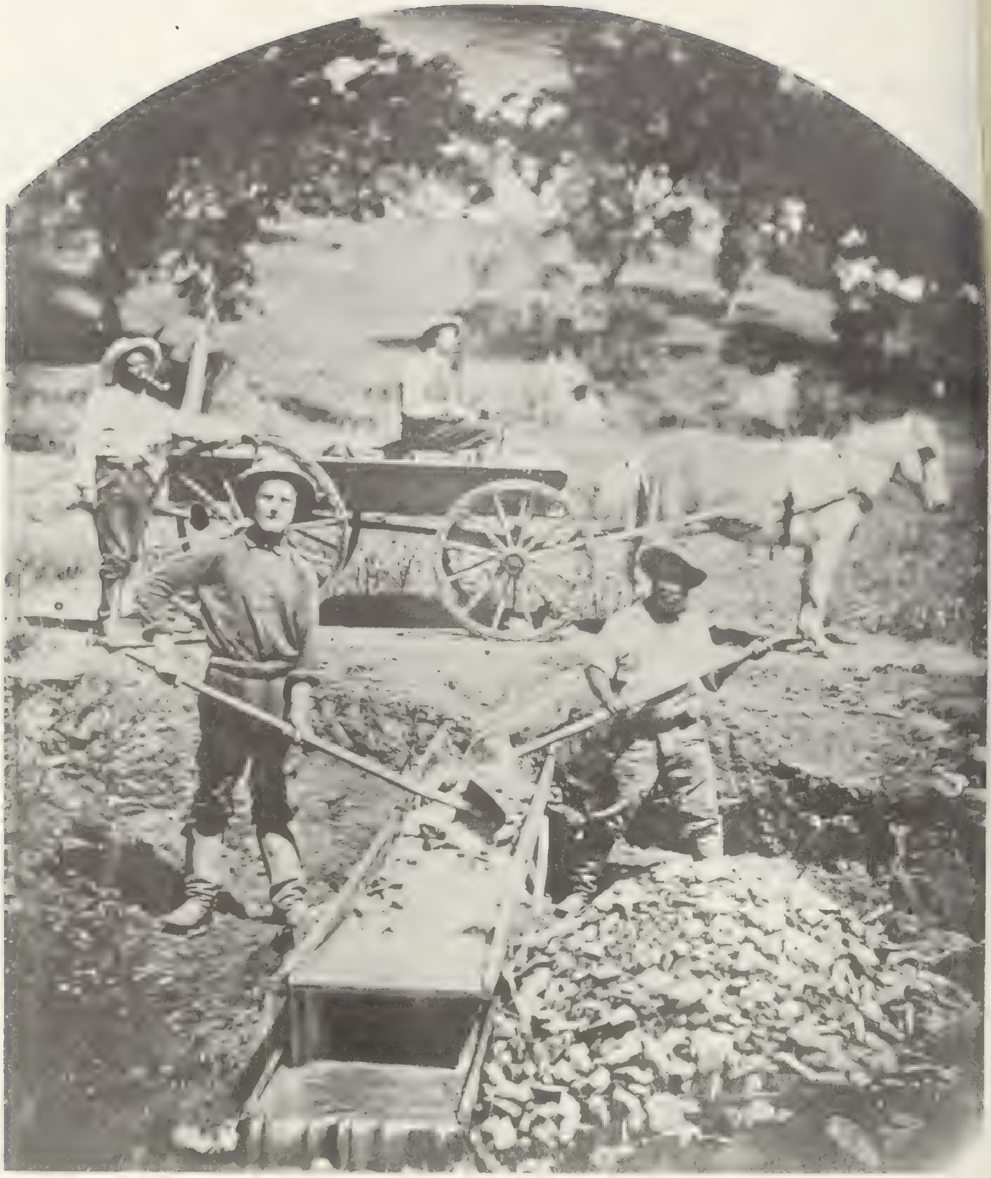
Gold Rush and taught the Americans how to mine. In southern California especially, Spanish-speaking Californios, who had defeated the American dragoons at the Battle of San Pascual on December 6, 1846, held onto their way of life well into the 1870s. One of them, Romualdo Pacheco, served briefly, from February to December 1875, as the twelfth governor of the state and after that went on to Congress.

The Gold Rush, in short, was about the amalgamation, assimilation, and transformation of peoples and cultures as well as it was about the suppression by the strong of the weak. Women, for example, were still some sixty years from their political emancipation when the Gold Rush broke out; but as Nancy J. Taniguchi points out in her essay "Weaving a Different World: Women and the California Gold Rush," the entire epoch is today understood to have been much more feminine than it was once thought to be. In times past—during, say, the centennial of the Gold Rush in 1949—the archetypal Forty-niner was depicted as a bearded white male in middle age wearing Levis and one of those Gabby Hayes hats with the front brim pinned to the crown. Today, thanks to the research efforts of a generation of historians, we see the Gold Rush as multiethnic and multicultural and bi-gendered. What stories might be told, for one thing, as Taniguchi suggests, regarding those women who dressed in men's clothing and, whether passing or being accepted by men as women of a special sort, took their chances alongside the other miners, pistols and bowie knives tucked into their belts. There were only a few of these, of course. Most women, again as Taniguchi depicts them, dressed in skirts and bonnets as they assisted their men in the mines, or ran boardinghouses, or in the case of Dame Shirley, achieved one of the first sustained interpretations of life in the mines, which became in turn one of the platform planks of gold-rush literature.

Later writers, Bret Harte and Hubert Howe Bancroft for example, tended to perpetuate the myth that all women were treated with respect, even reverence, in the mining towns and settlements, and even shady ladies were accorded a measure of respect. Yet the hanging of Juanita in Downieville in July 1850 for stabbing to death a man who was trying to break into her cabin underscores what is perhaps a more historic reality: namely, that it was not easy to be a woman in the Gold Rush, whether a woman were Anglo-American, Mexican, French, African American, or Chinese. With so few women around, sexual jealousy, followed by communal rage as in the case of Juanita, could also be an expected response along with the more trumpeted myth of punctilious chivalry. Women had to take care for their physical safety, and the court records from the era reveal that many of them suffered one or another form of assault. Yet the women of the Gold Rush did prevail in a predominately man's world amidst an overwhelmingly masculine atmosphere; and they prevailed up and down the social ladder and across ethnic lines. Protestant church ladies such as Sarah Royce, mother of the future philosopher Josiah, prevailed in keeping their families together during the long trek across the continent by covered wagon and in the mines of Grass Valley. Other women, such as Sarah B. Gillespie of the Presbyterian Missionary Church at Macao, China, and Sister Frances Assisium McEnnis of the Sisters of Charity, came specifically for religious purposes. Jewish women tended to their families and saw to the Hebrew education of their children. Then there were the women, such as Mary Jane Megquier and the widow Mary Ball, who kept boardinghouses, or Mary Ellen Pleasant, a free woman of African descent who invested wisely in San Francisco real estate. Sarah Kirby managed the house at the Eagle Theatre in Sacramento, and hundreds of other women made respectable livings in cooking and domestic work, frequently in their own establishments. Elsewhere in the mid-Victorian hierarchy of social status were the women who tended bar or dealt the cards in various establishments. A woman such as actress Lola Montez, onetime mistress to the King of Bavaria, occupied a social niche of her own.

The sheer challenge of California—the physical challenges, the fluid and uncertain nature of society, female minority status compounded by mid-Victorian constraints, the sheer anthropological imbalance of it all—made of many women in California, whatever their background, pragmatic feminists. Eliza W. Farnham, for example, had lived in Illinois with her lawyer-writer-explorer husband Thomas in the early 1840s before removing to New York State, where she served as matron of women at Sing Sing Prison. With the death of her husband in San Francisco in 1849, while he had been exploring the Far West, Eliza Farnham's thoughts turned to California, to which she hoped to travel as escort to a group of respectable unmarried women in search of husbands. California, she and the three compatriots who ultimately sailed with her discovered, was not for the wilting, the neurasthenic, or the overly genteel. A woman who came to California, Farnham wrote in *California, In-Doors and Out; or How We Farm, Mine and Live Generally in the Golden State* (1856), should not expect a life of genteel leisure or even a society that would engage, at this point (of its development), "the higher orders of female intelligence." There was just too much work to do. "The necessities to be served here," Farnham noted, "are physical; washing linen, cleansing houses, cooking, nursing, etc. and I would advise no woman to come alone to the country who has not strength, willingness, and skill for one or other of these occupations; who has not, also, fortitude, indomitable resolution, dauntless courage, and a clear self-respect which will alike forbid her doing anything unworthy herself, or esteeming anything to be so, which her judgement and conscience approve."[5]

Farnham is less than obliquely hinting here that the sexual standards of California—or, at the least, what constituted respectability or acceptability—were different from those of the eastern states. A respectable woman in California, Farnham claimed, "will feel herself in an enemy's country, where she is to watch and ward with tireless vigilance, and live, unless she be very happily circumstanced, alone, entirely alone,



Two miners—one white, one black—work a claim on Spanish Flat in 1852. Most of the adventurers who set out for the new El Dorado were white Americans. But by the date this daguerreotype was made, some two thousand Argonauts of African ancestry had joined in the Gold Rush, which lured adventurers from around the world and created a society of such ethnic and cultural diversity that it was one of the wonders of the day. *Courtesy California State Library.*

and bear her trials in silence. None but the pure and strong-hearted of my sex should come alone to this land."[6]

The fact that a onetime women's matron at Sing Sing penitentiary was so obviously finding California morally compromised must in some way be connected to the flourishing culture of prostitution that prevailed in California during the Gold Rush and through the second half of the nineteenth century. Neither Taniguchi nor any of the other essayists in this volume, however, spend much time on this topic; which is to the good, for the prostitute, especially if she is depicted as having a heart of gold, has been overly sentimentalized in gold-rush and frontier lore. Taniguchi's essay is especially welcomed because it gives us so many more images of prevailing, surviving women to counter prior depictions of prostitution in gold-rush and frontier California, although here too, in the matter of whoredom, there is a valid history, and the story should be told.

On the other hand, there remains the question of sexuality on the gold-rush frontier; and few have treated this topic more tellingly than Susan Lee Johnson, both in her brilliant Yale doctoral dissertation of 1993, the basis of her new study *Roaring Camp: The Social World of the California Gold Rush,* and her essay in this volume, "'My own private life': Toward a History of Desire in Gold Rush California." In *Three Years in California* (1857), the Scottish artist J. D. Borthwick described an evening in San Andreas, Calaveras County, in which the men of this all-male settlement gave themselves a ball, although not one woman was present. For several hours, men danced with men to the music of a fiddle and a flute. Some men played the part of women, and the dance caller announced each movement of the dance as if women were present. Men playing women signified their roles, Borthwick wrote, by wearing "a patch on a certain part of his inexpressibles," which is to say, large squares of canvas attached to the flys of their jeans.[7]

Prior generations of California historians, encountering such passages as this—and there are many in the multitudinous literature of the California Gold Rush—passed them by with hardly a notice or, when they noticed them at all, did so with a faint sense of disquiet. What could all this mean, anyway, and hadn't the historian best be getting on to more properly historical questions? Susan Lee Johnson, by contrast, belongs to a generation of historians for whom the ebb and flow of eros, its feints and masks, are at the very basis of historical experience, especially as sex reveals cultural attitudes and sexual arrangements reveal social power. In her provocative dissertation, "'The Gold She Gathered': Difference, Domination, and California's Southern Mines, 1848–1853," Johnson gathered a potpourri of outright evidence and subtle clues to suggest the intricacies of sexual/power relationships in gold-rush California: between white males and white women (this frequently in fantasy life alone, given the shortage of females in California), between white men and women of color (also frequently a matter of fantasy, but touched by hegemony as well), between white males and available women, white or of color (also frequently a matter of dream wish but sometimes edging into actual activity), between white men and prostitutes, white or of color (and here she adds much new information and interpretation to an already developed field of research); and, most blatant in the matter of power, sexual relations between white men and Native American women, which provide Johnson her most fruitful opportunities for cross-cultural analysis. In one instance, moreover, we find a white miner strongly attracted to an African American woman on the right side of mid-Victorian propriety. Evidence of such situations is very hard to come by on the frontier.

Most dramatically, Johnson chronicles the erotic or semi-erotic ties among Anglo-American miners. These attachments ranged from the stylized sublimation of the all-boy miners' dance to highly emotional friendships charged with homoerotic feeling, to strong suggestions of homosexual behavior and, in one instance, to the even stronger possibility of a lifetime homosexual union. Through a close reading of one miner's diary, moreover, Johnson explores new territory: the inner life of erotic memory and longing (and possible autoerotic release) that constitutes the most subtle topic of all her investigations. The vigorous and virile young men of the Gold Rush, in short, and most of the middle-aged men as well, were swept into California on a vast and powerful tide of eros as well as economic ambition. The assessment of eros as a force in history is only beginning. Provocatively, Johnson brings it to the Mother Lode. Never again, thanks to Johnson, will readers of gold-rush literature pass uncomprehendingly through passages in diaries about all-men dances, daydreams of girls back home, passionate friendships and sleeping partners among men, frequently brutal and sometimes touching encounters across race and ethnicity, voyeurism, and the more garden varieties of sexual expression.

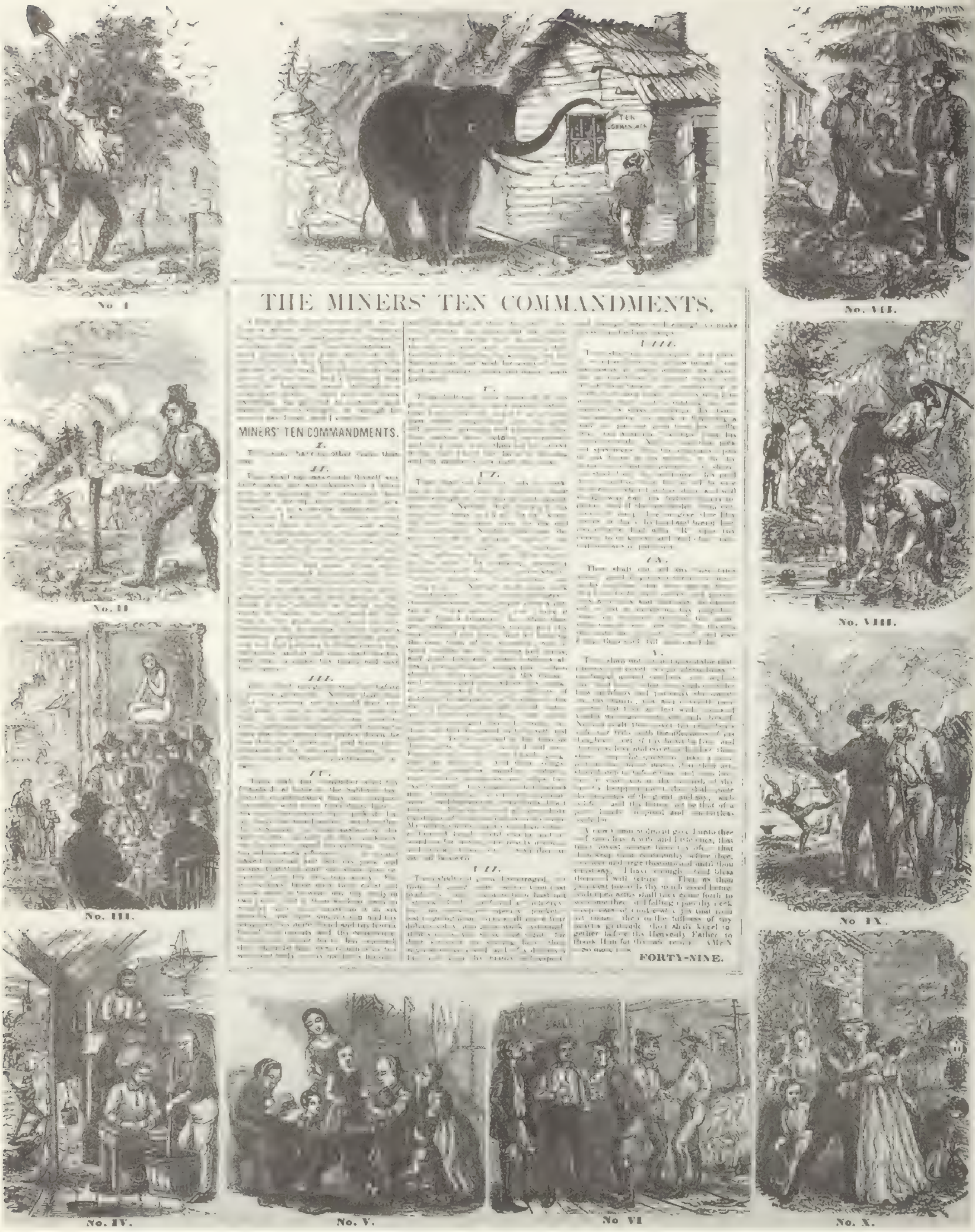
If eros represented a subtle but persistent, and sometimes powerful, force in the Gold Rush, so too did religion. Eros and religion are linked, after all, as profound encounters with the forces of life and death. As Steven M. Avella suggests in his brief but encyclopedic inventory of religious life on the gold-rush frontier, "Phelan's Cemetery: Religion in the Urbanizing West, 1850–1869, in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Sacramento," the global nature of the Gold Rush was also reflected in the arrival in California during these years of the world's great religions, including the religious practices and sensibilities of Islam, Buddhism, Confucianism, and the other religious practices of the Far East, such as the Chinese devotion to the Queen of Heaven.

Christianity, of course, whether in its Protestant or Catholic variations, held dominance, which can be expected, given the origins of most miners. Next came Judaism. So strong was the Jewish presence, in fact, especially in San Francisco, Stockton, and Sacramento, that frontier California can lay claim to having been uniquely shaped by Jewish values and sensibility, most notably in the city of San Francisco, where Jews from the first constituted an influential elite. But then again: the entire history of the American West demonstrates a special affinity between Jews—old American Sephardics and German immigrants, each of the Reform persuasion—and the fron-ier. In so many ways, these groups found in the Far West, California especially, their promised land.

Although rarely considered as such, the Gold Rush also represents a key chapter n the history of Protestant-Catholic relations in mid-nineteenth-century America. The Gold Rush came, first of all, at the end of a decade of anti-Catholic agitation leading to the Know Nothing movement. In his *Plea for the West* (1835), New England minister Lyman Beecher cast the entire frontier as a competition between the Protestantism of the Atlantic states, moving West, and the Roman Catholicism of Latin America, moving northward up the continent. At some point, Beecher argued, one or another of these religious forces must prevail. The entire history of Protestantism in California during the Gold Rush and through the 1850s, in fact, can be read as an effort by the largely New England-originated missionaries of the American Home Missionary Society to capture California as a Protestant commonwealth, a New England on the Pacific Coast. As the Reverend Timothy Dwight Hunt put it preaching to the New England Society of San Francisco on the December 22, 1852, anniversary of the landing at Plymouth Rock: "You are the representatives of a land which is the model for every other. You belong to a family whose dead are the pride of the living. Preserve your birth-right . . . Here is our Colony. No higher ambition could urge us to noble deeds than, on the basis of the colony of Plymouth, to make California the Massachusetts of the Pacific."[8]

Roman Catholics, most obviously, had other ideas, as suggested by the Franciscan missions themselves, the early presence of Jesuits in higher education in Santa Clara and San Francisco, the speedy elevation by Rome of San Francisco into an archdiocese, the equally speedy appearance of teaching Dominican sisters in Benicia and nursing Sisters of Charity in San Francisco and elsewhere, and even, as Avella points out, the presence in San Francisco of a Chinese priest fluent in Italian. While Yankee and Southern miners tended to be Protestant, Irish (including the Australian Irish), French, Chilean, Peruvian, and Sonoran miners tended to be Roman Catholic, as were the Californios and some Native Americans, the descendants of the Spanish mission neophytes. For some observers, moreover, California was more than just a place where Catholics could be found; California was, as the Reverend Hugh Quigley, a priest of the Archdiocese of San Francisco writing in the late 1870s put it, a natural melding ground between immigrant and native Catholic peoples.

Avella's central theme, however, is not religious competition or even the nativist *noir* of the First and Second Vigilance Committees, through which Know Nothing and Masonic elements sought to suppress a feared Irish Catholic presence in San Francisco, but the way, rather, religion offered an immediately available matrix for personal and social identification in a ferociously fluid society. Whether in Protestant



THE MINERS' TEN COMMANDMENTS.

MINERS' TEN COMMANDMENTS.

FORTY-NINE.

No. I.
No. II.
No. III.
No. IV.
No. V.
No. VI.
No. VII.
No. VIII.
No. IX.
No. X.

After toiling in the mines for a couple of years, the English-born Forty-niner James M. Hutchings wrote and published *The Miners' Ten Commandments*, an immensely popular pictorial letter sheet that began "Thou shalt have no other claim than one." The letter sheet sold nearly a hundred thousand copies the first year and enabled the author, in 1856, to found *Hutchings' California Magazine*, the third in a line of literary journals established in San Francisco. As all observers agreed, no other frontier attracted so many educated men, ensuring an early and profuse flowering of literature in gold-rush California. *California Historical Society, FN-30872.*

r Catholic churches, Jewish synagogues, or the Chinese Joss House in Weaverville, rinity County, religion offered men and women a long way from home a means of eminding themselves of who they were, where they had come from, and where they night be going. With death so omnipresent in the Gold Rush, it is not surprising hat Avella begins his essay with a catastrophe, namely, the explosion of the steamer *earl* in Sacramento on January 7, 1854—which killed fifty-five and injured one undred—and the mass burial that followed. The gold country, Avella suggests, is illed with thousands of tombstones whose inscriptions—name, dates, place of origin, a scriptural citation—are in and of themselves mini-histories of individuals, so many f them so very young, for whom seeking the golden fleece ended in an early grave.

The remaining essays in this volume—dealing with art, literature, education, and popular culture—can be grouped under the category of urbanism. Not that such pursuits were confined exclusively to the urban settlements of the Gold Rush. The Forty-niners painted, wrote, sang, read, or otherwise amused themselves in a variety of circumstances, many of them remote and isolated. Yet as Robert Phelps argues in his essay "'All hands have gone downtown': Urban Places in Gold Rush California," the Gold Rush was not so much a matter of the lone prospector (who, by and large, belonged to a later era) as it was a matter of group effort and group settlement, which is to say, towns and cities of one sort or another, however temporary or ramshackle.

Once again, the Gold Rush brings us face to face with California's enduring DNA code: in this instance, its persistent sub/urbanism, its preference, that is, for urban or suburban density in contrast to the settlement of the vast majority of the population, as was the case elsewhere in the United States, on family farms and in market or semi-industrial towns. For nearly 150 years, beginning most notably with the analytical speculations of Henry George and Josiah Royce in the 1870s and 1880s, commentators have wrestled with this aspect of the California formula: its vast spaces, that is, its baronial landholdings leading to agribusiness, and its clustering of populations in urban and suburban settlements. As Phelps suggests, this tendency was present from the beginning.

For all the rapidity of their formation, moreover, for all their heedless and overnight ambiance, the mining towns of the Gold Rush—not to mention the more established cities of San Francisco, Stockton, Sacramento, and Marysville—were possessed from the start of an intrinsic urbanism of design and social function. This can most easily be seen of San Francisco. Again and again, in the diaries, journals, and books of 1849 and 1850, observers expressed their astonishment at how rapidly San Francisco was developing along classic urban lines. Not only did *New York Tribune* writer Bayard Taylor, author of *Eldorado, or, Adventures in the Path of Empire* (1850), make note of the rising urbanism of San Francisco, he predicted as well that the peninsula south of the city would one day abound in elegant urban villas and even a university (which

Designed in the fashionable Renaissance Revival style by the New York-born architect and Argonaut Gordon Cummings, the four-story Montgomery Block was constructed in San Francisco in 1853 of brick covered with plaster. The most significant building in the American West for some years, it long stood testimony to the riches that flowed from the placer mines of El Dorado and to the taste, talent, and creativity of a frontier society that blossomed overnight and created an astounding legacy of cultural achievement. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

forty years later materialized as Stanford). The value of Phelps's essay, however, is not only to emphasize the instant urbanism of San Francisco and the other gold-rush towns en route to becoming cities, but to suggest the urban patterns that can be detected as well in even the most overnight of settlements. Today, the Mother Lode, north and south, abounds with surviving gold-rush towns—Placerville, Georgetown, Sutter Creek, San Andreas, Grass Valley, Murphys, and Nevada City come immediately to mind—still possessed of the ability to surprise and delight visitors by their compact and tidy urbanism, their arrangements of streets, courthouses, and public squares, their picturesque placements. Something like an instinctive capacity for city-making arrived in California with the Gold Rush. Mining, after all, might have begun as a solitary or team pursuit, but it soon emerged into a more corporate enterprise, and that meant cities. And besides: even the most solitary of miners required, ow and then in his yearly cycle, hardware and provisions from urban retail outlets, cooked meal and a hot bath in a settlement hotel or boardinghouse, a glass of whiskey in a main street saloon, or one or another of the creature comforts of city life.

Within such densities of settlement, the arts and pursuits of culture and civiliza-on were most naturally nurtured. From time immemorial, cities and civilization ave paced each other, and gold-rush California was no exception. The surprising hing is that it all happened so early, so quickly. Coming to California in search of old, men and women almost immediately discovered that they must also continue o paint, sing, write, and perform music. In his essay "'As jolly as a clam at high water': The Rise of Art in Gold Rush California," Anthony Kirk dramatizes just how uddenly, vividly, and persistently the Forty-niners produced paintings and, by the arly 1850s, were buying and selling imported art as well. The past thirty years have witnessed a virtual explosion of scholarship and criticism regarding American art in California. Most of this scholarship, however, tends to begin only with the 1860s. Kirk, by contrast, places art in the very mines themselves and in the mining camps: sketches, later paintings, rendered with art supplies packed in-country in a leather pouch, drawn by the flickering light of a campfire. Once again, as in so many of these essays, the international theme is struck as Kirk chronicles the many European or European-born artists who found themselves on the gold-rush frontier.

Like Kirk, Michael Kowalewski, in his essay "Romancing the Gold Rush: The Literature of the California Frontier," is dealing with an artistic pursuit, literature that arrived in 1849, gathered momentum throughout the 1850s, and came into its own in the 1860s. First of all, and most basically, there was created a vast and nearly demotic literature of letters, journals, diaries. Americans of any education whatsoever—by which is meant at least a good primary education, with perhaps some high school or academy work—seemed instinctively to write well in the mid-nineteenth century; or so one is tempted to judge when confronted with the overall excellence of this first phase of gold-rush writing. Again and again, the diaries, journals, letters, or other writings of such spontaneously writing Argonauts as William Perkins, William Manly, Mary Jane Megquier, Edward Gould Buffum, and Hinton Rowan Helper assert the skilled utility of good writing in mid-nineteenth-century America. Knowing that what they were experiencing was important, both historically and to themselves, ordinary men and women took up their pens and wrote; and in the humus of this vast and sometimes near-anonymous groundswell of writing were nurtured more formal instances of literature.

But just as a few Forty-niners came to California expressly to paint, some of them—J. Ross Browne, Bayard Taylor, Alonzo Delano, George Horatio Derby, Prentice Mulford, Sam Ward, Joseph Baldwin, and Frank Marryat—seem to have come to California almost deliberately to write about it, then return east or to Europe for further writing opportunities. Figures such as Ferdinand Ewer and John Rollin

Ridge, by contrast, stayed on to function as literary men in a rapidly stabilizing environment. The Georgia-born son of a Cherokee chief and his white wife, Ridge represented an early and most pure instance of the writer—not the miner who wrote, but the writer pure and simple—practicing his calling in California. In this purity of intention, Ridge is joined, almost, by Dame Shirley; yet Ridge's best-known work, *Life and Adventures of Joaquín Murieta* (1855), together with his posthumously collected *Poems* (1868), is possessed of an intensity, a fierceness of literary intention, that raises it a notch or two above Dame Shirley's skillful and revealing vignettes.

Ridge came almost too early, and he certainly died too young. The 1850s, after all, was a decade of fire and iron, not poetry. How poignant it is, a century and a half later, to leaf through issues of *The Pioneer,* a monthly magazine established by Ferdinand Ewer in 1854 to carry the work of men and women "desirous of distinguishing themselves in Poetry and Belles Lettres, and the more flowering paths of literature." It almost boggles the mind to note that frontier San Franciscans, or Californians in general, in that still-unsettled era were capable of taking the time out to read such *Pioneer* articles as "The Anglican Arrangement of Churches in Connection with the Medieval Prototype" or "An Epitome of Goethe's *Faust*"! (Bayard Taylor, incidentally, would later do a grand translation of Goethe's great poem.) In any event, the experiment lasted for twenty-four months. Given the vagaries of magazine publishing in any era, much less the Gold Rush, which had other things on its mind, such staying power only reinforces Kowalewski's central thesis: namely, that literature came early to California, came nearly anonymously in the Gold Rush, and by the 1860s—in the writings of Ina Coolbrith, Charles Warren Stoddard, Bret Harte, in Samuel Clemens/Mark Twain, William Wright/Dan DeQuille, and the other writers of the *Overland Monthly*—was beginning to gain a national audience.

This formula of 1849 beginnings, development in the 1850s, and maturity in the 1860s was characteristic of education as well as art and literature. In this instance, however, California was on the curve or even slightly ahead of the curve; for the notion of tax-supported public schools, in its modern format, did not fully materialize until Boston in the mid-1850s. Irving G. Hendrick is generous in attributing the founding of the state's public schools to the expected cast of characters in his essay "From Indifference to Imperative Duty: Educating Children in Early California"—which is to say, John C. Pelton, the former principal of the Phillips' Free School at Andover, Massachusetts, who arrived in 1849 and established a school in San Francisco; Andrew J. Moulder, a passionate southerner who as state superintendent of public instruction did so much to establish a statewide school system in the late 1850s and 1860s (unfortunately including a strong Jim Crow proviso banning blacks and other people of color from white schools); and the great John Swett, a New Hampshire-born instructor at Girls' High School in San Francisco (now absorbed into Lowell) and later, after 1862, also state superintendent of public instruction.

Credit should also be given, however, to the Reverend Samuel Hopkins Willey, an other New Hampshire man, a graduate of Dartmouth and a Presbyterian minister ent to California by the American Home Missionary Society. Arriving in February 849, Willey lived in Monterey for a number of months before moving to San Fran-isco in May 1850, where in a carpenter's shop at Second and Minna in the Happy Valley district south of Market he gathered together a small congregation, which eventually established itself on Howard Street. Next on Willey's agenda: a public chool. Already, as Willey points out in his autobiography, *Thirty Years in California* 1879), the state legislature had passed a perfectly good school law, but San Francisco had done nothing about it, claiming that there were not enough children of school age in the frontier city to educate. Willey, however, believed that there were up to hree hundred schoolchildren in San Francisco. To demonstrate that fact, Willey organized in September 1851 a parade down Montgomery street of some one hundred school-aged children. A few weeks later, on September 25, 1851, the San Francisco Common Council passed its first free-school ordinance. "Ever since," Willey later noted with satisfaction, "the San Francisco schools have fully kept pace, in size and excellence, with the growth of the city itself."[9]

As Gary F. Kurutz demonstrates in his essay "Popular Culture on the Golden Shore," San Franciscans—or Californians, for that matter—needed no such reminder as Willey's parade of children to keep themselves amused. Drawing upon a wide array of contemporary sources, Kurutz depicts the Gold Rush as sport, as entertainment and festival. A rage for amusement, in fact, seemed to pervade gold-rush society, and this love of a good time dovetailed, as in the case of the theater, with parallel efforts to establish high culture. In other instances—the many music hall reviews in San Francisco and throughout the Mother Lode, for example—California was providing the entertainers of that era a venue comparable to the more culturally developed Atlantic East, in profitability, at least, if not in the hardship of being on the road in those mad, mad years of gold fever. Certain amusements—the pitting of bears and bulls against each other, for example—bespoke the underlying barbarity of the era; but against this terrible and degrading spectacle must also be placed the intricate array of drama, musical recitals, vaudeville reviews (to use a term from a later era), and the dazzling presence of such charismatic stage personalities as Lola Montez, Lotta Crabtree, Tom Maguire, Junius Booth, Edwin Forrest, Alexina Baker, Matilda Heron, and Catherine Sinclair. What must it have been like for the miners, so many of whom had not seen a woman for months, to sit in roughly constructed music halls in the mining region or the more elaborate theaters of Marysville, Sacramento, and San Francisco and hear such singers as Elisa Biscaccianti, "the American Thrush," and Kate Hayes, "the Swan of Erin," fill the darkness with the melodious magic of their voices? Kurutz's chapter is proof positive—if any proof were needed—that in the midst of all their trials and tribulations, their hard work, aching

A party of well-dressed tourists poses at Yosemite Valley, surrounded by the magnificent sight of soaring cliffs and great waterfalls. Although the Argonauts developed a resource-based economy that laid waste to mountains and forests and streams, their diaries and letters reveal they also delighted in the wild beauty of the Golden State, and soon Californians were making pleasure jaunts into the countryside, establishing a foundation for a new relationship with nature in the West. As early as 1855 James M. Hutchings organized a tourist party to pursue the truth of stories circulating about astounding natural wonders in an Indian stronghold called Yosemite Valley. *California Historical Society, FN-31529.*

uscles, and frequent disappointments, the miners of the Gold Rush also found ime to sing around a campfire, to be lulled into reverie by a violin, a banjo, a conertina, or a harmonica heard after an exhausting day, or to bowl pins in impromptu owling alleys, to play at cards in their own cabins or at more perilous gambling alls, or crowd into theaters and music halls for an evening of celebrity entertainnent, to watch (and to bet on) horse races and cock fights, to drink whiskey alone r in company (and the drinking of too much whiskey gives a disturbing edge to so nuch discussion of drinking in this era), to organize patriotic parades or impromptu hivarees, or sometimes just to rest by the fire, enjoying a companionable pipe of toacco and beholding in the flickering flames the images and shadows of the past and f the future, once one has struck it rich.

And so, cumulatively, as this volume indicates, the social and cultural materials of American California were assembled. For better and for worse, the Gold Rush esablished, once and for all, that California would be an American place. Yet it would e an American place with a difference. California would be international, for one hing, a diverse culture from the start, although that fact frightened and appalled many Americans and drove them to repressive behavior, frequently enacted into aw, which burdened the state from the beginning with a legacy of discrimination. More positively, the Gold Rush would give new meaning to the enshrined American imperatives of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Here too, however, there would be tragedies and paradoxes. The life that beckoned the Forty-niners, the prospect of a better life, a more free and exuberant life, was the very same life that so many of them lost in the mines, and, worse, that they took wholesale from Native Americans by random acts of violence and systematic genocide. The liberty, the exhilarating sense of personal freedom that only such a far-flung frontier could offer, was also the liberty denied to gold-rush immigrants of color. The happiness that was being pursued—so boldly, so joyously, with such zest and exuberance—was also the happiness that so many lost in the gold fields, despite their hopes and dreams, or the happiness that perhaps never once flickered, even momentarily, in the heart of an enslaved Chinese prostitute.

What we think, finally, about the essays in this volume depends, in part, about what we think today, now, of contemporary California and the present-day United States. For some, the Gold Rush is a panorama of delusion, aggression, lies and deceit, broken promises and empty dreams. For those who think this way, those long-ago years continue today in masked but still damaging forms. One hundred and fifty years ago, Henry David Thoreau would have also agreed with such a critique. Yet for those who believe that the California experiment, which is part of the larger American experiment, is of lasting value, the sins of the Gold Rush, while not denied or even forgiven, can be held in equipoise, in mitigating judgment, against all that the

Gold Rush positively achieved. From this perspective, there is a record of accomplishment in these gold-rush years (and in the essays of this volume) that seeks to rescue and make useful the complex, frequently ambiguous legacy of the past. In absolute moral terms, the entire Gold Rush, the whole vast panorama of it—the sailing of ships around the Horn, the crossing of the continent by wagon train, the hives of activity in the Mother Lode, the millions of dollars of wealth extracted, the cities created, the state established—was not worth the wrongful death of one Native American child, such as those butchered children seen on that horrible morning by Bret Harte.

Yet history, which does not proceed according to absolute moral guidelines, has a way of insisting upon tragedy as part of the process of accomplishment. Such positive results do not excuse the sins of the past; yet they do provide a hope that what has been accomplished has been, on balance, worth at the least some of the terrible cost. In and through it all, in and through what has been chronicled in the essays of this volume and the other volumes of the California History Sesquicentennial Series, the commonwealth of California was achieved: with its battered and compromised but enduring legacy, its desperate hope, that ordinary men and women, such as the Forty-niners were, would somehow find on these Pacific shores the raw materials, the physical challenge—and the moral challenge—of a better and more ecumenical American way of life.

NOTES

1. John Linville Hall, *Around the Horn in '49: The Journal of the Hartford Union Mining and Trading Company, December 1848 to September 1849,* with an introduction by Oscar Lewis (San Francisco: The Book Club of California, 1928), 97.

2. Ibid., 100.

3. Louise Amelia Knapp Smith Clappe, *The Shirley Letters: Being Letters Written in 1851–1852 from the California Mines by "Dame Shirley"* [first published serially in *The Pioneer* magazine during 1854–1855], with an introduction by Richard E. Oglesby (Santa Barbara and Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, 1970), 109.

4. George R. Stewart, Jr., *Bret Harte, Argonaut and Exile* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1931), 85–86.

5. Eliza W. Farnham, *California, In-Doors and Out; or How We Farm, Mine and Live Generally in the Golden State* (New York: Dix Edwards & Company, 1856), 156.

6. Ibid., 156–57.

7. J. D. Borthwick, *Three Years in California* [1857], with index and foreword by Joseph A. Sullivan (Oakland: Biobooks, 1948), 261–63.

8. Timothy Dwight Hunt, *Address Before the New England Society of San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1853), 20.

9. S. H. Willey, D.D., *Thirty Years in California* (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Co., 1879), 44.

2

No Boy's Play

Migration and Settlement in Early Gold Rush California

Malcolm Rohrbough

On the morning of April 19, 1775, on the green at Concord, Massachusetts, the militia of the New England towns first faced the power of the British Regular Army. Writing a poem more than half a century later to celebrate this dramatic moment, Ralph Waldo Emerson paid tribute to the "embattled farmers," who "fired the shot heard round the world."[1]

Just as the gunfire on Concord Green echoed around the world, so too did James W. Marshall's discovery of January 24, 1848. Marshall's gold flakes set in motion the events that we know as the California Gold Rush. But what events and over what a vast landscape and seascape! The first Forty-niners came from up and down the West Coast, from Sonora and Oregon, and then from the Hawaiian Islands. By the middle of autumn 1848, the news of the gold in California had reached the eastern states, where it rapidly spread from Maine to Mississippi, from Wisconsin to Florida, and eventually around the world. Marshall's gold discoveries launched a thousand ships and hitched a thousand prairie schooners. The overland schooners embarked from county-seat towns and villages across the breadth of the nation, from subsistence farms in the Ohio Valley to the great plantations of the lower Mississippi River Valley. The Gold Rush's appeal was universal, for those who joined the procession in 1849 and over the next dozen years embraced every class, from the wealthy to those in straited circumstances, from every state and territory, including slaves brought by their owners to the gold fields.[2]

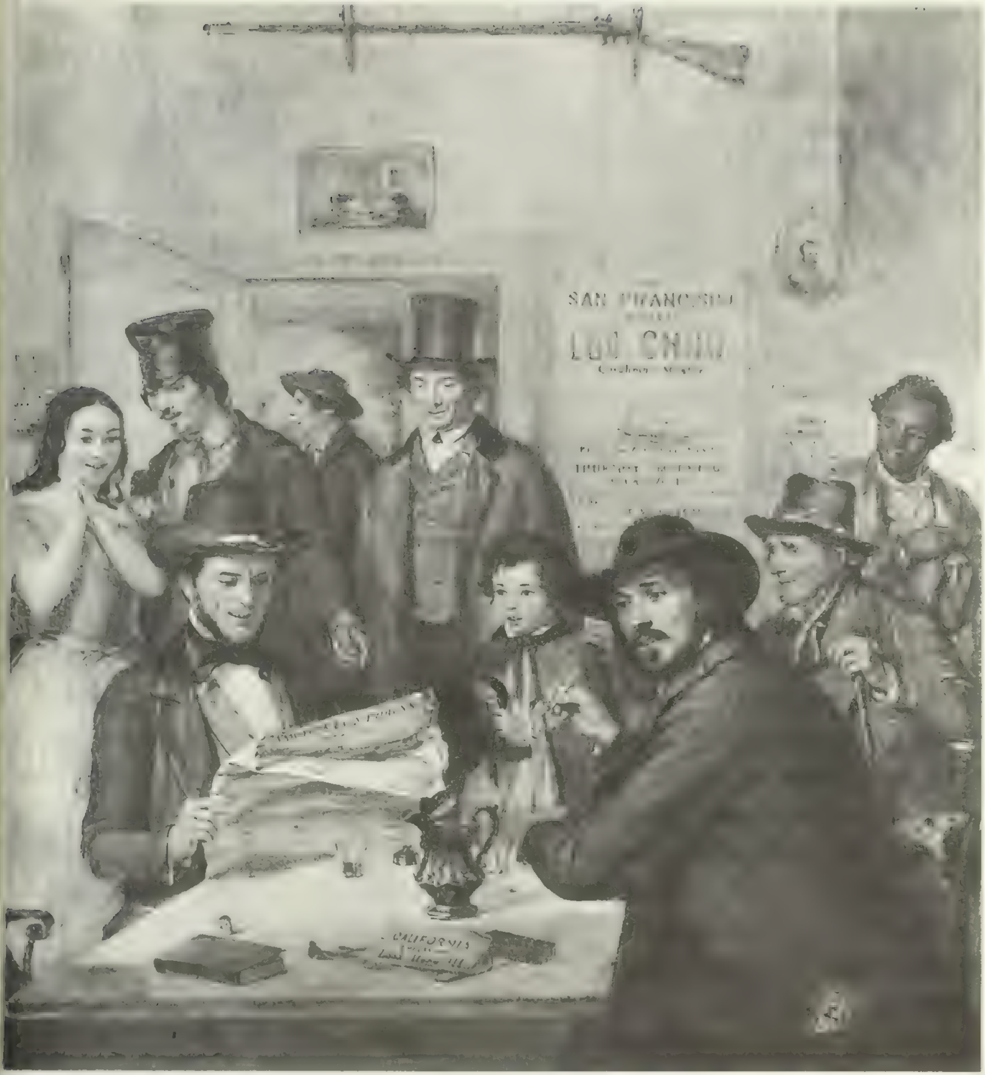
The discovery of gold in California was to trigger the greatest mass migration in the history of the young Republic up to that time, some 80,000 in 1849 alone and probably 300,000 by 1854, an immigration largely male and generally young, but not exclusively either, by land across half a continent and by sea over thousands of miles of ocean to new and heretofore unimagined adventure and wealth. And it would become an international event with immigration from all over the world, includin farmers from China and lawyers from Paris, miners from Wales and merchant from Chile. California would become in a few short years the most cosmopolita place in the world, and San Francisco the most cosmopolitan city.[3]

Initially, the arrival of news about the California gold discoveries in the easter half of the young continental American nation had been greeted with much skepticism, coming from the distant West Coast after a divisive war of conquest. Th evidence for the truth of the stories mounted slowly, and the discoveries achieve universal acceptance only with President James K. Polk's message to Congress of December 5, 1848. Polk confirmed the gold in California and added, "The accounts of the abundance of gold in that territory are of such an extraordinary character as would scarcely command belief were they not corroborated by the authentic reports of officers in the public service."[4] The army officer who brought the letters of confirmation had also carried samples of gold, some 220 ounces. On display in the War Department, the gold became a magnet for visitors, officials, and newspaper reporters. The glittering rocks washed away any lingering doubts, and the public gazed with rapt attention at the sparkling specimens. Their wonder would be repeated by a generation of Forty-niners peering at the nuggets in the bottoms of their pans.

Acceptance was soon followed by wild, uninhibited enthusiasm, and the news spread rapidly to the most remote villages of the American Republic. The impact of the news on one tight-knit community may be summarized by the observations of Prentice Mulford on his village of Sag Harbor on Long Island in the autumn months of 1848: "One June morning, when I was a boy, Captain Eben Latham came to our house, and the first gossip he unloaded was that 'them stories about finding gold in Californy was all true.' The report slumbered during the summer in our village, but in the fall it commenced kindling and by winter it was ablaze. Ours was a whaling village. By November 1848, California was the talk of the village, as it was all that time of the whole country. The Gold Fever raged all winter."[5]

This outbreak of what observers like Prentice Mulford called "gold fever" had an immediate impact. Editors scrambled to set the largest headlines and searched reference books for the best analogies to the past, with references to the "El Dorado of the old Spaniards," "the dreams of Cortez and Pizarro," "the Age of Gold," routinely filling the columns of dailies and weeklies.

A wide range of motives drove future Forty-niners who proposed to go to California. Of course wealth was the first and most public. In addition, the prospect of treasure opened by news of these dazzling discoveries at Sutter's Mill offered young people escape from what they thought of as the limited horizons of the village, the farm, or the shop, and the daily demand of labor associated with these places. It was not the young alone, however, who were propelled into motion. Men of all ages and



Wonder and delight spread across the faces of townsfolk as they listen to a newspaper report on the fabulous riches of the new El Dorado in William Sidney Mount's *California News,* painted in 1850. Prentice Mulford, who lived at Sag Harbor, Long Island, not far from the famed artist's community of Stony Brook, remembered that in the summer of 1848 word of the discovery met with only mild interest, but that excitement mounted through the autumn, and by winter "Gold Fever raged" through the village. *Courtesy The Museums at Stony Brook, New York; Gift of Mr. & Mrs. Ward Melville.*

conditions made plans to go to California, and a surprising number of wome wished to join them.

From the welter of newsprint and stories passed from one astonished citizen t another (like Captain Eben Latham) emerged two universal truths. First, the gol in California was real and abundant. Among the most astonishing features of th California Gold Rush was that the most outrageous tales of wealth were true. Th Golden State—it would join the Union in 1850—produced a seemingly endles flood of gold. While agricultural laborers in the East earned a dollar a day for twelve hours of work in the fields and artisans and craftsmen perhaps a dollar and a half for the same hours, men who were recently farmers and mechanics made sixteen dollars a day washing gravel in the streambeds of California's foothills. In the six years from 1849 to 1855, the Argonauts harvested some $300 million in gold from California.[6]

The second observation that came to enjoy full acceptance was the notion that gold was available to everyone. The California Gold Rush spoke to American values at midcentury: the democratic belief that wealth would be available to all, that success would reward hard work, and that the largest portion of riches would go to those most moral and worthy by the standards of the day. The discovery of gold in 1848 and its wide, indeed universal, accessibility to Americans everywhere was the reincarnation (or the ultimate continuation) of the American dream, the promise of a better life for themselves and their children through hard work. The search for gold in California became the epitome of American economic democracy: anyone with a pick, pan, and shovel could participate, at least in the early years, regardless of wealth, social standing, education, or family name. Hence this greatest bonanza in the history of the young Republic and newly crowned continental nation was open to all.

The appeal was immediate and universal. Everywhere, citizens of the Republic across the breadth of the land pondered the question of whether to join the rush to the West or whether to stay home. The whole family assembled to canvass the issue. This dilemma raised questions about a host of local and family obligations inherently woven into the miniature world of all Americans at midcentury: marital responsibilities and family obligations, in which the opportunity for wealth was measured against long absences that imposed new duties, often with reduced resources. But the prospective Forty-niners cast the opportunities for wealth in California as something that would benefit the entire family and perhaps in a few short months notably enhance its prospects for generations to come.

The gold fever thus began to disrupt families and communities across the nation, in states and in territories, in regions north and south, slave and free, from urban centers to the most remote farming homesteads. Discussions of whether to go, when to go, who would go, who had gone, and why, occupied many long evenings and evoked emotional outpourings. And for those who decided to go, there was the eed to raise the funds for the voyage, whether by sea or overland. Many prospec-ve Forty-niners appealed to their families, with visions of wealth to be shared mong all members. Young James Barnes of Washingtonville, New York, summed p the pleas of many Argonauts when he wrote, “Father i need thy assistance; dont end your son emty away. . . . i dont ask you to give me the money, only lend it to me ntil i am able to repay you.”[7]

There were other investors outside the family. Two capitalists each put up $2,500 o finance a company of ten from Monroe, Michigan, in exchange “for a quarter hare each in the proceeds of the company” for a two-year period. Another man ad-ised his nephew to invest $500 “by fitting out some young man, on whose integrity e could rely and who had no means of going himself—and agree to divide the rofits with him.” The sum would support “some poor but hardy man” for two years n California with the prospect of a good return for both parties.[8]

Those who determined to go often did so in a “company” with their friends and eighbors. The company was, in truth, often a replica of the local community from vhich they came. Within the company, an Argonaut might have one or two special riends. One Forty-niner described such a close friendship with the comment, “me nd John stick together like wood ticks to a horse.”[9] It was a familiar camaraderie; t was also a support network, confronting an unknown adventure of great distances nd strange and alien landscape in which the support of friends would be both wel-ome and necessary.

The company formed and the officers chosen, a period of intense preparation followed. Men who had been tied to labor on farms and in shops suddenly found themselves officers in companies preparing to depart for California. On them fell such solemn duties as victualling, gathering uniforms and arms, and drafting a constitution. The hum and buzz of activity transformed their communities, and they became the envy of all those who had wished to go but decided to remain.[10]

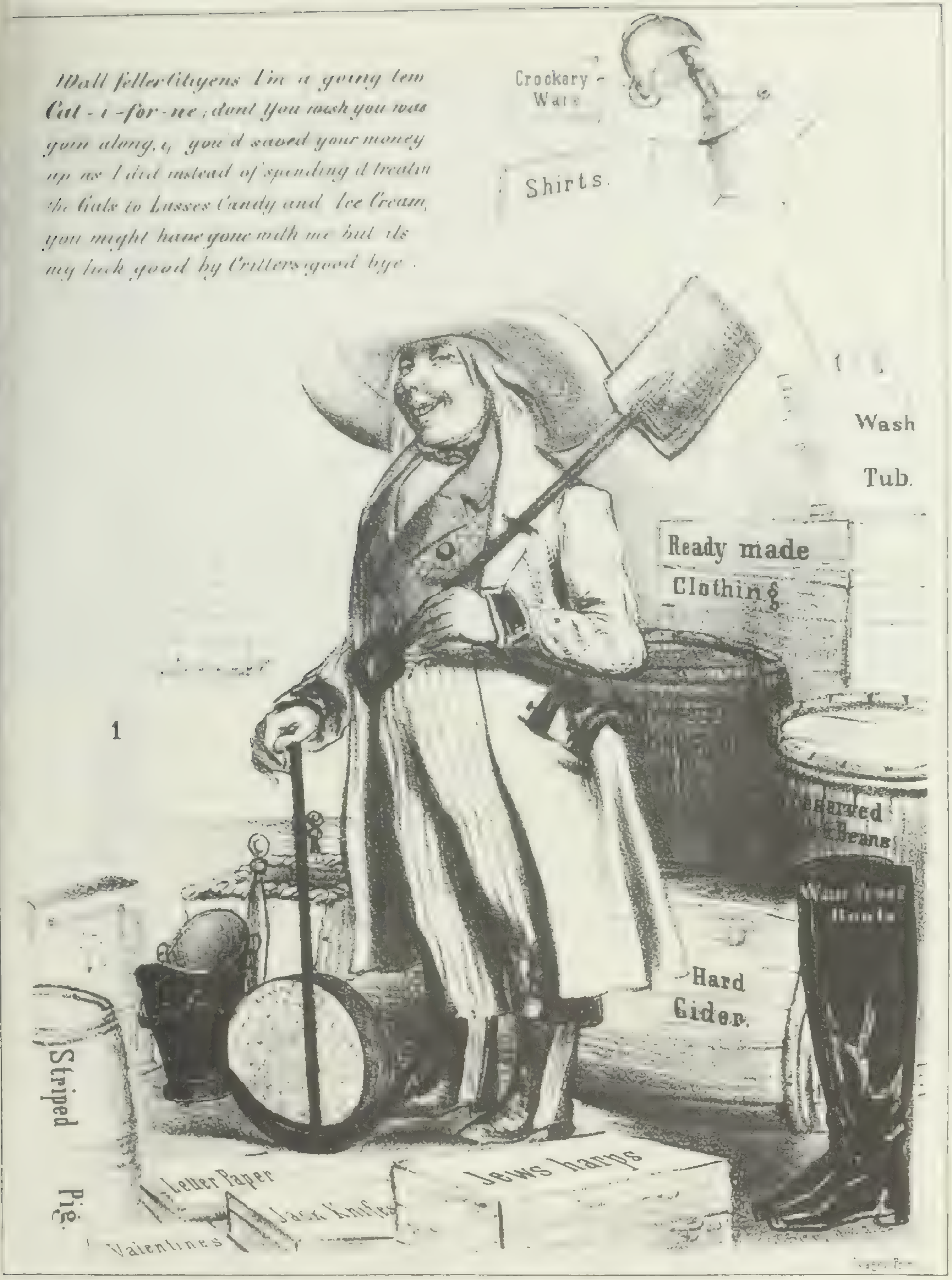
The outbreak of gold fever and the prospect of a large emigration to the West in search of gold was not greeted with universal enthusiasm. Far from it. Among those sometimes ranged in opposition were ministers, who saw the search for gold as mammon triumphant over the family and community. Such views emerged in a sermon preached by the Reverend James Davis of the First Congregational Church in Woonsocket, Rhode Island. His sermon suggested, among other things, the power and influence of the news of gold. The “gold fever,” the Reverend Davis intoned, was a national disease, a true epidemic. It should be treated as such. “The excitement is become truly appalling, and reaching not our cities alone, but our villages and towns and shaking every family. There never has been any excitement equal to it within the remembrance of our oldest cities.—War, Pestilence, Famine, the most astonishing discoveries in the arts and sciences . . . the advancement of civilization and Christianity in the subjugation of heathen lands—all these have never filled our land and the minds of our young men with such intense excitement. . . . The gold pestilence which is more terrific than the cholera, threatens to depopulate our land."[11]

Others argued forcefully that the discovery of gold was a blessing, national resources to be used for the national good. It turned out, according to this justification, that those who went to California in search of wealth did not do so as a selfish gesture, but instead they were patriots spreading American civilization and culture to the distant western parts of the new continental nation. These national heroes (and some heroines) would make California an American land, replace Mexican Catholicism with American Protestantism, supplant the Spanish language with English, and supersede Mexican culture with American values and institutions. This new national purpose gave a powerful patriotic dimension to the rush to California, as many editors and public officials commented in offering their blessing to the departing Argonauts.[12]

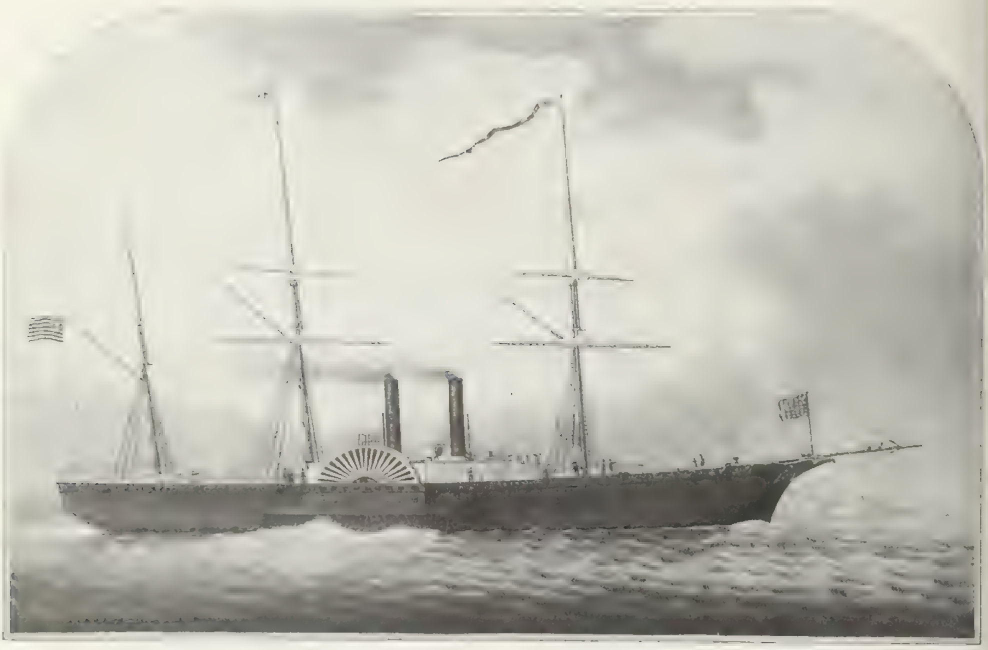
Finally, there came the partings. These were public with parades and religious services, or private, with a small gathering at the front gate or stoop. In New York City, "the docks are crowded with fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters and sweethearts, and such embracing and waving of handkerchiefs." One departing Argonaut threw his last five-dollar gold piece toward shore, shouting, "I'm going where there is plenty more."[13] And strangers joined the throngs of family members to celebrate the embarkation for this national adventure. In Philadelphia, companies of Argonauts marching to the ships "were greeted with Cheers from different crowds who stood on the wharves to witness our departure."[14]

For many, these were solemn, even sad, occasions. On the crowded wharves of Boston, ministers conducted final services, with sermons appropriate to the anticipated long absences and somber obligations owed family and country. In Prentice Mulford's village of Sag Harbor, Long Island, the departing men and their families filled the church for a special service where they were admonished to behave virtuously, remember the standards and values of their community, and return rich. As a special reward, these leaving Argonauts were then permitted to stay up late with their girls. In Bloomington, Indiana, two thousand people came together to mark the occasion with religious services (a Bible was presented to each member of the departing company) and to sing missionary hymns to the gold companies as the wagons rolled west toward the unknown.[15] These leave-takings lay with a heavy hand on the families and communities from which had departed their young (and sometimes not so young) men for the Golden West. These adventurers left behind spouses, fiancées, children, siblings, parents, and friends. Their absences would change sometimes forever the configuration of their families and communities.

So America went to California in search of gold. The companies went by sailing ship across the seas and around the Horn in 1849; they went by wagon overland from St.


Wall feller citizens I'm a going tew Cal-i-for-ne; dont you wish you was goin along, if you'd saved your money up as I did instead of spending it treatin the Gals to Lasses Candy and Ice Cream, you might have gone with me but its my luck good by Critters good bye.
Crockery Ware
Shirts
Wash Tub.
Ready made Clothing
1
Preserved Beans
Hard Cider.
Striped Pig.
Letter Paper
Jack Knifes
Valentines
Jews harps

With a shovel over his shoulder and a brace of pistols stuffed in his pocket, Mr. Hexekiah Jeroloman prepares to set off for the gold mines of California in a lithograph published in 1850 by Louis Nagel. Despite the broad humor of the image, the moment of departure was often charged with strong emotions, as the Argonauts took leave of family and loved ones they would not see again for long months or even years. *California Historical Society, FN-28823.*



The Pacific Mail Steamship Company's crack liner *Golden Gate* sails from port in a watercolor painting attributed to Charles R. Parsons. Built in 1851 to carry fortune hunters from Panama to California, she was the Pacific Mail's largest ship, capable of comfortably carrying eight hundred passengers. Although the Panama route was expensive, it was the fastest way to reach California. Argonauts could take a steamer from New York to Chagres, cross the isthmus, and, boarding a vessel for California, arrive in the land of gold a little more than a month after leaving home. *Courtesy Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.*

Joseph or Independence, Missouri, to Placerville (or Hangtown, as the Argonauts affectionately referred to it). Many companies bound for California went by sea, especially those within reach of the Atlantic ports. The journey by sea could begin at any season, anywhere along the coast, and could make the long voyage around Cape Horn or could opt for the shorter route across Panama. The cost was substantial, on the order of $1,000 for individual members of the company. But the conditions were ideal for companies or individuals with investment ambitions. The sailing vessel offered the means to transport equipment and other cargoes for use and for sale. Such companies offered opportunities for absentee investors to buy shares and transport goods for resale in California, opening the Gold Rush as a money-making chance to capitalists who would never leave the comfort of their rooms in Boston or New York.[16]

For those who went by sea, there were several kinds of purchases. For the voyage, the Argonauts needed barrels of beef and ship biscuits, butter and pork, rice and salt. And they needed them immediately and at the most favorable price. In addition, hey required personal equipment, clothing, tools, and guidebooks. These items were known collectively as the "kit," and companies along the eastern seaboard rom Portland, Maine, to New Orleans, Louisiana, advertised heavily as outfitting centers. To these basic articles might be added special equipment, "goldometers" or gold-digging machines of various kinds, and other exotic technology that immediately appeared on the market. Indeed, the first great bonanza of the California Gold Rush was in the port cities along the Atlantic Coast, where outfitters did a heavy business in outfitting prospective Argonauts and their vessels for the gold fields.[17]

The voyage to California, whether by Cape Horn, or the shorter version by way of Panama, was long, routine, and boring. Energetic, ambitious, and sometimes frantic Forty-niners, anxious to confront the wealth that seemed sure to be theirs, were confined on a ship for several months, powerless to do anything to accelerate the pace of their voyage to the golden port of San Francisco. Many Argonauts kept journals, in search of ways to pass the time and also in response to their sense of the significance of the moment. As relief against boredom, seaborne companies organized communal activities, from military drills to amateur theatricals to practical lectures on the geology of California or the customs of peoples in the ports of call. As the gold fields came closer, company officers prepared their members for debarkation and made necessary arrangements for dividing the company into squads of miners (a final gesture to military organization) and doling out supplies.

Members of the companies, idled by the long voyage, read and talked, smoked and fished. Above all, they gambled. It was something of an irony that, having been warned to hold fast to their traditional values in the face of the temptations of California, they would succumb to games of chance on the voyage there. But they did. Like so much else that would come to be associated with California, upright and God-fearing citizens of the Republic would be seduced by bad habits and sinful activities, and in this case, before they ever washed a single pan of dirt in the diggings.

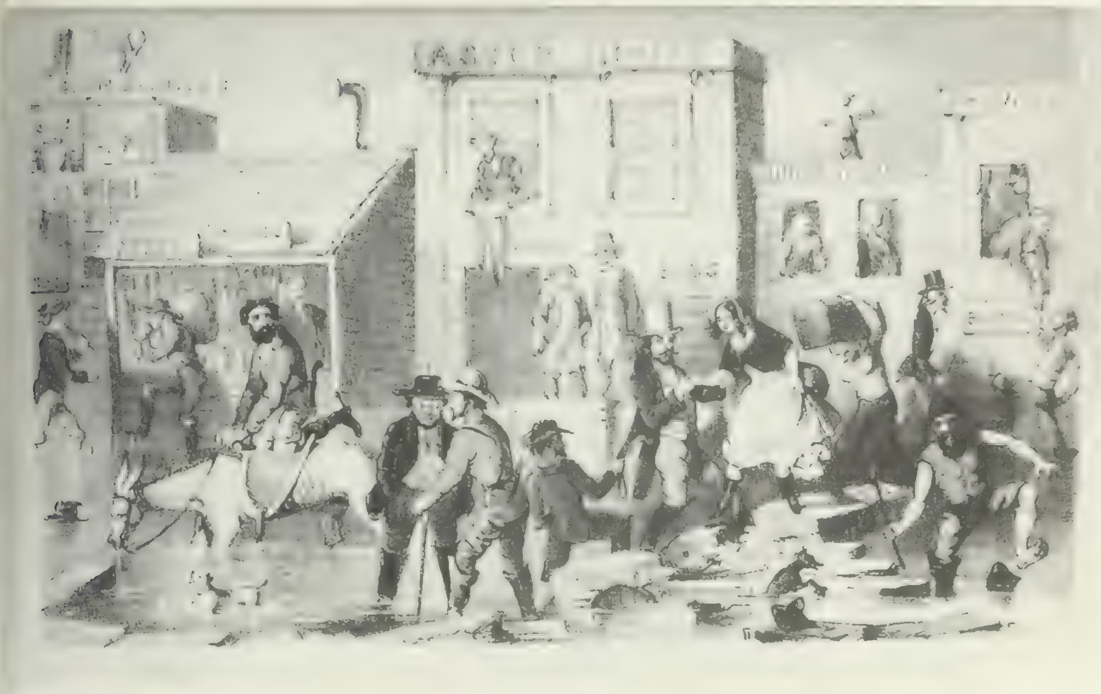
The long sea voyages invariably generated internal tensions and anxieties, sometimes even open conflict. To begin with, there were variations in accommodations and sometimes in food. Travel by sea to California (whether by Cape Horn or Panama), like sea travel everywhere, had a certain class-conscious element to it. Some could afford better accommodations than others. A few members of the same company brought delicacies for meals, and formed themselves into separate messes to enjoy their special treats. They openly intended to maintain social and economic distinctions between themselves and their fellow company members, as they would have done before the common expedition to California.[18]

Their ocean voyages exposed the seagoing Argonauts to new American places and to foreign cultures. Both often made powerful impressions. Some ships from New England, New York, and Pennsylvania called at Charleston and sometimes New Orleans, and there their passengers had their first encounter with the institution of slavery. By midcentury, slavery had become a dominant influence in American political life. Both Congress and the executive branch were already engaged in the search for an acceptable compromise on the issue of the access of southerners with their slave property to the new territories recently acquired in the war with Mexico. While citizens from the Northeast had heard much about the institution of slavery, few had experienced it firsthand. They now did so. Strolling through the streets of Charleston or New Orleans, they wrote of powerful impressions made by slave auctions.[19]

In the foreign ports of call, whether Panama, Rio de Janeiro, Granada, or Lima, American Protestants had their encounter with a Latin Catholic culture. They were impressed with the landscape and the grandeur of public buildings, especially the cathedrals, and even New Englanders often declared a sense of awe and respect, if not sympathy, for this alien church. The seagoing Argonauts were generally neither impressed by nor sympathetic to the local peoples, however. The Americans deplored local habits that they found lazy or scandalous or both. The universal targets of criticism were music and dancing, especially the enthusiasms of men and women for public entertainments such as the fandango. One Forty-niner expressed shock that men and women bathed together in Granada. Another described Chileans as "a very indolent and idle class of People possessing but little enterprise." And the Americans generally contrasted the beautiful and abundant landscape of Panama with the primitive agriculture and lack of commercial enterprise. Many travelers expressed relief on debarking in San Francisco, not only for the end to the long and boring sea voyage but also for the welcome sight of so many familiar faces and the sound of a familiar language. One Forty-niner wrote of San Francisco streets, "I seemed to feel quite at home among the good honest Saxon countenances . . . everywhere to be seen contrasting favorably with the sallow narrow visaged Spaniards."[20]

Overland travelers faced a formidable journey across half the continent at midcentury. Only a few thousand pioneers had made the trip to Oregon in the previous decade, and these had been farm families headed west in search of land. Never in the history of the Republic had there been a mass migration of tens of thousands overland to the West Coast in a single season. And in the spring and summer of '49, those who made the trek would include city dwellers along with people from small towns and farms, all suddenly caught up the great pioneering challenge of the day. The obstacles included great distances, the monotonous character of much of the landscape, the towering mountain ranges and deserts to be crossed, and fears of attack by Indians.

The migrations of the so-called "overland" Forty-niners shared both similarities and contrasts with those voyaging by sea. Companies were the basic unit of organization here, too, and individuals who went to St. Joseph or Independence, Missouri, without an affiliation always joined a company there. Groups and individuals sought out others with similar origins and values. New Englanders and



The Winter of 1849, a lithograph based on a drawing by the amateur artist Frank Marryat, depicts the raw conditions that greeted Argonauts arriving in the boom town of San Francisco. The Forty-niner William Jewett, who made port in December, wrote that San Francisco was "composed of the greatest conglomeration of trapsticks for the protection of humanity from the elements that the world ever knew." Like countless other gold seekers, he also expressed amazement at how the heavy rains had turned the streets into muddy lagoons. From Frank Marryat, *Mountains and Molehills* (1855). *California Historical Society, FN-31543.*

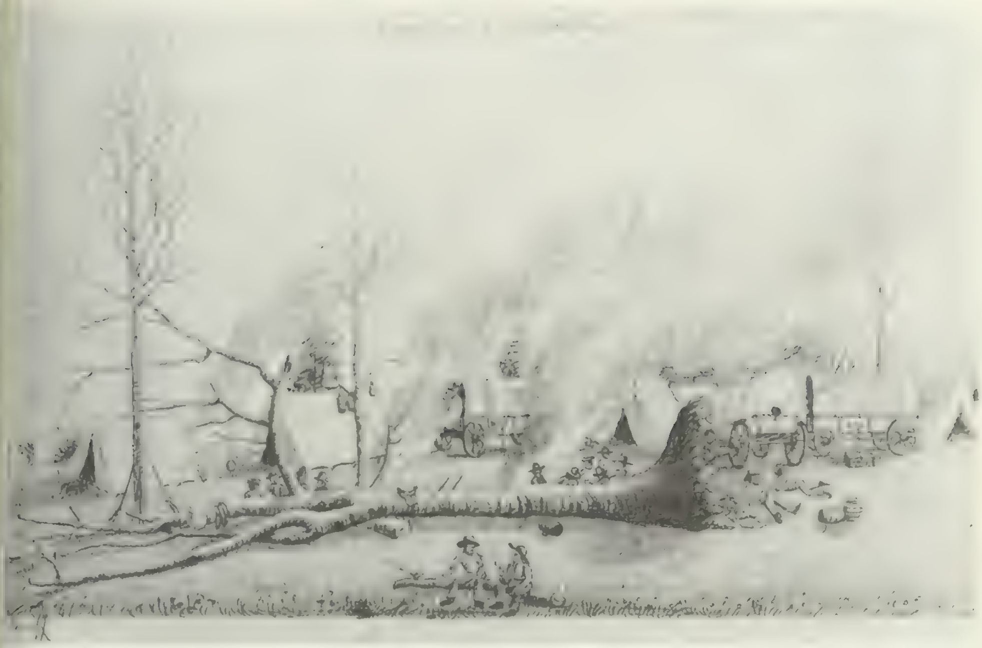
southerners sought their own kind, of course, but others with special concerns also united. The Sabbath observers joined in companies of those who would stop for a Sunday of rest; temperance men often banded together. Companies going by sea could depart whenever they wished (within limits of weather), and could match the ship to their size and their cargoes. Overland companies had to conform more to size and schedules dictated by the calendar and the nature of the journey. The trek of twenty-two hundred miles overland was a routine enterprise that, at the same time, imposed certain absolute conditions. The travelers had to leave the Missouri River towns late enough in the spring to find grass for their draft animals on the prairies, but early enough so that they could arrive in California before the first heavy snows closed the passes in the Sierra Nevada. In practice, this meant a departure date somewhere around May 15, and arrival at the base of the Sierra before October 1. The companies were cautioned to travel in groups of no more than sixty, for a larger number would tax the available forage and water, and to limit their loads to a minimum in order to protect the energy and health of the draft animals.[21]

Unlike travel by sea, the overland Forty-niners were constantly aware of crowds along the trails and the growing competition for water and grass, and indirectly, to be the first to arrive in the gold country. This sense of rivalry was the stronger because the Argonauts could literally see their competitors ahead and behind them on the trail. "There are thousands of men going along the road; in fact, it looks like the wagons hauling cotton to Macon just after a rise in the staple," wrote one Forty-niner from Alabama. "I believe there are wagons stretching in sight of one another for 500 miles."[22]

Unlike those suffering the boredom of inaction on the sea voyage, the overlanders performed endless daily chores. One Argonaut's observations summarize the accounts of hundreds: "When traveling, we are up at day break; and by the time the horses are fed, curried and harnessed, the breakfast is ready; as soon as that is dispatched, we hitch up and away. At noon—heretofore we have spent no longer time than is just necessary for the horses and ourselves to eat; but when we get to feeding them on grass, a little longer time will be required. In the evening, after stopping, the horses are to offgear, tie up, curry, and fed and water; the tent is to put up—bed clothes to arrange, supper to prepare and eat—which last is not hard to do—by this time it is bed time, and we 'turn in.' Then again, each member of the company comes upon guard duty once every fourth or fifth night."[23] On the trail, for the first time in a society essentially without women, the Argonauts had their first experiences in sewing, washing, and cooking, and they found these new duties awkward and even burdensome. Little did the overland travelers understand that this domestic work on the overland trail was only the beginning of a new range of chores that would confront them in the gold fields.

Unlike those who went by sea, the overland Forty-niners saw themselves as the vanguard of pioneers, a triumphal march of American people and values across the plains, mountains, and deserts that became the standard for the new Golden State. This journey across half the continent with draft animals was the final large-scale reenactment of America's pioneering past that stretched back for a century, to the migration of frontier families across the Appalachians into Kentucky and the Ohio Country. For the Argonauts of '49, it brought them face to face with the fabled symbols of the American West: the huge herds of buffalo, the dangerous Plains Indians tribes (feared but rarely seen), the towering peaks of the Rockies and the Sierra Nevada, the national monuments of Chimney Rock, Fort Laramie, and the Mormon enclave around the Great Salt Lake.

This great overland migration through the varied landscapes and peoples of the American West ended at Placerville in the late summer or early autumn. There, the



The men of the Washington City Company take their ease at a camp on Black Snake Hill, overlooking St. Joseph, Missouri, in a drawing made in May 1849 by J. Goldsborough Bruff, the leader of the party. More than thirty thousand fortune hunters massed along the frontier that momentous spring, impatiently waiting for traveling conditions to improve before heading out across the plains to gather the golden harvest in far-off California. *Courtesy Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.*

companies generally broke up, as smaller groups of six or eight men banded together and headed for the mines. Placerville merchants did a bonanza business in re-outfitting the newcomers and changing them from transcontinental pioneers into miners. Even those who had brought the proper tools and equipment to California—shovel, pan, pick, tents, blankets, cradle—now had to purchase food and to transport everything to the placers. Supplies for the mines—salt pork, flour, sugar, tea, and coffee—might involve an outlay of one hundred dollars per miner, plus transportation costs of another one hundred.[24]

Arrived in California, the gold seekers found themselves in an alien, new world. It was a world of strangers, not friends and neighbors; it was a world of self-interest, in which individuals had to look out for themselves (hence the great interest in joining together in small groups to mine and to live); it was a world in which prices for staple goods were beyond anything imaginable, and money seemed plentiful and its value diminished. Argonauts from all economic conditions expressed astonishment at the quantities of hard money visible (especially in gambling houses), even passing from hand to hand. "Gold is measured here by bushels and shove full," wrote one Forty-niner. And another observed, "Money here seems to be of littl value, & every person has plenty."[25] This was only one of the many strange qualitie of the new land that the voyagers, at last in California, attempted to describe to thei disbelieving families and friends at home.

The newly arrived Argonauts—whether by land or by sea—settled in varied places. These destinations included the growing cities of San Francisco, Sacramento, and Stockton; they established themselves in the many small towns and villages dotting the routes to the gold fields or adjacent to the diggings; they went in large numbers into the gold mining country itself. Those who clustered in the cities included professionals such as doctors and lawyers and day laborers who worked on the docks and on the streets. Large numbers also gravitated to the newly energized entertainment industry, which included dance halls, houses of prostitution, and above all, saloons and gambling establishments. These gambling halls were among the most elegant buildings in San Francisco, providing employment for many and making a dramatic impression on the new arrivals in the city. To these groups should be added the laborers in the booming construction industry and the clerks in the numerous merchant houses engaged in importing goods for local consumption and for shipment to the mining camps. Sacramento and Stockton were smaller than San Francisco but no less commercial, for they were the business gateways to the mining camps themselves.[26]

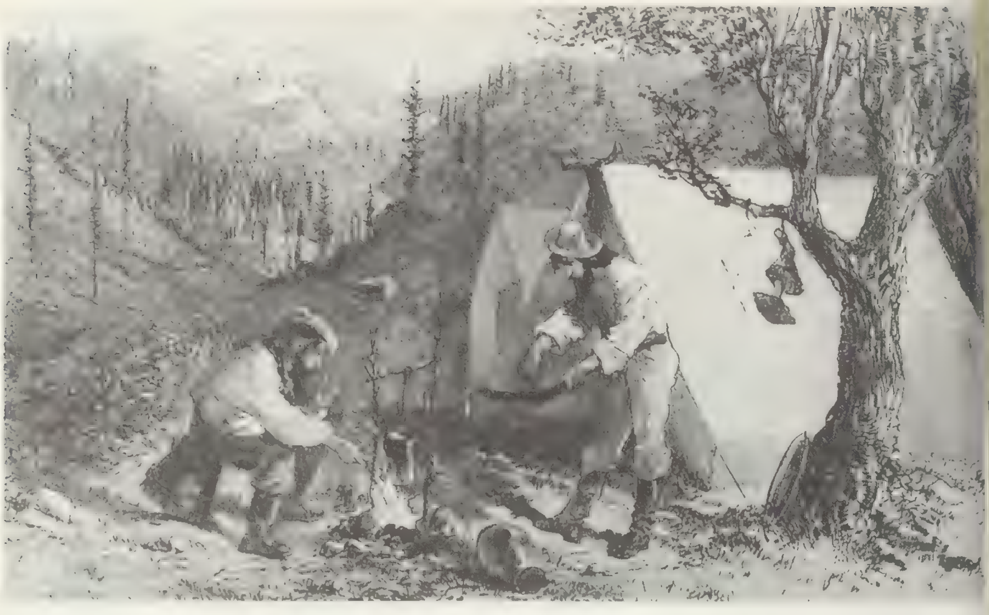
There were hundreds of mining camps in the California gold country. Some were as large as substantial villages; others were simply crossroads with a single street carved out of the forest to accommodate a few stores. These small urban places prospered in proportion to the mines they served. Their commercial establishments included stores for supplies, a boardinghouse, a restaurant or two, perhaps a doctor and a lawyer, a small entertainment place with a bowling alley, and one or more saloons. The sale of liquor was a major business, especially on Sundays. Business in the camps was generally defined by the mining cycle of work, and this included a day of rest and recreation on Sundays. So camps would be crowded on Sundays, from first light to sunset. Since mining was seasonal, closing with the beginning of the rainy season in late November or early December, so too, many camps tended to hibernate during the winter months.[27]

By far the largest number of Argonauts in 1849 and subsequent annual migrations headed directly for the gold fields. There, they mined in small companies, or "messes," of from five to eight. These numbers were most efficient for the mining techniques in use in the early years—the pan, but quickly the cradle and a "long tom"—and for domestic arrangements. The small company was more than simply a matter of economic and domestic convenience; it was also a self-selected group committed to one another in the most personal kind of way. The company as a unit of work and living

An Argonaut and his family pose for a photographer in a gold camp in the rolling foothills of the Sierra Nevada: the simple beginnings of society and community on the California frontier. From a few tents scattered along a stream laden with rich auriferous gravels arose crude settlements, which frequently grew into towns—and often with astonishing speed—as entrepreneurs hastily erected boardinghouses, stores, and saloons to serve the miners. *Unknown artist, daguerreotype, ca. 1850, P1988.1. Courtesy Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, Texas.*

offered support in case of sickness and even in case of death. That the sick should be cared for was part of the unwritten contract associated with shared living and working. Every gold seeker could tell stories of individuals taken ill and left to fend for themselves. Occasional accounts of Good Samaritan strangers emerged from the hustle and movement of the Gold Rush, but most Argonauts preferred to rely on carefully chosen companions. Here were the companions who would sit up with the miner taken ill, fetch the doctor, and make the soup. Here, also, were the partners who would close the eyes of the dead man, dress the body and bury it, and handle the estate. And, in a final act, they would communicate with the dead man's family and carry out his last wishes.[28]

The mining company had its origins in a work unit. As early as the summer and fall of 1848, observers had commented on the advantages of working in groups of at least three or four. By the mining season of 1849, mining in groups was universal.



Two miners prepare a meal at their claim on Weaver Creek, not far from Placerville, in one of the many lively, evocative illustrations appearing in *Three Years in California* (1857), a classic account of the Gold Rush by the artist-Argonaut J. D. Borthwick. Life in the diggings invariably took on a communal character, as fortune hunters formed small companies that not only mined together but shared in the domestic responsibilities of cooking, cleaning, and other camp chores. *California Historical Society, FN-30972.*

The work was of the most onerous and repetitive kind. Each day, the members of a mining company trekked to their claim and began a routine of digging, shoveling, carrying, and washing that continued unabated and with little variation throughout the day until dark. In 1849, most companies operated one or more cradles. In a pattern that stretched from one end of the Mother Lode to the other, one man loosened the "dirt," whether by digging or shoveling; a second carried it to the site of the cradle; there, a third washed the materials. The fourth or fifth members of the company would dig or carry. Miners rotated jobs to equalize the work and relieve the monotony. When a company exceeded six or so, it would operate a second cradle.[29]

The basic unit of work in the California Gold Rush—at least for the first half-dozen years—was the human body. The hard, repetitive labor of digging, carrying, and washing was often done in swift, ice-cold, moving water. "You will have to work in water & mud Morning until night it is no boys play," one Forty-niner wrote his parents.[30] Contrasting with the icy water of the snowmelt watercourses was the heat of the summer California sun, beating down on the bars and into the still canyons. The work was exhausting. "Mining is the hardest working imaginable and an occupation which very much endangers health," complained one Argonaut. "A weakly

an might about as well to go digging his grave as to dig gold."[31] Under these con-
tions, the company performed another function: it demanded and received a con-
uing work commitment on the part of each member. The presence of a member
ho did not do the expected labor—whether from lack of will or lack of strength
ade no difference—was a constant source of irritation in a mutually reinforcing
oup based on equality. So during the long work days that stretched into a long min-
g season, gold seekers drove themselves forward on a daily basis through a combi-
ation of restless energy, hope, self-interest, group loyalty, and sometimes desperation.

The same division appropriate to mining, with its unending physical labor, long
ours, and collective work, also helped to define the new living arrangements. For
e miners, it was cheaper and more practical to live in groups. From five to eight
en would occupy a large tent or cabin as close to the work site as possible, where
ey would take turns cooking, cleaning, sewing, and making trips to the camps for
ood and mail. The most important chore was cooking, for it involved all members
f the company. The duty of cook rotated on a weekly basis. As all cooks were am-
teurs, the meals tended to be repetitive. The main evening meal included meat
fresh or preserved), bread or biscuits, and coffee or tea with plenty of sugar. All min-
rs learned how to bake. It was a necessary skill, and most miners later remember
heir first loaf of bread as vividly as the first sight of buffalo on the plains and gold
lakes at the bottom of their cradles.[32]

Through all these frenzied activities, whether in the cities, mining towns and
amps, or at the placers themselves, most of the Forty-niners maintained strong ties with their families and communities in the East. Almost all of them, initially at least, fully intended to return home with a full share of California's wealth, to change the future prospects of their family, and to enhance their standing within the family and the community. Their migration overland represented the first steps in a long cycle of adventures in a strange and exotic place and their eventual return home. Their settlement in California completed the first stage of their experiences as the Argonauts of '49.

NOTES

1. The full text of the first verse of Emerson's "Concord Hymn," written in 1837 is:

> By the rude bridge that arched the flood,
> Their flag to April's breeze unfurled,
> Here once the embattled farmers stood
> And fired the shot heard round the world.

2. Histories of the California Gold Rush stretch from Hubert Howe Bancroft's seven-volume study (1884–1890) to the present time. Three of the most important modern studies are Rodman W. Paul, *California Gold: The Beginning of Mining in the Far West* (Cambridge:

Harvard University Press, 1947); J. S. Holliday, *The World Rushed In: The California Gold Rush Experience* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1981); and Malcolm J. Rohrbough, *Days of Gold: The California Gold Rush and the American Nation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

3. Rohrbough, *Days of Gold,* introduction.

4. Quoted in ibid., 24.

5. Prentice Mulford, *Prentice Mulford's Story: Life by Land and Sea* (New York, 1889), 1.

6. Rohrbough, *Days of Gold,* 3.

7. James Barnes to Jeremiah Barnes, October 21, 1849, Letters, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Later correspondence shows that Barnes's father advanced him $150 for the trip.

8. John Cumming has described the Monroe, Michigan, company in *The Gold Rush: Letters from the Wolverine Rangers* (Mount Pleasant, Mich.: The John Cumming Press, 1974), iv–v. David Campbell to his nephew, April 22, 1850, Campbell Family Papers, Special Collections, Perkins Library, Duke University.

9. Charles H. Getzle to James M. Donnelly, May 13, 1849, Kimberly Letters, Chicago Historical Society.

10. See, for example, the correspondence of William A. Pierce, member of the Rhode Island Eagle Trading and Mining Association, to various trading houses, William Pierce Papers, Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence.

11. Rhode Island *Woonsocket Patriot,* February 16, 1849.

12. See, for example, the sermon of Rev. Dr. Edward Beecher in the *Boston Daily Times,* January 29, 1849.

13. Katherine A. White, comp., *A Yankee Trader in the Gold Rush: The Letters of Franklin A. Buck* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1930), 31.

14. John Cowden to Theodore Garretson, March 4–9, 1949, Letters, Beinecke Library, Yale University.

15. Mulford, *Prentice Mulford's Story,* 5; Bloomington *Indiana Tribune & Monroe Farmer,* February 24, 1849.

16. See, for example, the "Constitution of the Bunker Hill Trading and Mining Association" that specified each member of the company could take "one thousand pounds baggage, or the bulk of five barrels in addition to his bedding" (Beinecke Library, Yale University).

17. See, for example, the range of advertisements in the *Boston Daily Journal,* February 5, 1849, and the Boston *Daily Evening Traveller,* March 22, 1849.

18. Rohrbough, *Days of Gold,* 56–58.

19. Ibid., 58.

20. Ibid., 58–61; William Elder to his wife, June 17, 1850, Letters, Bancroft Library.

21. John Unruh's *The Plains Across: The Overland Emigrants and the Trans-Mississippi West, 1840–1860* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976) is a detailed account of the migration overland.

22. John Milner to his sister, May 18, 1849, Correspondence, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery.

23. Henry Packer to Mary Elizabeth Judkins, April 30, 1850, Letters, Bancroft Library.

24. Rohrbough, *Days of Gold,* 120.

25. William Daingerfield to his mother, August 10, 1850, Letters, Bancroft Library; Albert G. Osbun, diary, June 16, 1849, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

26. Rohrbough, *Days of Gold*, chap. 10, is an analysis of the urban Forty-niners.

27. Edwin G. Gudde and Elizabeth K. Gudde, *California Gold Camps. A Geographical and istorical Dictionary of Camps, Towns, and Localities Where Gold Was Found and Mined; Way le Stations and Trading Centers* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), has identified ore than 3,500 gold camps, although they were not all in existence at the same time.

28. Rohrbough, *Days of Gold*, 75–78.

29. Ibid., 135–40, describes the mining work routine.

30. F. T. Sherman to his mother and father, November 18, 1849, Correspondence, Chicago istorical Society.

31. William Rothwell to his father, September 15, 1850, Letters, Beinecke Library, Yale niversity.

32. Rohrbough, *Days of Gold*, 141–44, analyzes domestic arrangements in the gold fields.

3

A People of Exceptional Character

Ethnic Diversity, Nativism, and Racism in the California Gold Rush

Sucheng Chan

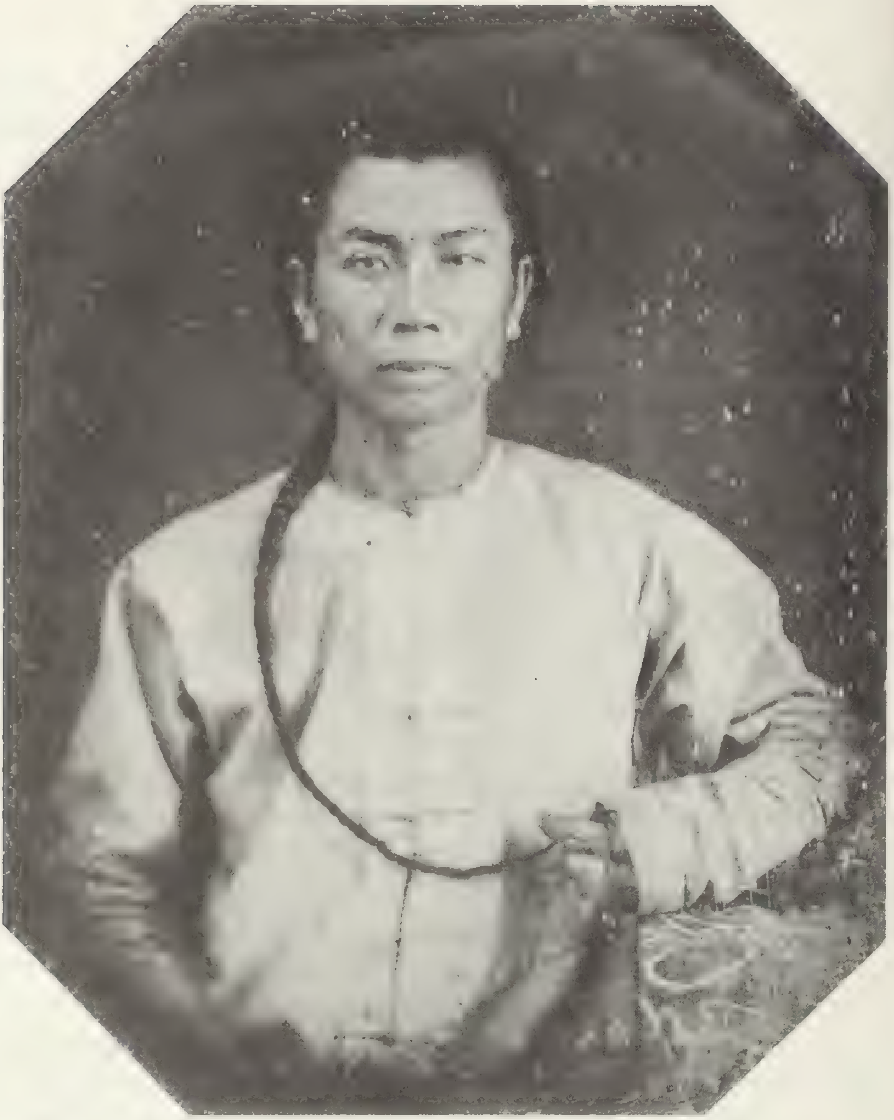
Those who marvel (or shudder, as the case may be) at California's current “changing demographics” are off the mark, for California has not just recently become an ethnically diverse state; it has always been one. Even before people from all over the world converged on California during the Gold Rush, this section of the Pacific Coast already had a larger number of Indian tribes, speaking different languages and following disparate cultural practices, than any other region of comparable size in North America. In the eight decades preceding the Gold Rush, the population mix was further diversified by the arrival of Spanish-speaking colonists, a majority of whom were of mixed Spanish, Mexican Indian, and African ancestry but all of whom became Mexican nationals following Mexico's independence from Spain in 1821.[1] Then, after 1848, the influx of aspiring miners and adventurers from the other sections of the United States, from various countries in Europe, as well as from Mexico, Chile, Peru, Canada, Hawaii (at that time an independent kingdom), China, Australia, and New Zealand, turned California's populace into a truly variegated mosaic.

The California Indians and the Californios (people of Spanish and Mexican California) have long been a part of the state's demographic complexity, but the story of these groups, who were California *residents* at the time that the shiny yellow metal was discovered in 1848, is told elsewhere in this volume. This chapter will focus on *immigrants* who arrived during the Gold Rush. The groups selected for study are not necessarily the most numerous ones. Rather, the focus is on those whose presence affected how gold-rush society became stratified. Thus, even though African Americans were U.S. citizens and not immigrants per se, and even though their number in the state was very small until the 1940s, a discussion of their experiences will be included because their situation throws into sharper focus the complex interplay of ethnicity, nativity, and race—three important sorting mechanisms or organizational es in any society's social structure.[2] A fourth factor, class, will not be considered e to space limitations, while a fifth, gender, is discussed in a separate chapter. Fi-lly, despite the central importance of San Francisco during the gold-rush years, is chapter deals only with the mining areas.

Immigrants and minorities have been treated in writings about the Gold Rush in ree bodies of literature: general histories of California, book-length studies of the old Rush, and writings on specific ethnic groups who populated the state from 48 to the early 1860s.[3] The state's pioneer historians—Hubert Howe Bancroft, heodore Hittell, and Josiah Royce—were quite aware of the injustices perpetrated gainst Indians, Mexicans, Chilenos, Chinese, and "South Sea Islanders," though ney can hardly be considered champions of these nonwhite peoples. Bancroft called he killing and expulsion of nonwhite groups "disgraceful" and "cowardly," while oyce characterized the Gold Rush as a period during which "civilization sometimes eemed to have lapsed into semi-barbarism."[4]

The next generation of writers in the early twentieth century—John McGroarty, enry Norton, Zoeth Eldredge, and Gertrude Atherton—romanticized the Span-sh and Mexican periods by sentimentalizing them on the one hand, and sanitizing heir accounts on the other hand. Apart from the Spanish-speaking people, little was aid about other ethnic groups, with the exception of the Chinese, whose presence istorians were quite aware of.[5] Surveys of California's growth published in the 920s, 1930s, and early 1940s by Charles Chapman, Robert Cleland, Rockwell Hunt nd Nellie Sanchez, and John Caughey—the first professionally trained historians of the Golden State—were more realistic in portraying the oppression of some eth-nic groups, but that did not mean the internal histories of immigrant and minority communities were studied on their own terms.[6]

The first author to posit a direct linkage between the multiethnic population that poured into California during and after the Gold Rush and its unusual pattern of cultural, social, political, and economic development was the crusading lawyer and journalist Carey McWilliams. In *California: The Great Exception* (1949), he linked the discovery of gold to the state's demographic composition. California, he said, "has not grown or evolved so much as it has been hurtled forward, rocket fashion, by a series of chain-reaction explosions. . . . It was, of course, the discovery of gold that got California off to a flying start. . . . Not gold alone, but the magic equation 'gold-equals-energy,' is the key to the California puzzle." That energy has also come from its people: "the exceptional character of the population is one of the master keys to the contradictions and paradoxes of the state. Yet, at the same time, the Californians are representative of the American people."[7] Californians represent not a random but, rather, a selective sample of the people from their countries or regions of origin. According to McWilliams, "a selection of this sort tends to *heighten*, to emphasize, the diverse traits and characteristics of the populations from which the migrants have



A daguerreotype of a Chinese man by the early California photographer Isaac Wallace Baker. Although California became ethnically diverse in the eighteenth century with the arrival of Spanish colonists, who included men and women of Spanish, Indian, and African ancestry, the discovery of gold radically changed the composition of California's population, luring fortune hunters from every quarter of the globe and creating a cosmopolitan society without precedent in American history. *Courtesy Oakland Museum of California.*

een drawn." Many newcomers to California abandoned much of their cultural aggage and experimented audaciously with new social forms, in the process endowing the state with its extraordinary dynamism.[8]

A quarter-century would pass before McWilliams's bold thesis would be picked up and elaborated on in the textbooks published during the 1960s and 1970s by Andrew Rolle; Walton Bean; Ralph Roske; William Beck and David Williams; David Lavender; and Edward Staniford.[9] In these works, divergent approaches were used to discuss the experiences of nonwhite minority groups: some authors continued to treat each group in chapters of their own, others to compare them within a single chapter, and yet others to weave their stories into the master narrative. The 1972 work by Lavender was the first California history text to intersperse segments, albeit brief ones, about various nonwhite groups into the main story line, instead of treating them in separate chapters or sections. Furthermore, by noting that a majority of the American stampeders were young, healthy, white, and Protestant—that is, by specifying their age, ethnicity, and religion, however fleetingly—he initiated a historiographical move away from the prevailing tendency to depict the Yankee Argonaut as "universal man" or, more precisely, as the quintessential miner.[10]

The general histories published in the last two decades, which include a number of anthologies, are all liberal in outlook and inclusive in coverage. Many aspects of immigrant and minority life are woven into the larger narrative in the works of Howard DeWitt; Kevin Starr; James Rawls; Richard Rice, William Bullough, and Richard Orsi; Sucheng Chan and Spencer Olin; and David Wyatt.[11] Even these works, however, do not use race, ethnicity, nativity, class, and gender explicitly as categories of analysis in the way that the many New Western Historians have employed such concepts. Practitioners of the New Western History, on the other hand, have paid little attention to the California Gold Rush, so there has been less cross fertilization of ideas among scholars in the two related fields than one might hope for.[12]

In contrast to the general histories of California, works of synthesis on the Gold Rush penned by Owen Coy, John Caughey, Rodman Paul, William Greever, Otis Young, Jr., J. S. Holliday, Paula Marks, and Malcolm Rohrbough contained more material on immigrants and minorities.[13] Of these, Paul's work, *California Gold,* remains seminal more than half a century after its first appearance, not only because the author was fully aware of the multinational origins of the gold-rush population, but also because he recognized the technological contributions that various groups had made to mining. Writing in the 1990s, in *Precious Dust,* Marks told the stories of the African Americans, Australians, British, California Indians, Chilenos, Chinese, Frenchmen, Germans, Irish, and Mexicans quite fully in a chapter entitled "Natives and Strangers." In *Days of Gold,* Rohrbough includes information on fortune hunters from Australia, Great Britain, China, Chile, France, Hawaii, Ireland, Mexico, and Peru, as well as on Native Americans and Californios. But his chapter that focuses on the experiences of these groups, entitled "Threats from Within, Threats from Without: Fear, Hostility, and Violence in the Gold Rush," gives the reader a better picture of what was done to these foreigners and minorities than what mining life was like for them.

An unusual study that taps the multiethnic roots of the Gold Rush is *Bacon, Beans, and Galantines,* a book by Joseph Conlin about the food eaten by the miners, who had no problems crossing ethnic boundaries when it came to their appetites. When they wanted to break their monotonous diet of salted pork or jerked beef, beans, flapjacks, hard biscuits, coffee, and (on Sundays) liquor, they sought out French cuisine, whenever it was available and when they could afford to splurge. The desire for "Frenchy food" was more than a matter of taste preference: eating French food, then, as now, was a sign of wealth and culture. Men who came to seek their fortune welcomed opportunities to display a little of whatever wealth they had acquired. When the miners did not have much to spend but still wanted some variety, they ate Chinese food.[14] Two other important comparative and multiethnic studies of the Gold Rush are a two-part article by Doris Wright published in 1940–41 and a long article by Ralph Roske that appeared in 1963.[15]

In the existing literature on specific ethnic groups, the amount available about a particular group is roughly inversely proportional to its members' degree of visible difference from the traits commonly stereotyped as Anglo-American. Thus, very little has been published about the British or Germans in California, despite their commanding numbers among the state's foreign-born population in the early decades of statehood (see table 3.1). In California, the English-speakers, as well as the Germans (many of whom could speak English, were Protestants, and were considered desirable immigrants—that is, orderly, intelligent, and solid, with "little wish to return to their native country"), were usually treated as honorary Americans. Much more has been written about the French, the European immigrants with the strongest ethnic identity. A sizable corpus is available on California's religiously distinct Jewish immigrants. Though most of the studies on California Jews are more filiopietistic than scholarly, they are nonetheless valuable for recovering that group's history.[16]

The largest amount of ethnic literature has been published about the racially marked groups who appeared during the Gold Rush or shortly thereafter, but as disconnected bodies of writing, these works have seldom been brought into conversation with one another in comparative studies. Most of the studies either focus on the internal dynamics of the groups in question or, when they do examine a particular group's interaction with others, the attention has almost always been on its members' relationship to the Anglo-American majority and not to other immigrant or minority groups. While a significant portion of the works on African Americans in California is about the gold-rush period, relatively few items deal with black mining activities per se. Rather, they focus on the black struggle for civil rights. The writ-

TABLE 3.1

The Most Numerous Foreign-born Groups in California, 1850–1870

Nationality	*1850*	*1860*	*1870*
Chinese	660	34,935	48,790
English	3,050	12,227	19,202
French	1,546	8,462	8,063
German	2,926	21,646	29,699
Irish	2,452	33,147	54,421
Italian	228	2,805	4,660
Mexican	6,454	9,150	8,978

SOURCE: Allyn C. Loosley, *Foreign Born Population of California, 1848–1920* (San Francisco: R & E Research Associates, 1971), 33. Loosley culled his figures from the 1850, 1860, and 1870 U.S. censuses of population for the state of California.

NOTE: The figures for 1850 are undercounts since the census schedules for three populous counties—San Francisco, Santa Clara, and Contra Costa—were lost. Even if the enumerations for those three counties had not been lost, the 1850 figures would still be undercounts, given the transience of the mining population, their scattered and remote locations in the gold country, and the lack of roads.

ings on California's Chinese are voluminous, yet not much attention has been paid to the Chinese as gold miners. The number of studies on gold-rush-era Mexicans, Chilenos, and Peruvians is smaller than might be expected—given their perceived differences from Anglo-Americans—probably because their stay was short: most were driven out of the state within five years of the gold discovery.[17] A recent bibliography of articles from scholarly journals and more popular periodicals compiled by Robert Santos corroborates my own findings regarding the unevenness of ethnic coverage.[18]

The ethnic-specific writings are compensatory in nature: because the general histories of California have not taken notice of the state's immigrants and minorities in a satisfactory way, authors have produced separate works to fill gaps in our knowledge. However, the style and tone of these ethnic-specific writings are quite dated, since many of them were published before the quantitative methods and theoretical assumptions of the new social history became influential. Moreover, they have not been integrated into the general gold-rush historiography. Therefore, they have performed an additive, but not a corrective, function in terms of revising the field.[19] The present essay is a preliminary attempt to move the story of immigrants and minorities from the periphery closer to the center of gold-rush scholarship by placing some commonly known facts into a new framework and reinterpreting their significance and meaning.

GEOGRAPHY, ORDER OF ARRIVAL, AND LOCATIONAL PATTERN

Among the aspiring miners who descended upon California after the gold discovery in early 1848, geographic origin was the most important determinant of their order of arrival, given California's isolation and the difficulty of getting there. That arrival sequence, in turn, affected where miners of various nationalities tended to congregate in the gold country. And where they gathered and in what relative numbers impacted their interaction with the hordes of Americans who began showing up in the spring of 1849 and who overnight became the majority population, not only in terms of numbers, but also in terms of political power, economic control, social dominance, and cultural influence. Finally, the social hierarchy within each ethnic group influenced how the various groups perceived, ranked, and treated one another.

The above aspects of gold-rush society did not remain static. Even though the unprecedented international migration, i.e., the rush per se, lasted only half a dozen years, it can still be divided into three periods: (1) the first mining season of 1848, when surface gold was abundant; (2) the period from 1849 to the early 1850s, which was dominated by labor-intensive placer mining; and (3) the years after 1852, when mining became increasingly industrial and capital-intensive. This periodization scheme is based on three criteria: changes in mining methods and business organization, changes in class relations associated with the respective methods and organizations,[20] and changes in the pattern of race and ethnic relations among the various groups.

In 1848, the state's estimated population included perhaps 150,000 California Indians and between 14,000 and 15,000 non-Indians. Of the latter, slightly more than half were Americans and Europeans who had drifted into Alta California, Mexico's northernmost province, in the quarter century before the discovery of gold. The rest were mixed-blood Californios. California Indians, Californios, and pre-gold-rush settlers from the United States and Europe were the first prospectors to reach the gold fields in mid-1848 after Sam Brannan broadcasted James Marshall's discovery. When the American military governor, Col. Richard Mason, who had taken charge of California after the outbreak of the Mexican-American War, toured the gold country in the summer of 1848, he estimated that half or more of the 4,000-plus miners he saw busy at work were California Indians. Some of them were laboring for Californios or Americans, while others were digging for themselves.

Since trading, whaling, and sea-otter-hunting ships regularly plied the Pacific Ocean during the mid-nineteenth century, news of the gold discovery reached the shores lapped by that body of water before people in the eastern, midwestern, and southern United States or Europe received the same information. Accordingly, the first foreign gold seekers to show up came from lands to the north, south, and west of California rather than to its east. Among the 6,000-plus people who made their way to California in 1848, foreigners outnumbered Americans. The first large contingent of Americans—an estimated 2,000 to 3,000 people—came from Oregon, which was still a territory at the time, while a smaller number came from Hawaii.

James Marshall's find was first publicized in a Hawaiian newspaper, the *Polynesian,* on June 24, 1848, before the news even reached Oregon. The schooner *Louise,* which had left San Francisco for Honolulu on May 31, brought not only the news but also two pounds of gold as proof of its find. By mid-July, signs of "gold fever" had broken out in Honolulu, with as many ships as were available being outfitted for the journey to the Pacific Coast.[21] That summer, a large proportion of the Americans and Europeans residing in the islands, along with scores of native Hawaiians (whom Americans in California called "Kanakas"), sailed for the new El Dorado. The native Hawaiians, though small in number, worked in many locations and were recognizable as a distinct group.[22] In journeying eastward across the Pacific, they were following the footsteps of native Hawaiians who had earlier touched California's shores while working in ships from New England engaged in the hide-and-tallow trade that had flourished during the Mexican period; Hawaiians had also accompanied John Sutter as he established his estate, New Helvetia, in the Sacramento Valley in 1839. A few months after the first exodus from Hawaii, a reverse migration began. As rain and snow fell on California's Sierra Nevada, many miners, including individuals who had not previously lived in the islands, departed for Hawaii to spend the winter months in a warmer clime.

Trade grew along with the movement of people. All available clothing, shoes, raincoats, guns, bullets, gunpowder, knives, cooking utensils, shovels, pickaxes, Irish potatoes, sweet potatoes, sugar, molasses, coffee, and cattle in Hawaii—the dry goods mostly imported from England and the United States, the food grown in Hawaii—were shipped to California for sale at very high prices. The depletion of these goods in the islands caused inflation there. Between 1848 and 1852, Hawaii, along with Oregon, Mexico, and Chile, supplied the bulk of the food eaten in California's gold country. From the mid-1850s onward, however, imported foodstuffs declined in importance as California became increasingly self-sufficient.[23]

Next came thousands of Mexicans and Chilenos and a smaller number of Peruvians. News of California's gold strike first reached Chile on August 18, 1848, when the brig *J.R.S.*—named for its owner, the merchant Juan Ramón Sánchez—docked at Valparaiso after a voyage of sixty-four days from San Francisco. Many of the ship's crew were missing because they had deserted to join the hunt for gold when the ship was anchored in San Francisco Bay. The news did not generate much excitement until the schooner *Adelaide* arrived from California on September 12 with gold dust worth $2,500. Then, when the brig *Correro de Talcahuano* docked on November 3 with another 130 pounds of gold dust, the rush was on.[24] The first forty-five people to depart from Valparaiso were American and English merchants who had settled in Chile, many of whom had become Chilean citizens and married local women. The English-speaking businessmen owned and operated Valparaiso's warehouses, hotels, restaurants, saloons, brothels, and gambling parlors. Valparaiso had become a busy port after legislation was passed in 1835 to make it into a "port of deposit." Under this arrangement, foreign merchants did not have to pay customs duty when they unloaded their goods and stored them in the government's warehouses, if such goods were destined for reshipment to other countries. All they had to pay was a small deposit fee.[25] Such savings made the port popular with foreign traders. During the Gold Rush, with hundreds of ships from the U.S. East Coast stopping for fresh water and provisions after rounding Cape Horn, Valparaiso became an even more bustling port of call. Smaller Chilean ports like Talcahuano and Concepción also prospered in the early 1850s.

There are no reliable statistics on how many people from Chile joined the Gold Rush, and of those how many were English and American expatriates and how many were native Chilenos. However, we do know that by July 1849, the government had issued three thousand passports to California-bound emigrants.[26] In addition, thousands had left without passports. The number of people who simply departed became so large that the government decided to abolish the passport law. On July 2, 1849, the *Alta California* reported that 5,677 men and 209 women had arrived by sea between April 12 and June 30, 1849. Of these, 1,360 men and 70 women had come from Chile.[27] So, even after the Yankee influx had begun, people from Chile still comprised almost one-quarter of the total seaborne arrivals.

Like Hawaii, Chile exported many commodities to California: flour, dried beans, jerked beef, canned sardines, dried fruit, saddles, bridles, spurs, furniture, and even prefabricated houses.[28] In the early 1850s, an estimated three-fourths of the flour consumed by the miners came from Chile. But this trade declined as California began growing its own food.

The other sizable group of Latin Americans, Mexicans, traveled mainly overland or by a combination of land and sea routes. Of the 5,000-plus persons who came overland during the first mining season of 1848, about half were from Oregon Territory, 200 to 350 were from the United States, and 2,000 to 3,000 were from Mexico.[29] The latter almost all hailed from the province of Sonora, with smaller numbers from Sinaloa, Chihuahua, and Durango. While most of them traveled overland the entire way—following the old Anza Trail to Yuma, then across the Colorado Desert and through the San Gorgonio Pass to Los Angeles, and up the coast to the mines—some set sail from the port of Guaymas on the eastern shores of the Sea of Cortez (also known as the Gulf of California). The first organized overland caravan left Hermosillo in October 1848, but smaller parties had begun drifting northward a few months earlier.

Many Sonorans were already familiar with California. During the Spanish period, they had comprised the bulk of the settlers sent north to colonize Alta California. Then they had flocked to Rancho San Fernando in southern California when gold was discovered there in 1842.[30] In the first few months of 1849—that is, before Americans showed up in droves—an additional 6,000 Sonorans found their way to the mines, despite the Mexican government's worries about depopulating the province and thereby leaving the frontier unguarded against Apache raids. Given the relative proximity of their homeland to California, the Sonorans were seasonal migrants: at least half returned home at the end of each mining season.[31]

As in Hawaii and Chile, stores in Sonora were also stripped of their merchandise, which was taken north for sale at great profit. Even more problematic was the departure of thousands of mules—the main mode of transportation in rugged terrain without roads—which were sold in California for many times their price in Mexico. Although thousands of mules from the American Southwest and plains were also eventually driven to California to pull its pack trains, experienced muleteers preferred the sturdier Mexican mules, which were reared for the transportation of goods rather than for use as farm draft animals, as American mules were.

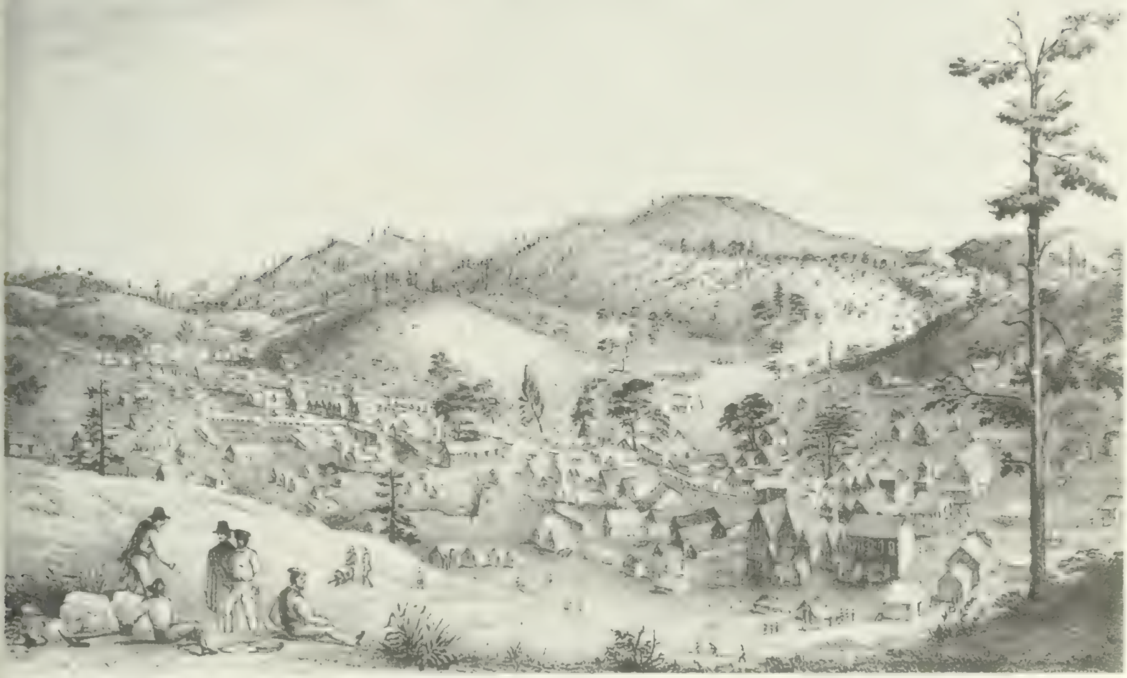
The smallest group of Latin Americans came from Peru. Peruvians first heard about Marshall's find in the late fall of 1848. On October 3, Lt. Lucien Loeser, who was carrying a tea caddy of gold to Washington, D.C., on behalf of Col. Richard Mason, stopped at Payta. Either he or someone else from the *Lambayeque*—the ship that had carried him to Payta—apparently left behind a copy of the newspaper *Californian,* dated August 14, 1848 (the first issue published since the paper's workers had closed shop and left for the mines several months earlier). The *Del Tridente* on October 17 reprinted an article from the *Californian* describing Marshall's find in detail. *El Comercio,* a newspaper in Lima, Peru's capital, then reprinted the *Del Tridente* article on November 6. The news soon reached Callao, located only a few miles from Lima and the chief port for exporting guano. On November 30, the first ship with Peruvian passengers bound for California set sail from Callao.[32] The number of Peruvian gold seekers is even more uncertain than the number of Chilenos and Mexicans, as many Spanish-speaking people were counted as Chilenos in the available statistics of passenger arrivals in San Francisco.

New Zealanders received the news in November 1848 when an American whaler, the *Balfour,* put into port with several newspapers from Hawaii. Australians heard about the strike the following month, when the *Sydney Morning Herald* on December 23 reprinted extracts from Honolulu's *Polynesian* about the discovery. Australians initially were not enthusiastic to join the rush. During the first six months of 1849, only 679 passengers sailed on twenty-five vessels to California. Once news filtered back of Australians who had struck it rich, however, the exodus began in earnest. Thousands left even though newspaper editors intoned against the dangers of depopulating Australia.[33] There were worries about depopulation because the total population of Australia at that time—including male and female "convicts under sentence of transportation" but excluding the indigenous Aborigines—was only about 400,000. The population in New Zealand was less than 30,000 people of European ancestry, not counting the native Maoris. That is why leaders in both Australia and New Zealand worried about the impact of the potential loss of manpower on their countries' development. However, they could not stop ships loaded with California-bound passengers from leaving. The British convicts had been transported from Britain to Botany Bay, a penal colony set up in Australia. After landing in San Francisco, many acquired notoriety as the "Sydney Ducks,"[34] even though the penal colony was not in Sydney itself. However, since Sydney was the chief port of embarkation for California, in the eyes of Americans all Australians came from Sydney. The Australian and New Zealand migration slowed to a trickle in 1851, when gold was discovered in Australia itself—in New South Wales—thereby precipitating a reverse flow that included many non-Australians. But a sufficient number remained in California to comprise 43 percent of the British-origin immigrants in San Francisco when the 1852 state census was taken.[35] In other words, a sizable fraction of the first gold seekers of British birth to arrive in California came not from Great Britain but from Australia.

Trade between the southern continent and California continued to flourish even after the emigration stopped. Australia exported a large variety of goods to California, including jerked beef, bacon, lard, butter, cheese, split peas, beer, champagne, sherry, pharmaceutical drugs, woolen blankets, boots, shoes, nails, axes, window glass, paint, rope, candles, cooking utensils, and prefabricated wooden houses.[36]

The above, then, were the groups whose arrival predated that of the Forty-niners. Though the miners, regardless of their national origins, spread themselves out in search of rich deposits, their locational pattern was not entirely random. Discernible clusters of people did emerge. For the most part, people from the same national or ethnic origins worked and lived together, although occasionally multinational or multiethnic groupings could be found. The Scottish journalist and artist J. D. Borthwick, for example, encountered a party of two Americans, two Frenchmen, two Italians, and two Mexicans led by a German doctor. William Downie, another Scotsman, established Downieville in Sierra County after prospecting there with a party of seven African Americans, an Irishman, a Hawaiian, an Egyptian, and several Americans.[37]

The route taken by a particular group to reach the gold fields influenced where its members tended to gather. Gold-bearing ore could be found in three areas: in the far north along the Trinity and Klamath rivers and their tributaries, in the Northern Mines in the Sierra and foothills north of the gold discovery site at Coloma, and in the Southern Mines in the Sierra and foothills south of Coloma.[38] A significant number of British Columbians, many of whom were British-born, and Oregonians dug for the precious metal in the Trinity-Klamath-Shasta region, which they traversed as they journeyed southward. American Forty-niners who had crossed the Great



The town of Sonora, seat of Tuolumne County, in the Southern Mines, January 1852. Settled in 1848 by Mexicans from the state of Sonora, the famous gold camp was for some time largely Hispanic in population and character, but the imposition of the Foreign Miners' Tax in 1850 drove most of the Sonorans and other Spanish-speaking miners from the diggings. *California Historical Society, FN-31407.*

Plains and the Rocky Mountains dominated the Northern Mines in Plumas, Butte, Sierra, Yuba, Nevada, Placer, El Dorado, and Amador counties because the southern branch of the California Trail cut through the Sierra Nevada at Carson Pass and Donner Pass, which led to the Northern Mines. The largest contingent of Latin Americans prospected in the Southern Mines—in Calaveras, Tuolumne, and Mariposa counties—because as they trekked northward they reached that area first. The 1850 U.S. census counted 159 Chilenos in Calaveras County and 209 in Tuolumne County. The 1852 California state census showed the presence of 1,077 Chilenos in Calaveras County and 443 in Tuolumne County.[39] By the early 1850s, an estimated 12,000 Sonorans and Chilenos were mining in and around Sonorian Town (the name was later shortened to Sonora—the largest mining camp in Tuolumne County, named after its main residents). In addition to Sonora, many other mining camps in the area bore names reflective of their inhabitants' origins, such as Chile Gulch, Chile Bar, Santiago Hill, Spanish Flat, Spanish Bar, and Spanish Dry Diggins.[40]

A second reason that Latin American miners were concentrated in the southern area was that they were the people who knew best how to work the "dry diggings" of the Southern Mines, where relatively little rain fell and the streams were smaller and more often intermittent. Obtaining gold under dry conditions was laborious indeed. The main methods used in placer mining—panning, using the rocker or cradle, the long tom, or flumes and sluices—all required a large amount of water. When water was insufficient, a technique called *aventamiento,* or "dry washing," was used. The miners would dig up the pay dirt, dry it in the sun, and pulverize it into fine gravel. If the lumps were too large or too hard to be broken up manually, they were crushed in a Mexican *arrastre* or a "Chili mill" powered by horses, donkeys, or mules. The mill's enormous stone pieces were hewn out of solid rock by experienced stonecutters. To winnow the gold-bearing sand, the Latinos twirled it in a bowl and tossed the contents high into the air with a circular motion. On a breezy day, the lighter particles of dirt would be blown away by the wind as they fell. When there was no wind, the miners had to use their own powerful breaths. The heavier gold particles dropped directly into a bowl or blanket or cowhide lying on the ground.[41]

Though Latin American miners had also worked claims in the Northern Mines in 1848, after 1849 they became rarer in that region because those who dared to venture into the area were driven away by the newly arrived Americans, British, and Germans, who often acted in concert against them. The only Latin Americans welcomed in the Northern Mines were muleteers, who brought needed supplies even during the foulest weather.

The Chinese—the other major group of trans-Pacific migrants—began drifting in after 1848. There is no reliable evidence on when news of the gold strike first reached China, but it was probably in late 1848, as ships from the United States, England, and Hawaii engaged in the China trade regularly called at Hong Kong, which had been ceded by China to Great Britain at the end of the First Opium War in 1842. Canton, located upriver from Hong Kong, became the chief point of departure for Chinese emigrants to the "Old Gold Mountain"—the Chinese name for San Francisco (in contrast to Australia, the "New Gold Mountain"). According to Bancroft, there were 54 Chinese in California on February 1, 1849, 791 by January 1, 1850, and around 4,000 by the end of 1850.[42] The first arrivals were merchants and artisans who remained in San Francisco to trade. Only when more than 20,000 Chinese landed in 1852 did large crowds of them fan out all over the mining counties, where they became ubiquitous. Thus, their story belongs primarily not to the first two periods of the Gold Rush, but to its third.

FROM ETHNIC CONSCIOUSNESS TO NATIVISM

The various groups of miners were conscious of their ethnicity and drew distinctions between themselves and others by the names they used to refer to one another, by the clothing they wore, and by the religious faiths they professed. Americans lumped all Spanish-speakers together derisively as “greasers,” while the latter called Americans and other people of European descent “gringos.” The longtime resident Californios, for their part, distinguished themselves from the recently arrived Sonorans, calling the latter *calzoneros blancos* (white breeches) after the Sonorans’ flowing white pants.[15] The Sonorans, in turn, could be differentiated from the Chilenos; the former wore long serapes, which differed in color and design from the latter’s shorter ponchos. Americans and Europeans, regardless of their former stations in life, all sported the “miners’ uniform,” consisting of a broad-brimmed slouched hat, a red or blue flannel shirt, a patterned kerchief, blue denim pants, a thick belt to which was attached at least one bowie knife and a pistol, and leather boots. The men also wore beards and were contemptuous of clean-shaven faces. The only European immigrants who did not adopt the miners’ uniform were the Jews, who continued wearing their dark suits, which they could do because few of them engaged in mining. Instead, they monopolized the clothing trade. Jewish peddlers and merchants could be found everywhere in the gold country, selling not only clothing but also jewelry, guns, knives, and sundry other articles. The Chinese also had a uniform of their own. Each man shielded himself from the sun with a mat-woven conical hat and wore a dark blue cotton collarless shirt and matching pair of loose pants. Leather boots were the one item of American-made clothing that many Chinese miners bought and wore.

After 1849, when Americans and Europeans overwhelmed the native population and the early immigrants who had come in 1848, new monikers came into use. The French, who began arriving in late 1849, preferred to mingle with the Latin Americans and so they, too, were found in greater numbers in the Southern Mines. Apparently, they felt more comfortable among Catholics who spoke a cognate Romance language than among English-speaking Protestants. Intensely proud of their own language and culture, few Frenchmen tried to master English. For that reason, the Yankees called them *keskydees* because they were often heard asking each other, “Qu’est-ce qu’il dit?” (What did he say?). The Germans were referred to as “Dutch”—a mispronunciation of Deutsch. Actually, the term “Dutchmen” encompassed more than Germans: Yankees used it to refer to all Europeans except for the British, French, and Italians.

Despite their awareness of cultural differences, the miners of different national origins worked amicably alongside one another in the first mining season of 1848. It was a peaceful summer because there was plenty of surface gold to be had and foreign miners numbered only in the thousands. But conditions changed with the coming of the Forty-niners, almost 90,000 of whom poured in that year—about 40,000 by sea and 40,000-plus overland. The seaborne travelers, about three-fifths of whom were Americans and two-fifths foreigners, came by way of the Isthmus of Panama or around Cape Horn (and, after July 1851, over the Isthmus of Tehuántepec in Nicaragua). They began showing up in the early spring. Of the overland adventurers, approximately three-fifths drove wagon trains across the Great Plains and over passes through two forbidding ranges—the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevada. The rest traversed Mexico. Those who crossed the plains did not begin arriving until late summer and early fall because they had not been able to begin their journeys until the spring thaw. About half of the people emerging out of Mexico were Mexicans; the rest were Americans, especially southerners and Texans, who had chosen the southern route. In 1850, about half of those who came by sea had set sail from foreign ports. In the next few years, the proportion of foreigners among the seaborne arrivals declined to between one-fourth and one-third of the total. As these weary fortune hunters made their way to the mines, ethnic consciousness quickly became transformed first into nativism and then into racism. Unlike ethnic consciousness, nativism and racism were and are more than attitudes, feelings, and thoughts. Rather, they were and are often manifested in action—action to discriminate against or harm members of other groups.

As John Higham and Ray Billington have persuasively demonstrated, American nativism—the fear of and hatred toward foreigners—has deep and multifarious roots that stretch back to the Protestant Reformation in Europe. Anti-Catholicism was one of its cornerstones. Then, during the American War of Independence, the burgeoning nationalism felt by Americans made European traditions and institutions suspect, so animosity toward foreigners (initially Europeans) was added to antagonism toward the Pope. Up to the late 1840s, anti-Catholicism was directed mainly against Irish immigrants. Then, in the aftermath of the 1848 revolutions in Europe, tens of thousands of people, especially from Germany and France, fled to the New World to escape the social, economic, and political upheavals that ensued. Radical political ideas came along as part of their cultural baggage. Their presence rekindled anxieties that Americans had harbored since the late eighteenth century over the chaos that might ensue should the status quo be overthrown violently. Anti-radicalism thus emerged as yet another ingredient in the nativist brew. Finally, the belief that the United States's Anglo-Saxon heritage was what gave the nation its greatness added a racialist strain to American nativism.[44]

Among the Argonauts, nativism first reared its ugly head in Panama in January 1849, when General Persifor F. Smith, who was en route to California to assume command of the American military forces there, declared that he would "consider everyone not a citizen of the United States, who enters on public land and digs for gold, as a trespasser." He promised to drive all such trespassers out by force. Inflamed by Smith's words, the hundreds of Americans gathered at the isthmus awaiting passage to the gold fields became further agitated when the first Pacific Mail Steamship Company steamer, the *California,* arrived carrying many Chilenos and Peruvians. When the Forty-niners finally reached the mines after an arduous journey, they were upset to find that Spanish-speaking miners had got there before them and seemed to have found the richest claims. In addition, among the Argonauts were many veterans of the Mexican-American War, who had learned to see Mexicans as enemies. The nationalism and anti-Mexican stereotypes aroused during that conflict added fuel to the fire of nativism.

Because most of the Americans had no experience in gold mining, they were at first glad to learn from the Sonorans and Chilenos. Once they had acquired some knowledge, however, they became jealous of the latter's success. Their nativist sentiments quickly found expression in action. First, the aspiring Yankee miners formed local ad hoc associations and drew up regulations to govern how claims could be made and kept. In general, at each locality, the miners who had congregated there held a meeting to decide what size a claim might be, depending on the auriferous content of the sands and the difficulty of working the ground or riverbank or bed. Each individual could hold only one claim, except for the person who had made the find, who was entitled to two claims. The claims had to be officially recorded with an elected recorder. To hold a claim, a miner had to work it a specified minimum number of days per specified time period. Thus, miners enjoyed only usufructuary rights over their claims, with disputes settled at miners' meetings or by the recorder or alcalde. Such ostensibly democratic rules accorded well with the miners' desire to level social ranks. The miners' uniform also became a useful mechanism for socioeconomic leveling: when everyone looked alike, dress could not be used as an emblem of wealth or status. Another practice that facilitated such leveling was the common use of nicknames only, so that anyone who wished to camouflage or disown the identity he or she had possessed "back in the States" could do so.[45]

In the American miners' eyes, however, these egalitarian practices did not apply to foreign "interlopers." Fired by their sense of Manifest Destiny, Yankee miners felt that since the United States had gained possession of California as a result of the nation's victory in the Mexican-American War, all the wealth in the state belonged only to themselves—the land's new masters. In fact, of course, everyone, regardless of national origin, was a trespasser, for the federal government failed to pass any legislation until the 1866 Lode Law to determine how gold might be taken.[46] In the absence of appropriate laws, the assumptions underlying Manifest Destiny determined proprietary rights.

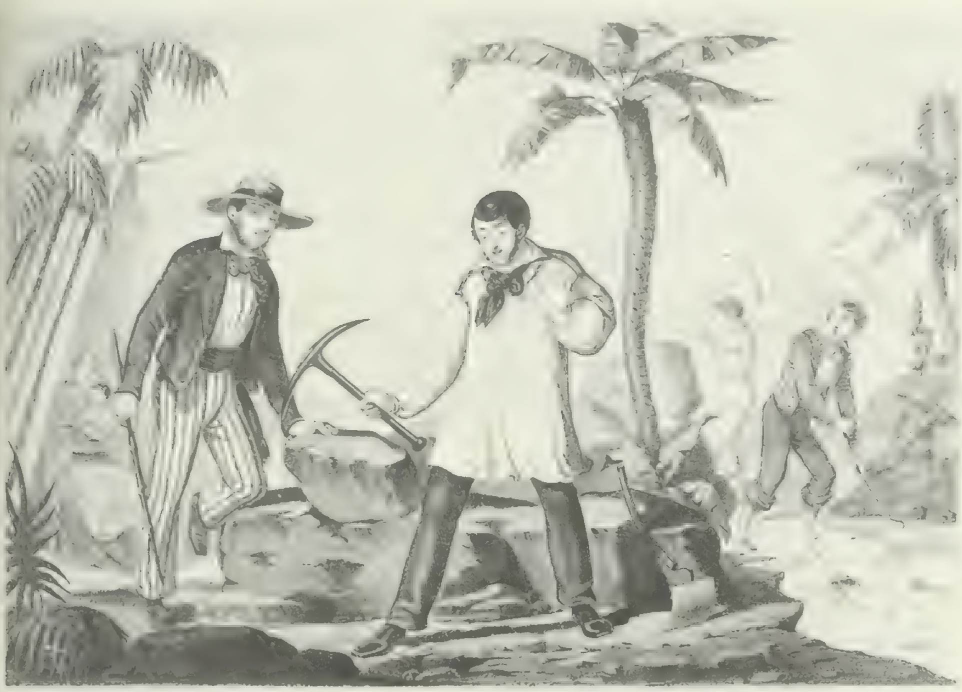
The miners' nativism was a complex phenomenon, for it also contained a strong dose of class antagonism. They scrutinized foreign groups to see whether the members of a particular group worked mainly as lone prospectors, as informal partners, as members of formally constituted joint-stock companies, or in a type of master-servant or master-slave combination. They noticed that some Sonoran and Chileno miners were peons who had been brought to California to dig gold for their *patrones*, while some Californios and pre-gold-rush Anglo-American settlers were using California Indian laborers in the same way.[47] Assuming that such people were incapable of egalitarian relationships, Yankees deemed them unacceptable in the communities springing up in the gold country. By the same logic, Americans from the southern states who had brought their slaves to mine for them were not welcomed either. All "capitalists" and their subservient "cheap labor" were perceived as enemies of "American working men"—something all the Yankee miners considered themselves to be in their present circumstances, when each man was supposed to work his own claim.

The Yankee miners used two methods to drive the foreigners out—physical intimidation and discriminatory rules and laws. Initially, nativist sentiments applied across the board; even the British and Germans experienced antipathy.[48] But once the expulsion campaign began, the English, Irish, and Germans lined up on the side of Americans against the other foreigners, in the process solidifying their own standing as honorary Americans.[49] In contrast, the French encountered hostility partly because of their apparent disinterest in adopting Anglo-American language and culture, partly because they kept mainly to themselves both in San Francisco and in the mines, and partly because of their friendly relations with the Latin American miners. Declared the authors of *The Annals of San Francisco:*

> The French complain that they are not treated so kindly . . . as are the Germans. The reason seems obvious. It is because they do not take the same pains to learn the American language and character. The naturalized Germans are professed and acknowledged brethren; the French—foreign in manner and physical appearance, in thoughts and hopes—can never be considered as such. . . . the wild glorification of Frenchmen to every thing connected with their beautiful France, is often a neglectful insult to the land that shelters them.[50]

In short, Americans found French cultural chauvinism offensive.

As for why the French chose to associate not with Americans but with Mexicans, Chilenos, and Peruvians, no definitive explanation has been given. One possible hypothesis is that, in addition to their shared Catholicism, the social composition of the French miners, as well as the route used by many of them to get to California, may account for their affinity for the Spanish-speakers. Jacques Moerenhout, the French consul at Monterey, first notified the French government of the gold discovery in a letter dated May 15, 1848. Then, on August 17, he sent Paris a long dispatch reporting what he had seen during a six-week tour of the gold country.[51] The first newspaper article on the gold discovery appeared on November 13, 1848, in *Le Journal des Débats,* which reprinted a piece from a New York newspaper.[52] But only after the French press began to publicize President James K. Polk's December 5, 1848, message to the U.S. Congress did the French public begin to believe the news. In January 1849, the first advertisement appeared indicating that a ship, *Le Meuse,* had been chartered to sail for San Francisco on February 15. However, the first



A French miner delightedly discovers an enormous gold nugget in *Travail en Californie,* one of a series of three hand-colored lithographs published about 1850 in Paris. "Upon reaching the diggings," runs the caption, "the workers seize their tools and compete with one another in their search for fortune. Here the rocks raised by the pickax yield gold nuggets; there, with the scraper, the ore is pulverized and the gold gathered—and each day the miners meet with the same good fortune, filling their strongboxes with treasure." Thousands of Gallic Argonauts set off for El Dorado when word of the discovery reached Europe, and by 1854 the population of the state included thirty thousand French-speaking Californians, some of whom had been inspired to leave their native land by images such as this. *Courtesy California State Library.*

sizable group of Frenchmen, numbering about forty people, did not land in San Francisco until September 1849. Between November 1849 and April 1851, more than 4,000 people from France traveled by sea to California, departing from the three main French ports of Le Havre, Bordeaux, and Marseilles and following the Cape Horn route.[53] Three years later, the estimated number of French people in California had risen to between 25,000 and 30,000. These figures are much larger than the 1,546 counted in the 1850 census. The discrepancy can be explained by two facts: (1) most of the French-speaking people came in the early 1850s, after the census was taken, and (2) an estimated two-thirds of them came not directly from France but from Louisiana, Quebec, and French possessions in the Pacific Ocean, such as Tahiti. Thus, the 25,000 to 30,000 figure included all French-speaking people, a large proportion of whom were no longer French nationals or had not been in France for a long time.

Of those who came directly from France, some were scions of aristocratic families, others were middle class, while the majority were poor. The gold discovery coincided with a period of upheaval in France. Louis Philippe, the French monarch, was overthrown in February 1848. Several months later, Louis-Napoléon was elected as president of the Second Republic. Riots erupted periodically. The *petit bourgeois* who owned government bonds lost their savings as bond values plunged. There was fear of an impending famine, as well as of a cholera epidemic. In such troubled times, emigration offered one way to relieve social pressures. The existing French colonies were to be the main emigrant destinations, but soon California was considered another possibility.

To enable those without funds to get to the new El Dorado, eighty-three joint-stock companies—many with alluring names, such as *Le Californienne, L'Aurifère, La Fortune, La Ruche d'Or, L'Eldorado,* and *La Nouveau Monde*—were formed in 1849 and 1850 by promoters with the aim of making money from California gold, a booty for the taking by one and all. A majority of the shareholders were not aspiring miners but speculators, investors who bought shares at prices ranging from five francs to several hundred francs per share. The capital thus raised was to be used to pay the passage of laborers who would go to California to dig for the precious metal. An analysis of extant passenger lists indicated that many of the recruits came from small provincial towns and villages.[54] There were also a significant number of Basques.[55]

In some instances, the emigrants bound themselves to three years of labor in exchange for their transportation. In other cases, emigrants bought shares in the companies in order to acquire the status of *travailleurs associés* (associated workers) instead of being simply contract laborers. The profit-sharing scheme varied from one company to another. A typical division was 40 percent to the shareholders, 40 percent to the mining laborers, and 20 percent to the promoters who had set up the companies. Unfortunately, some of the companies were fraudulent, while others went bankrupt. Not only did the shareholders in those ventures lose all their money, but the would-be miners who landed in California were often left destitute, without money, food, mining tools, and shelter. With no funds, they could not even get their luggage unloaded and ferried to shore because ships had to anchor in San Francisco Bay, rather than dock at a wharf, given the harbor's severely overcrowded conditions. Neither could they afford transportation to the mines. The French consul ended up taking care of many of those who were stuck in San Francisco.[56]

In addition to the joint-stock companies, the French government also got into the act of promoting emigration to California. It became the patron of *La Compagnie des Gardes Mobiles,* which shipped more than 130 former volunteers bearing that name to California. These men had helped to put down riots in 1848 but had become un-ruly and difficult to control afterwards, so sending them to California was a way to get rid of them. The *gardes mobiles* retained their military organization after their arrival in California. Then, in May 1850, the Paris police authorized a giant lottery called *l'ingot d'or,* with tickets to be sold until November of the following year. The grand prize was a gold nugget worth 400,000 francs (approximately $20,000). Smaller prizes included 244 gold bars and 200 prizes of 1,000 francs each. The lottery was a way to raise money to ship off an anticipated 5,000 "undesirable people," including political radicals, petty criminals, and prostitutes. A total of 3,470 people left by this means.[57]

Since many of the people who came from France directly were either members of the lower class or were middle-class people suffering from downward social mobility, perhaps they had a tendency to identify with others, including the Spanish-speaking groups, who were also down and out.[58] Regardless of what might have been the basis of the bond between French- and Spanish-speakers, notices that appeared in the mining camp of Sonora in May 1850 made it apparent that such a sense of commonality did exist:

> It is time to unite: Frenchmen, Chileans, Peruvians, Mexicans, there is the biggest necessity of putting an end to the vexations of the Americans in California. If you do not intend to allow yourself to be fleeced by a band of miserable fellows who are repudiated by their own country, then unite and go to the camp of Sonora next Sunday: there will we try to guarantee security for us all, and put a bridle in the mouths of that horde who call themselves citizens of the United States, thereby profaning that country.[59]

The Frenchmen and Latin Americans marching into Sonora were delegates representing about five thousand of their compatriots from throughout the Southern Mines, who had met to decide upon a course of action to protest the Foreign Miners' Tax of twenty dollars a month that the California legislature had imposed upon all foreign miners in April 1850. Since most placer miners averaged less than twenty dollars' worth of gold dust a month, the tax would create enormous hardship on those required to pay it. Moreover, though it was supposed to be collected from all foreign miners, in fact, only certain foreigners—primarily French- and Spanish-speakers—bore the brunt of the tax collectors' action. The American miners in the vicinity of Sonora were both affronted and alarmed by the gathering of foreigners—affronted because the Frenchmen, Chilenos, and Sonorans had raised their nations' flags over their camps, and alarmed because they feared an imminent assault from these incensed groups. The Americans gathered about 180 well-armed men and, led by the sheriff of Tuolumne County, confronted the foreign crowd, which dispersed after drafting a memorial to the state governor stating they would be willing to pay a lower tax of four or five dollars a month but objecting to twenty dollars a month, not only because it was too much, but also because it was unjust.[60]

Scholars have offered different explanations with regard to the motives of the legislators who had levied the tax. Leonard Pitt thought its intention was to exploit the foreigners. Richard Peterson argued that it was to exclude them from the gold country altogether. Richard Morefield believed its aim was to remove competition, given the fact that the Sonorans and Chilenos were superior miners.[61] More important than the motives of the legislators, however, was the law's impact: the tax legally sanctioned the anti-foreign violence that had begun to emerge the year before and helped institutionalize a pattern of race relations that has persisted to the present day.

The first nativist acts in the gold fields were resolutions passed by groups of American miners to keep foreigners out. Though these resolutions were passed everywhere in the mining country, the largest number appeared in the Southern Mines, where visible contingents of foreigners had congregated. In the spring of 1849, for example, notices appeared there warning all non-U.S. citizens to leave within twenty-four hours.[62] In late September, miners along the North and South forks of the Stanislaus River resolved that "none but Americans" would be allowed to mine in those areas.[63] A resolution passed in Sonora in July 1850 required all foreigners "not engaged in permanent business and of respectable character" to leave within fifteen days. Those who remained had to turn in their firearms and obtain a permit from a self-styled enforcement committee of American miners.[64]

To enforce these resolutions, American miners often resorted to violence. During April 1849, Mexicans, Chilenos, and Peruvians were ordered to leave the area around Sutter's Mill at Coloma.[65] That summer, Sonorans were driven away from placer claims along the Tuolumne, Stanislaus, and Mokelumne rivers.[66] Mexicans, who were employed by an American named Sherlock, who had discovered the diggings in Mariposa County named after him, were evicted from their grounds when Sherlock was away prospecting elsewhere in the mountains.[67] In mid-December 1849, about one hundred Mexicans were each fined one ounce of gold dust and driven away from the banks of the Calaveras River. According to one American who participated in the action, the next morning "all those concerned went before the Alcalde and received our share of the spoils which we obtained from the Mexicans in the shape of fines."[68] Apparently, some nativist activities brought material rewards.

The Spanish-speaking miners did not always accept such maltreatment passively. In a few instances, as happened at Sonora, they fought back. In December 1849, when American miners in Calaveras County attempted to drive some Chileno miners away, the latter obtained a writ from the authorities to arrest several Americans who they claimed had robbed them of fifteen thousand dollars' worth of gold dust. When no Americans were willing to carry out the order, some eighty Chilenos attacked the Americans, killing two and wounding four. They marched the rest of the Americans back to the Chilenos' own camp. When news of this incident got out, hundreds of enraged and heavily armed Americans swore to "shoot down every one of them on the road." The Americans took eleven Chilenos prisoner. Three of them were shot, the others were flogged, while all Spanish-speaking miners in the locality were banished.[69]

Such nativist actions, which had begun before the Foreign Miners' Tax came into existence, became more frequent after it was levied because it sanctioned the expulsion of foreign miners who could not afford to or who refused to pay the tax. The tax collectors, who could keep three dollars of every twenty they collected, were often aided by bands of armed Americans who "roamed the countryside terrorizing the foreign population." Walter Colton, the American who had served as alcalde of Monterey for three years, noted how some Americans, who had organized themselves into a little "army," marched into Sonora and "liquored up" at the saloons before embarking on their forays.[70] Since tax collecting could be lucrative, impostors sometimes preyed upon the foreign miners. Some of these individuals tore up the receipts that the foreigners had in their possession—proof that they had already paid—and coerced them to pay again. In the minds of the Spanish-speaking miners, these violent attempts to extort and expel them were manifestations of *gringos envidiosos,* jealous white men.

Jacques Moerenhout, the French consul, came to a similar conclusion. He thought Americans were "jealous and angry to see [the gold] fall into the hands of foreigners."[71] French miners, as mentioned above, had protested against the discriminatory Foreign Miners' Tax.[72] The French consul, ever sensitive about French national honor, tried diligently to protect the rights of his compatriots. In the summer of 1852, the claims of some French miners, which had been confiscated, were given back to them following the consul's intervention.[73]

The French consul was not the only diplomat to attempt to do something about these discriminatory actions. The Mexican minister to the United States lodged a complaint with the U.S. secretary of state in Washington, D.C., when English-speaking miners (Americans, Englishmen, and Irishmen) in Mariposa County ordered Mexican miners to leave within twenty-four hours in June 1853. After the Mexicans beat a hasty retreat, taking whatever possessions they could with them, the English-speaking miners auctioned off the Mexicans' ore-bearing grounds and mining equipment for thirteen hundred dollars. With the proceeds, they paid off three hundred dollars' worth of debts owed by the Mexicans to a local merchant and then divided the rest of the take among themselves. Although the State Department did order an investigation upon receiving the Mexican minister's complaint, the U.S. district attorney who looked into the matter concluded he could "find nothing upon which to base a claim of twenty thousand dollars"—the amount the Mexican miners said they had lost.[74] No further action was taken.

American and British miners were successful in these expulsion campaigns; thousands of Latino and French miners left the gold country in 1850, 1851, and 1852.

Some of the Spanish-speakers returned to their native lands while others went to San Francisco, to the smaller towns, or to the rural areas, especially in southern California, to earn a living at menial jobs. Those who remained in mining retreated to more remote areas where they hoped to escape molestation, or they survived by working for American miners or mining companies as low-paid wage laborers. Their status as "cheap labor," however, only served to increase the hostility Anglo-American miners felt toward them.[75] Frenchmen also sought sanctuary in San Francisco, where they specialized in work that enhanced life's comforts. They ran hotels and restaurants, sold French wines, brandies, breads, and condiments, opened department stores that became the mainstays of San Francisco's fashionable set—the City of Paris and the White House—and virtually monopolized bootblacking.

As the economic impact of the immigrant exodus from the Southern Mines became apparent, the class interests of merchants came into play and quickly overrode the miners' nativism. Latino miners had spent whatever gold they had acquired freely. Not only did they gamble away much of their riches, but Mexicans, in particular, tended to buy various merchandise to take back to Mexico at the end of each mining season. Merchants in Stockton—the main distribution point for provisions and other goods destined for the Southern Mines—complained bitterly as these Spanish-speaking customers left. Major suppliers in San Francisco also became concerned. A long editorial in the *Alta California* pinpointed the problems it saw with the Foreign Miners' Tax. The newspaper called the tax

> decidely unconstitutional, unjust, impolitic, opposed to every principle of our free institutions, behind the age, illiberal and foolish. . . . We have said to the world, we are free, come and enjoy freedom with us. . . . Knowing this, tens of thousands of miners came to California in the full belief that they would not only meet with gold, but far better, justice and kindness. From Mexico and Peru, and Chile they flocked here, better miners than our own people. They dug, they got gold, and they spent it freely. . . . But the iniquitous law was passed. . . . They could not stand it. They left by thousands and tens of thousands. The Southern Mines especially felt the stunning blow. Stockton was knocked completely on the head. . . . The law gave to the unprincipled of our own countrymen and others claiming to be such a wide scope for oppression. . . . Wrongs and robberies led to murders and anarchy, and general prostrations of business. The state has been injured to the value of millions of dollars. . . . While the human devils who hail from the penal colonies are allowed all the rights of our own citizens because they speak the English language, a quiet and laborious people have been driven from among us because they did not speak that language.[76]

In short, the editor's concerns were moral as well as economic. Since the *Alta California* was an influential newspaper, its editorials reflected the perspectives of one of the state's most important opinion-makers.

In light of such criticisms, and because it never raised the vast revenues anticipated, the legislature repealed the first Foreign Miners' Tax in March 1851. A more reasonable tax of three dollars a month was imposed in May of the following year, but the Spanish-speaking miners never returned in large numbers. Instead, the second Foreign Miners' Tax found a new target—the Chinese, over 20,000 of whom landed in California in 1852. Their appearance coincided with a new stage in gold-rush history, during which placer mining declined and capital-intensive methods of extracting gold (river, deep shaft or quartz, and hydraulic mining) using wage labor became ascendant. The egalitarianism that the miners had tried to promote in the early years gave way to hierarchical class relations. During this same period, the nativism that had been directed against the Latin American and French miners, who did not speak English and were foreign-born and Catholic, metamorphosed into a racism against African Americans and Chinese, whose skin color and other phenotypical features differed from those of white Anglo-Saxon Protestants.

FROM NATIVISM TO RACISM AND RESISTANCE

"Race" and "racism" are too complex to be discussed at length in this essay. Suffice it to say that "race" is a concept used to divide groups of human beings into categories based on perceived differences in their bodies. However, since the divergence within one "race" can be greater than the disparities among the various "races," there is no valid biological basis for these racial categories. Nevertheless, race is a powerful concept because it is infused with psychological, social, cultural, and political meaning. As such, it is an important aspect of a society's structure. Most scholars today would agree that what "race" signifies is changeable, and is socially constructed and historically determined. "Racism," meanwhile, refers to the ideology used to justify the hierarchical ranking of different "races" at a given time, as well as the concrete practices employed by one group of human beings to dominate other groups and to discriminate against the latter. In the United States, racial differences have traditionally been depicted as a black and white dyad, but the arrival of significant numbers of Chinese in California in 1852 gave race relations there a unique twist.

By 1852, there were over 2,000 persons of African ancestry in California—that number having grown from only a few dozen in early 1848. Not all were from the United States. Some had come from Latin America and the various Caribbean islands. Of the American-born, some were enslaved, having been brought from the southern states by their masters to help dig for gold. En route, these slaves scouted the terrain, gathered firewood, prepared meals, washed clothes, hitched wagons, and performed other chores. At least half of the African American Argonauts, however, were free blacks from the northeastern seaboard, especially Massachusetts and New York, who, like everyone else, came in search of fortune. They traveled via the same overland and sea routes that other Americans and Europeans took. Their presence was often noted, albeit fleetingly, in the contemporary diaries and journals as well as later reminiscences that have been preserved.[77]

Less well known were the gold seekers of African ancestry from places outside the United States. By the time gold was discovered in California, people of African ancestry had been in the Americas for more than three centuries. Black people had been integral parts of the Spanish expeditions that had explored and colonized Mexico and South America since the early sixteenth century; some had been a part of the colonizing population of California itself from the 1760s. They, along with enslaved or peonized Native Americans, had performed the arduous labor to extract the gold and silver that had enriched Spain's coffers. They had also worked in the haciendas and ranchos that formed the foundation of the Spanish empire's pastoral economy. Yet others had performed domestic service or practiced various skilled trades in the towns.[78] Brazil, Portugal's colony in the Western hemisphere, meanwhile, had received more enslaved Africans than any other single country in the New World—a conservative estimate of over three million people who, after arrival, labored mostly in sugar plantations. Among the first individuals of African ancestry to join the California Gold Rush were sailors from Mexico, Chile, Peru, the Caribbean, and New Bedford (New England's major whaling port); they, like many American and European crews, deserted their ships as soon as the vessels anchored in San Francisco Bay and set off for the gold country.[79]

Like miners of other ethnic or national origins, black miners, though relatively small in numbers, left their marks on the land. In the racist parlance of the day, place names such as Nigger Hill, Nigger Bar, and Arroyo de los Negros attest to not only their presence but also their success, for when a mining camp was named for a particular ethnic group, it generally signaled the luck that miners of that ethnicity had had at that spot. Those enslaved African Americans who managed to find some gold used it to purchase their own freedom, which often cost as much as two thousand dollars, as well as the freedom of their family members left behind. According to the Rev. Darius Stokes, blacks in California sent about three-quarter million dollars to their loved ones in the early 1850s to purchase the latter's freedom.[80]

Some slave owners who did not strike it rich tried to recoup the expenses they had incurred by hiring out or selling their slaves. Thus, from the beginning, both enslaved and free African Americans in California engaged in a diversity of occupations, though most of these were of low status. The individuals who attained middle-class status were those who managed to save enough to open stores, hotels, and restaurants. Since racial segregation was practiced everywhere except in the gambling parlors, blacks had to establish facilities to serve their own people.

According to the 1852 state census, more than 1,000 blacks were found in the mining counties, more than 400 in San Francisco, and 300-plus in Sacramento.

A black miner pauses from his labors with a long tom to pose for a daguerreotype in Auburn Ravine, Placer County, in 1852. By this date two thousand Argonauts of African ancestry had arrived in California, some coming as slaves of southern gold hunters, others as free blacks from the New England states and New York, and still others from the Caribbean and Latin America. *Courtesy California State Library.*

The African American communities in Marysville and Stockton ranked next in size. Nigger Hill, where about 400 miners worked in 1855, contained the largest collection of black miners, but Chinese, Portuguese, and Anglo-American miners could also be found there. Fights occasionally broke out in that multiethnic mining community. In contrast, blacks were not harassed at nearby Massachusetts Flat, which was inhabited by miners of African and Portuguese ancestry from the state after which the locality was named.[81]

There being relatively few African American miners, no organized campaign developed to drive them out of the mines. Just as telling, the individuals who were lynched during the Gold Rush were not blacks but Mexicans and Chilenos and, in one instance, a Frenchman. However, blacks in gold-rush California had to fight larger battles for equality, social justice, and basic human dignity. They struggled to gain freedom from slavery, the right to testify in court, the right to vote, and the right for their children to attend integrated schools.

At the time that California became the thirty-first state, slavery, especially its extension into the territories acquired during America's westward expansion, was the paramount controversy in the nation. In the words of one historian, "California became a centerpiece of national debate and a major factor in the development of sectional discord" during the pre–Civil War era.[82] The reason was that its admission into the union upset the formula that had been established thirty years earlier in the Missouri Compromise—that territories would become states in pairs: one free and one slave, in order to preserve the fragile balance between free and slave states. A problem arose because California was the only state seeking admission in 1850. But its statehood could not wait until another territory was ready because the discovery of gold made Congress eager to incorporate California into the nation. Its entry as a free state was part of the Compromise of 1850, which also made New Mexico a territory and abolished the slave trade in the District of Columbia. To placate the slave-owning states, Congress passed a stringent fugitive slave law.

That national compromise was impelled by the fact that delegates to the 1849 state constitutional convention held at Monterey had already decided that slavery should not be allowed in California. They had opposed the "introduction of domestic slavery into the territory of California" not because they were abolitionists but because the miners did not wish to compete against southerners who might use slave labor to search for gold. More hotly debated was the question of whether or not free blacks should be permitted to enter the state. One delegate who opposed their entry declared that such individuals posed a "threat greater than slavery itself" because they were "idle in their habits, difficult to be governed by the laws, thriftless, and uneducated." Another participant predicted that should free blacks be allowed to seek their fortunes in the mines, "the whole country would be filled with emancipated slaves—the worst species of population—prepared to do nothing but steal, or live upon our means as paupers." But African Americans also had their defenders at the convention: one stated that "free men of color have just as good a right, and ought to have, to emigrate here as white men." Another reminded his fellow delegates of their solemn duty: "We are forming a Constitution for the first State of the American Union on the shores of the Pacific. The eyes of the world are turned toward us." For that reason, he said, the California constitution should be "a model instrument of liberal and enlightened principles." Yet another delegate declared that the proposed exclusion of black people was a "great wrong."[83] After weeks of debate, the provision was voted down due to fears that its inclusion might jeopardize California's statehood when the issue came before Congress.

Admission as a free state and the lack of prohibition against the entry of free blacks, however, did not settle the ambiguous status of those enslaved African Americans who had been brought to California before it became a state. Slave masters continued to claim ownership of their chattel or reneged on promises of manumission, as illustrated by the Perkins case, which involved three slaves from Mississippi—Carter Perkins, Robert Perkins, and Sandy Jones—who had been taken to California to help dig for gold. A year later, they were hired out to a doctor, who was told that should the three men perform their duties faithfully and give their earnings to their owner, they could be freed. Several months later, their new employer informed them they had fulfilled their obligations and were free. However, their former master, after returning to Mississippi, changed his mind and decided to reclaim his "property" and sued to get them back. Using the fugitive slave law that California had passed in April 1852 (the intention of which was to enable masters to keep slaves who had been brought into California before it became a state), the three men were arrested and taken to Sacramento. After a convoluted trial, the court ruled that the three men were still the property of their former owner. They were remanded to jail to await delivery to the latter.[84]

A more celebrated case involved Archy Lee in 1858. By this time, California's fugitive slave law, which had been renewed annually until 1856, had expired. Two months after Lee and his master arrived in the state, the latter decided to send the former home to Mississippi. While in San Francisco awaiting passage, Lee escaped but was soon apprehended. In the next few months, the African American community rose up to support his fight for freedom. After winding its way through the lower courts, the case reached the California Supreme Court, which decided that even though Lee could not be held according to the (federal) fugitive slave law, "there are circumstances connected with this particular case that may exempt him from the operation of the rules we have laid down." These circumstances were that Lee's young master was inexperienced and in poor health and needed his services! Thus, the justices thought he should be returned to his master. Archy Lee's supporters, however, obtained a new writ of *habeas corpus* and finally succeeded in getting him freed.[85]

The issue that California's African Americans fought hardest for was the right to testify in court. Being barred from testimony and having to rely on white witnesses meant that blacks had no recourse against those who robbed or assaulted them. To gain this right, the black community's leaders held statewide "colored conventions" in 1855, 1856, and 1857, and launched petition campaigns to influence the legislature.[86] Though the lawmakers rebuffed their requests, African Americans finally did acquire the right to testify in 1863, during the Civil War.

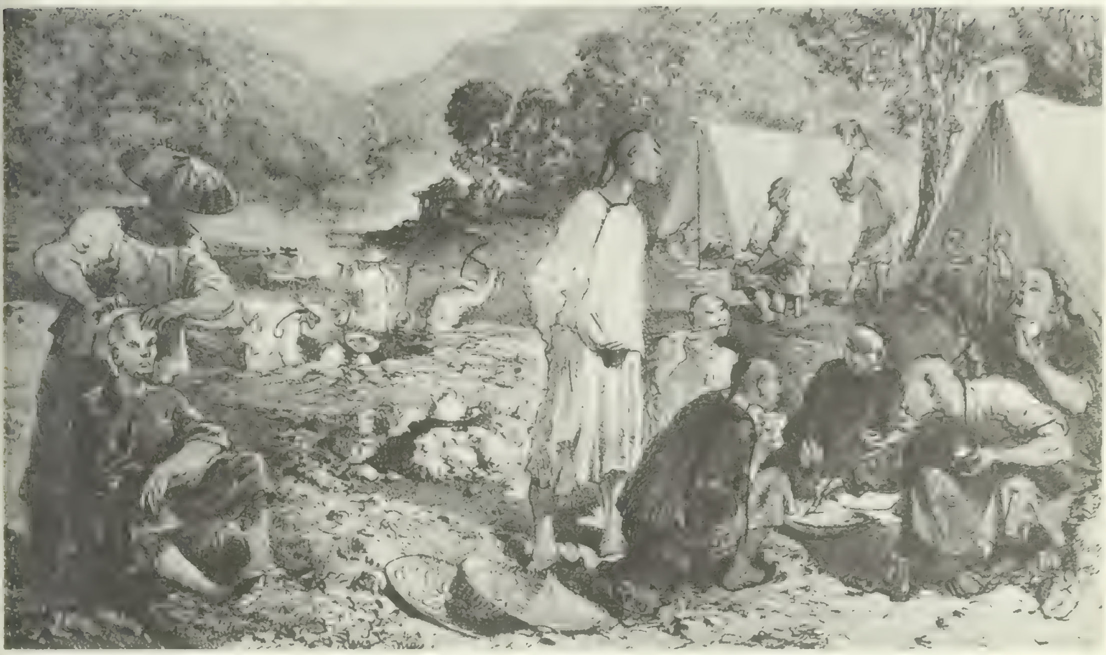
Black Californians' struggle for the franchise, however, did not bear fruit until after the Civil War, when the Fifteenth Amendment to the national constitution was passed in 1870, enabling African Americans around the nation to participate in political elections. Their desire to send their children to integrated schools involved more local efforts. During the early gold-rush years, there were few black women and even fewer black children in California (the same demographic imbalance characterized all the other ethnic groups in the state as well). But by the mid-1850s, several hundred African American children had been born in or brought to California. Their parents had to find ways to educate them, as they were not allowed to attend the public schools. Two means were found: some black churches set up private classes for the children, usually in their basements, while boards of education in San Francisco, Sacramento, and elsewhere allocated funds for the establishment of separate "colored schools." By 1873, twenty-one public "colored schools" existed in the state. Though black parents began protesting segregated schooling in the 1860s, and mounted a legal campaign in 1872 to end it, it was not until the 1890 *Wysinger* v. *Crookshank* decision that California's public schools finally opened their doors to black youth.[87]

In addition to the above inequities sanctioned by law and by common practice, African Americans in California also could not use the same public facilities as whites or serve in the militia and military.[88] Such discrimination was definitely racist and not nativist, for black Californians were not foreigners but Americans. Moreover, what they encountered was not simply prejudice but institutional racism: the major institutions of society—the state legislature, the court system, the state franchise board, various local school boards, the armed services, and municipal governments—all used their power to deny African Californians the rights that other Americans enjoyed, solely on the basis of their purported biological and social defects.

Unlike African Americans, who had been oppressed for centuries but who, as American-born persons, could speak English and were familiar with the U.S. Constitution, the American creed, and everyday social practices, the Chinese who came to California during the Gold Rush had no prior experience as oppressed minorities. Yet, despite the countless charges of unassimilability leveled against them, they fought for the very same civil rights as blacks had done, including the right to testify in court, to earn a living without harassment, to become U.S. citizens, to vote, to attend integrated schools, and to marry individuals of a different race.[89]

That the Chinese should engage in such struggles was unexpected because they supposedly were only crossing the ocean in search of wealth, with no intention of making America their permanent home. Although a significant proportion of the other gold seekers also returned to the places where they had lived before they joined the Gold Rush, and could thus be properly characterized as sojourners, the term "sojourner" has been applied by journalists and historians alike only to the Chinese. Thus, by a single stroke of the pen, these writers have relegated Chinese to the margins of American immigration history by claiming they were not "true" immigrants.[90] This unsubstantiated assertion has been questioned only in recent years, when scholars began to uncover how sophisticated the Chinese in fact were, as they used the American judicial and economic systems to garner some rights, as well as a living, for themselves.[91]

Chinese entered the gold fields just as miners began to abandon placer claims already stripped of easily removable nuggets and gold dust. From 1852 or 1853 onward,



A camp of Chinese miners, as depicted by the Scots artist-Argonaut J. D. Borthwick. Although less than a thousand Chinese had reached *Gum San,* the "Golden Mountain," by 1850, within two years they represented nearly a tenth of the total population of the state. Usually excluded from all but worked-out claims, they nonetheless continued to practice placer mining techniques long after the rise of hydraulic and quartz mining. From J. D. Borthwick, *Three Years in California* (1857). *California Historical Society, FN-31566.*

the Chinese became the main—indeed, in some places, the only—placer miners in the state. An analysis of the manuscript U.S. census schedules for 1860, 1870, and 1880 (the 1850 federal and 1852 state manuscript census schedules were not studied because they are unreliable and illegible on many pages) shows how important mining was as an activity to the Chinese. First, they were heavily concentrated in the mining regions and formed a sizable fraction of the total population there, ranging from 12 to 23 percent in the various counties in 1860, 14 to 22 percent in 1870, and 10 to 20 percent in 1880. In comparison, at no time did they exceed 10 percent of the total population of the state as a whole. Second, of the gainfully employed Chinese enumerated in the mining counties, 80 to 90 percent in all three ore-bearing regions were engaged in mining in 1860. A decade later, 50 percent of Chinese in the Northern Mines were miners, 75 percent were similarly occupied in the Southern Mines, while 87 percent of Chinese in the Klamath-Trinity mining region were likewise prospecting for the shiny metal. In 1880, the respective percentages were 71, 52, and 71 percent.[92]

These figures debunk a second widely held myth about Chinese immigration into the United States: that they were primarily imported as "coolies" (contract laborers) to help build the western half of the first transcontinental railroad. That oft-repeated "fact" simply is not true. Like other groups, including Anglo-Americans, the Chinese were initially lured to California by the discovery of gold; only a decade and a half later did they find work in railroad construction. In fact, gold was such a lodestar for the Chinese that they persisted in mining longer than any other ethnic group. They dug and washed and rocked the picked-over, but still ore-bearing, earth, gleaning whatever residue of gold they could find, until they became too old for that sort of arduous labor. The Chinese miners found by census enumerators in 1900 were all quite old because after the Chinese Exclusion Act was passed in 1882, few young immigrants could come to replenish the aging and dwindling Chinese population.

When the Chinese first appeared in the mining areas, they were tolerated because, as the Mexicans, Chilenos, Peruvians, and French left, they were the only group from whom the new Foreign Miners' Tax could be collected. Such revenue enriched the treasuries of the mining counties until 1870, when the tax was declared unconstitutional. Even more importantly, the Chinese were willing to pay handsome prices for the white miners' "tailings" or worked-out claims. Such an unexpected source of income gave the departing miners a last chance to "raise a stake." Still, Yankee miners complained that "Chinamen are getting to be altogether too plentiful in the country."[93] Attempts were made to expel Chinese from some locations. For example, sixty white miners drove away two hundred Chinese from Mormon Bar on the American River and later another four hundred from Horse Shoe Bar.[94] There were also efforts to exclude the Chinese from Columbia, Rough and Ready, Wood's Creek, Foster's Bar, and Yuba River Camp.[95]

In addition, the state legislature levied a so-called "commutation tax," which required the masters of ships arriving in California ports to submit a list of all foreign passengers and to post a bond of five hundred dollars for each such individual. This bond, however, could be commuted by paying a fee ranging from five to fifty dollars per passenger. Although the Chinese were not explicitly named in this measure, they were, in fact, its main targets. Most of the time, the commutation fee was five dollars, which the shipping companies simply added to the cost of passage and thereby passed on to their Chinese customers.[96]

Despite these hostile acts, Chinese could be found all over the mining regions. Their headquarters was at Chinese Camp in Tuolumne County, which had the largest congregation of Chinese miners in the state and served as the distribution point not only for the Southern Mines but also for all the Chinese mining camps from Plumas County in the north to Mariposa County in the south.[97] There was even a significant number of Chinese miners in the northwestern part of the state, the first contingent of thirty-five having arrived in Siskiyou County in May 1853.[98] This area was so remote that some Chinese found it sufficiently safe to invest in the expensive equipment needed for hydraulic mining—a venture they did not dare undertake in the more populous Northern and Southern Mines, where the chances of their being evicted were higher.

Aside from the mining camps, Chinese also gathered in urban Chinatowns, each of which occupied a small section of towns such as Angels Camp, Auburn, Coloma, Columbia, Coulterville, Grass Valley, Hornitos, Knights Ferry, Mokelumne Hill, Nevada City, Placerville, and Sonora. The Chinatowns contained grocery and dry goods stores, gambling joints, opium dens, brothels, restaurants, and boardinghouses, most of which were housed in shanties. The gambling, opium-smoking, and eating places, as well as the houses of prostitution, were frequented by Chinese and non-Chinese alike.

Chinese in the mining areas earned a living in other ways when they were prevented from mining themselves. As large companies formed to sink deep shafts into the ore-bearing hardrock, which had to be excavated by experienced workers and crushed and processed with heavy machinery, highly skilled miners from Cornwall, England, became the employees of choice. The hardrock miners formed unions and kept the Chinese out, but the latter found work as cooks, wood gatherers, laundrymen, farmers, produce dealers, and herbalists to serve the other miners' needs. (Miners were among the first European Americans to discover the efficacy of traditional Chinese medicine.)

Although the Chinese managed to earn a living, they were abused and discriminated against even more blatantly than blacks, given their larger numbers and consequently the greater threat they were perceived to pose. But, like African Americans, they also fought back. As early as April 1852, Chinese community leaders who had learned English began to protest the negative ways in which their people were being depicted. In a letter to Governor John Bigler, who had made an anti-Chinese statement, Har Wa and Long Achik, two merchants in San Francisco, took exception to his calling all Chinese "coolies." They pointed out that

> there are no Chinese drunkards in your streets, nor convicts in your prisons, madmen in your hospitals, or others who are a charge to your state. They live orderly, work hard, and take care of themselves . . . we are good men; we honor our parents; we take care of our children; we are industrious and peaceable; we trade much; we are trusted for small and large sums; we pay our debts and are honest; and, of course, must tell the truth.[99]

The following month, Norman Asing, another Chinese who was literate in English, sent a second letter to the governor in which he stated:

> we would beg to remind you that when your nation was a wilderness, and the nation from which you sprung *barbarous,* we exercised most of the arts and virtues of civilized life; . . . we are not the degraded race you would make us. . . . You say that "gold, with its talismanic power, has overcome those natural habits of non-intercourse we have exhibited." I ask you, has not gold had the same effect upon your people, and the people

> of other countries, who have migrated hither? Why, it was gold that filled your country (formerly a desert) with people, filled your harbors with ships . . . You cannot . . . assert that the cupidity of which you speak is ours alone; . . . Thousands of your own citizens come here to dig for gold, with the idea of returning as speedily as they can.[100]

Chinese not only insisted on their right to be in the United States but soon began to use American institutions, especially the political and judicial systems, to defend themselves. Thus, in 1853, in response to bills introduced to increase the Foreign Miners' Tax, several Chinese community leaders, accompanied by white attorneys they had hired, met with the state legislature's Committee on Mines and Mining Interests, during which they rebutted allegations that they were importing indentured laborers. They supplied information on the Chinese population in the state and the means by which they had come. Although they did not oppose a reasonable increase in the Foreign Miners' Tax, they did complain about the increasing violence that Chinese miners were encountering and provided details about numerous physical attacks. They pointed out that the Chinese had no recourse to justice because the courts would not accept Chinese testimony. The Chinese leaders were apparently persuasive, for the committee recommended that the Foreign Miners' Tax be increased by only a dollar a month.[101]

Furthermore, Chinese miners did not hesitate to turn to the local courts when they were robbed of their gold dust either by other Chinese or by white miners or when they were evicted from claims they were working.[102] Such action contradicts the stereotype of them as a people who insulated themselves from the larger society around them. To handicap them in these legal proceedings, the statute barring Native Americans and African Americans from testifying against whites in California's courts was formally extended to the Chinese in 1854, in the case of *People* v. *Hall.*[103] Just as black Californians tried to do, the Chinese fought hard to overturn this prohibition. But they did not succeed until 1872—nine years after blacks had done so. Not only did it take them longer to achieve this goal, but in 1863 Chinese were additionally barred from testifying in civil cases as well.

Unable to testify in court, "Chinamen are robbed and murdered with impunity, because they are defenseless and have no remedy," as the *Mountain Democrat* put it.[104] In a report made by a committee of the state legislature in 1862, it was stated that eighty-eight Chinese miners were known to have been murdered by whites, eleven of them by collectors of the Foreign Miners' Tax. The committee concluded that "it is a well known fact that there has been a wholesale system of wrong and outrage practiced upon the Chinese population of this state, which would disgrace the most barbarous nation upon earth."[105] Only in one instance did the Chinese win a modest victory with regard to the Foreign Miners' Tax and the physical abuse they had endured. In 1861, in the case of *Ex parte Ah Pong,* the state supreme court overturned a sentence against a Chinese laundryman who had refused to pay the Foreign Miners' Tax, after it was revised to apply to all foreigners living in the mining districts, regardless of their occupation.[106]

Despite the similar injustices they faced, African Americans and Chinese in gold-rush California failed to identify with one another or to join in a common struggle. On the contrary, they showed considerable antipathy to one another. In his letter to Governor Bigler, Norman Asing objected to Chinese being grouped together with blacks:

> you have degraded the Negro because of your holding him in involuntary servitude, and because for the sake of union in some of your states such was tolerated, and amongst this class you would endeavor to place us. . . . Your Excellency will discover, however, that we are as much allied to the African race and the red man as you are yourself, and that as far as the aristocracy of *skin* is concerned, ours might compare with many of the European races.[107]

Neither did the Chinese hesitate to express negative views about California Indians. After the 1854 *Hall* decision, Lai Chun-chuen, a San Francisco Chinese merchant, wrote a letter to Governor Bigler in which he declared:

> your honorable people . . . have come to the conclusion that we Chinese are the same as Indians and Negroes, and your courts will not allow us to bear witness. And yet these Indians know nothing about the relations of society; they know no mutual respect; they wear neither clothes nor shoes; they live in wild places and in caves.[108]

African Americans, for their part, denigrated the "grotesque" appearance of Chinese men, with their queues and "vacant Know Nothing face[s which are] expressive of nothing but stupidity." Echoing the views of white Americans, black Americans faulted the Chinese for being "heathens" and having no "regard for the sanctity of the Christian oath." Philip Bell, a prominent black pioneer newspaper editor in California, urged his readers "not to employ the Chinese nor purchase goods from them."[109] African Americans sought to distance themselves from the Chinese by reminding European Americans that black people were different from the Chinese. As Bell put it, the black American "is a native American, loyal to the Government, and a lover of his country and her institutions—American in all his ideas; a Christian by education, and a believer in the truths of Christianity."[110] In short, African Americans used nativist arguments to elevate themselves vis-à-vis the Chinese. It should be noted, however, that there were also African Americans who sympathized with the Chinese and opposed efforts to exclude them from the country.[111]

Such mutual antagonism between two minority groups indicates how pernicious racism can be in a mixed, fiercely competitive society in which all groups were prone to extreme ethnocentrism. In gold-rush California, not only did racism help whites to justify their oppression of peoples of color, but it also fueled a scramble among the latter for status, opportunities, and white approval—approval to be gained, they thought, by denigrating other nonwhite groups. But that sad history of human failings can also be interpreted dialectically: the struggles for civil rights mounted by Californians of African and Chinese ancestry bear witness to the fact that often it is people who have been most wronged who fight the hardest for liberty and justice. In the case of the Chinese, even though they may have retained their clothing, hairstyle, food preferences, language, religion, and other aspects of daily life—and in that sense did not seem to have assimilated—they, in fact, assimilated to a far greater degree than they have been given credit for, in terms of their fervent desire for fair play and equality. Life (the safety of one's person and the right to earn a living), liberty (the freedom to reside where one wishes, to associate with whomever one wishes, and to say whatever is on one's mind), and the pursuit of happiness (the ability to acquire wealth through honest labor and to partake of human conviviality) are, after all, the very things that define the national identity of the United States. In short, resistance to efforts to *deny* them such basic rights is, in a profound, albeit unconventional, sense, a form of patriotism on the part of American-born blacks, and of assimilation on the part of Chinese immigrants.

CONCLUSION

When we examine the historical experiences of black and Chinese Californians, alongside one another, it is apparent that the early 1850s was a period during which racial lines hardened. Those divisions were codified and sanctioned by a series of laws: the 1852 Fugitive Slave Act, the reimposition in 1852 of the Foreign Miners' Tax, the 1852 enactment of a "commutation tax," and the extension of the prohibition against black, mulatto, and Indian testimony to the Chinese in the 1854 *People* v. *Hall* decision. These laws and their official enforcement, as well as de facto implementation through social coercion and even mob violence, all worked to keep Californians of color "in their place." Each discriminatory law and its implementation represented what sociologists Michael Omi and Howard Winant have called a "racial project . . . simultaneously an interpretation, representation, or explanation of racial dynamics, and an effort to organize and redistribute resources along particular racial lines." Cumulatively, such racial projects constitute the process they have called "racial formation," during which "racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed."[112]

One concrete manifestation of racial formation in California was the increasing segmentation of the labor market, in which the more dangerous, menial, and low-paid jobs with little job security and built-in channels for advancement became the province of racial minorities (and of women), while the cleaner, better paid, and more prestigious occupations with greater job security and more possibilities for upward mobility became the preserve of European American men. Thus, while the labor of nonwhite groups was still wanted, their place was now to *serve* the needs of the emerging dominant Anglo-American majority—in contrast to the latter's self-appointed role, which was to own the state's resources, control its decision-making apparatus, dominate all other ethnic groups and women of all backgrounds, and define what was culturally acceptable. This process of stratification had begun during the Spanish and Mexican periods, but it accelerated with the Gold Rush. The creation of such a hierarchy involved five sub-processes vis-à-vis peoples of color: the *exploitation* of their labor, the *denial* of their civil rights, the *aversion* of social contacts with them, the *deprivation* of their chances for upward mobility, and the insistence on *deference* in their behavior toward the European American majority. The rapid emergence of such an unequal society—one that goes against the professed American creed—is one of the darker legacies of the Gold Rush we need to remember as we commemorate its sesquicentennial.

NOTES

1. Manuel P. Servin, "California's Hispanic Heritage: A View into the Spanish Myth," *Journal of San Diego History* 19 (1973): 1–9; Harry Kelsey, "A New Look at the Founding of Old Los Angeles," *California Historical Quarterly* 55 (1976): 327–39; and William Mason, "Tracking the Founders of Los Angeles," *Museum Alliance Quarterly* 6 (Summer 1967): 26–27 and 30.

2. There are many markers of ethnicity. In this chapter, I shall focus on language and religion. Since these two phenomena are also aspects of culture, "ethnicity" and "ethnic identity" will be used interchangeably with "culture" and "cultural identity" in this study.

3. For a fuller historiographical evaluation, see Sucheng Chan, "Immigrants and Minorities in the Historiography of the California Gold Rush" (forthcoming).

4. Hubert H. Bancroft, *California Inter Pocula,* vol. 35 of *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft* (San Francisco: The History Co., 1888); Bancroft, *History of California,* vols. 6 and 7 (1884–1890); Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California,* vol. 3 (San Francisco: Pacific Press, 1885–1897); and Josiah Royce, *California from the Conquest in 1846 to the Second Vigilante Committee in San Francisco: A Study of American Character* (1885; New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948). Theodore Hittell's brother, John, actually published the first chronicle of the state, but the only immigrant group singled out for special comments were the French: John S. Hittell, *A History of the City of San Francisco and Incidentally of the State of California* (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Co., 1878), 185 ff. Quotes are from Bancroft, *California Inter Pocula,* 236, and Royce, *California,* 357 ff. and 222.

5. John S. McGroarty, *California: Its History and Romance* (Los Angeles: Grafton, 1911), 209–38; Henry K. Norton, *The Story of California: From the Earliest Days to the Present* (1913; Chicago: A. C. McClurg, 1926), 216–17, 228, 288, and 291; Zoeth S. Eldredge, *History of California,* vol. 3 (New York: Century History Co., 1915), chapters 4, 5, and 7 (the reference to Mexicans is on p. 189); and Gertrude Atherton, *California: An Intimate History* (1914; New York: Boni & Liveright, 1927), 123 (the Chinese are covered in chapters 20 and 21).

6. Robert G. Cleland, *A History of California: The American Period* (New York, 1922; New

York: Macmillan, 1927), chapters 17 and 19 (the discussion of foreign miners is on pp. 280–83), Rockwell D. Hunt and Nellie van de Grift Sanchez, *A Short History of California* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1929), 380 and 391; and John W. Caughey, *California* (1940; New York: Prentice-Hall, 1953), chapter 16.

7. Carey McWilliams, *California: The Great Exception* (New York: Current Books, 1949), 25 and 63.

8. Ibid., 86–88.

9. Andrew F. Rolle, *California: A History* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1963); Walton Bean, *California: An Interpretive History* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968); Ralph J. Roske, *Everyman's Eden: A History of California* (New York: Macmillan, 1968); Warren A. Beck and David A. Williams, *California: A History of the Golden State* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1972); David Lavender, *California: Land of New Beginnings* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972) and *California: A Bicentennial History* (New York: W. W. Norton for the American Association for State and Local History, 1976); and Edward Staniford, *The Pattern of California History* (San Francisco: Canfield Press, 1975).

10. Lavender, *California: Land of New Beginnings*, see esp. 157, 161, 166, 186, and 209–26.

11. Howard A. DeWitt, *California Civilization: An Interpretation* (Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt, 1979); Howard A. DeWitt, ed., *Readings in California Civilization* (Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt, 1981); Kevin Starr, *Americans and the California Dream, 1850–1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973); James J. Rawls, ed., *New Directions in California History: A Book of Readings* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1988); James J. Rawls and Walton Bean, *California: An Interpretive History*, 7th ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1998); Richard B. Rice, William A. Bullough, and Richard J. Orsi, *The Elusive Eden: A New History of California*, 2nd ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1996); Sucheng Chan and Spencer C. Olin, eds., *Major Problems in California History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997); and David Wyatt, *Five Fires: Race, Catastrophe, and the Shaping of California* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1997).

12. In Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1987), and Richard White, *"It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own": A New History of the American West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991)—two works of synthesis that exemplify the "New Western History"—only a few pages in each book are devoted to the Gold Rush. A succinct statement of the New Western Historians' view of race is found in Richard White, "Race Relations in the American West," *American Quarterly* 38 (1986): 396–416.

13. Owen C. Coy, *Gold Days* (San Francisco: Powell, 1929); John W. Caughey, *Gold Is the Cornerstone* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948; the paperback edition, published in 1975, appeared under the title *The California Gold Rush*); Rodman W. Paul, *California Gold: The Beginning of Mining in the Far West* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947); Paul, *Mining Frontiers of the Far West, 1848–1880* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963); William S. Greever, *The Bonanza West: The Story of Western Mining Rushes, 1848–1900* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963); Otis E. Young, Jr., *Western Mining: An Informal Account of Precious-Metal Prospecting, Placering, Lode Mining, and Milling on the American Frontier from Spanish Times to 1893* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970); J. S. Holliday, *The World Rushed In: The California Gold Rush Experience, An Eyewitness Account of a Nation Heading West* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1981); Paula M. Marks, *Precious Dust: The American Gold Rush Era, 1848–1900* (New York: William Morrow, 1994); and Malcolm

J. Rohrbough, *Days of Gold: The California Gold Rush and the American Nation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

14. Paul, *California Gold*, 45, 47, 134–37, 142, and 152.

15. Joseph R. Conlin, *Bacon, Beans, and Galantines: Food and Foodways on the Western Mining Frontier* (Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 1986); Doris M. Wright, "The Making of Cosmopolitan California: An Analysis of Immigration, 1848–1870," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 19 (December 1940): 323–43, and 20 (March 1941): 65–79; and Ralph J. Roske, "The World Impact of the California Gold Rush, 1849–1857," *Arizona and the West* 5 (Summer 1963): 187–232.

16. Due to space limitations, writings about the European immigrant groups cannot be cited here. See Chan, "Immigrants and Minorities," for a listing of the available literature. The copious material on the Jews is due partly to the existence of a journal, *Western States Jewish History* (originally called *Western States Jewish Historical Quarterly*).

17. Only a few of the writings about African Americans, Chinese, Mexicans, Chilenos, and Peruvians will be cited below. For fuller listings, see Chan, "Immigrants and Minorities."

18. Robert L. Santos, *The Gold Rush of California: A Bibliography of Periodical Articles* (Denair, Calif.: Alley-Cass Publications, 1998).

19. Corrective in the sense discussed by Jim Sharpe, "History from Below," and Joan Scott, "Women's History," in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, ed. Peter Burke (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991), 24–41 and 42–66, respectively.

20. For incisive discussions of these changes, see Maureen A. Jung, "Capitalism Comes to the Diggings: From Gold-Rush Adventure to Corporate Enterprise," *California History* 77 (Winter 1998/99): 52–77; and Daniel Cornford, "'We all live more like brutes than humans': Labor and Capital in the Gold Rush," *California History* 77 (Winter 1998/99): 78–104.

21. Seville A. Sylva, *Foreigners in the California Gold Rush* (San Francisco: R & E Research Associates, 1972), 4.

22. Richard Dillon, "Kanaka Colonies in California," *Pacific Historical Review* 24 (February 1955): 17–23.

23. Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778–1854*, vol. 1 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1938; 7th printing, 1989), 319–24; and Roske, "World Impact," 189–93.

24. Stephen Giacobbi, *Chile and Her Argonauts in the Gold Rush* (San Francisco: R & E Research Associates, 1974), 8.

25. George E. Faugsted, Jr., *The Chilenos in the California Gold Rush* (San Francisco: R & E Research Associates, 1973), 14.

26. Wright, "Making of Cosmopolitan California," 326.

27. As quoted in Giacobbi, *Chile and Her Argonauts*, 18.

28. Faugsted, *Chilenos in the California Gold Rush*, 19.

29. Wright, "Making of Cosmopolitan California," appendix D, 342.

30. J. M. Guinn, "Early Gold Discoveries in Southern California," *Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California* 3 (1895): 10–16.

31. Wright, "Making of Cosmopolitan California," 324.

32. Jay Monaghan, *Chile, Peru, and the California Gold Rush of 1849* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 98–101.

33. Charles Bateson, *Gold Fleet to California: Forty Niners from Australia and New Zealand* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1964), 20–21; and Jay Monaghan, *Aus-*

tralians and the Gold Rush: California and Down Under, 1849–1854 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966).

34. Sherman L. Ricards, Jr., and George M. Blackburn, "The Sydney Ducks: A Demographic Analysis," *Pacific Historical Review* 42 (February 1973): 20–31.

35. Robert A. Burchell, "The Gathering of a Community: The British-Born of San Francisco in 1852 and 1872," *Journal of American Studies* 10 (1976): 281.

36. Bateson, *Gold Fleet*, 38.

37. J. D. Borthwick, *Three Years in California* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1857), 239; and Sylva, *Foreigners*, 25.

38. The dividing line between the Northern and Southern Mines was "the ridge on the north side of the north fork of the Mokelumne River" (Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California*, vol. 3, 109). On the Southern Mines, see Roberta E. Holmes, *The Southern Mines of California: Early Development of the Sonora Mining Region* (San Francisco: Grabhorn Press, 1930); William R. Kenny, "History of the Sonora Mining Region of California, 1848–1860" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1955); and Elizabeth G. Potter, "Columbia—'Gem of the Southern Mines,'" *California Historical Society Quarterly* 24 (September 1945): 267–70. On the Northern Mines, see Edmund Kinyon, *The Northern Mines: Factual Narratives of the Counties of Nevada, Placer, Sierra, Yuba, and Portions of Plumas and Butte* (Nevada City: Union Publishing Co., 1949).

39. Carlos U. Lopez, *Chilenos in California: A Study of the 1850, 1852, and 1860 Censuses* (San Francisco: R & E Research Associates, 1973), tables I and II, xvii and xviii.

40. Ibid., xii; and Giacobbi, *Chile and Her Argonauts*, 20.

41. Faugsted, *Chilenos in the California Gold Rush*, 25.

42. Bancroft, *History of California*, vol. 6, 124, note 27.

43. James M. Guinn, "The Sonoran Migration," *Historical Society of Southern California Annual* 8 (1909–1911): 33.

44. Ray Allen Billington, *The Protestant Crusade, 1800–1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism* (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1963); and John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860–1925* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1963).

45. Bancroft, *History of California*, vol. 6, 396–402 and 227–28.

46. Richard H. Peterson, *Manifest Destiny in the Mines: A Cultural Interpretation of Anti-Mexican Nativism in California, 1848–1853* (San Francisco: R & E Research Associates, 1975), 36.

47. James J. Rawls, "Gold Diggers: Indian Miners in the California Gold Rush," *California Historical Quarterly* 55 (Spring 1976): 28–45.

48. Helen B. Henniker-Gray, "The Beginnings of Nativism in California, 1848–1852" (M.A. thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1948), 20, 30, and 31.

49. Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California*, vol. 3, 736.

50. Frank Soulé, John H. Gihon, and James Nisbet, *The Annals of San Francisco* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1855), 463–64.

51. Abraham P. Nasatir, *The French in the California Gold Rush* (New York: American Society of the French Legion of Honor, 1934), 7–8.

52. Gilbert Chinard, "When the French Came to California: An Introductory Essay," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 22 (December 1943): 291–92.

53. Wright, "Making of Cosmopolitan California," 71.

54. Chinard, "When the French Came," 307.

55. George Cosgrave, trans., "The French Revolution: Translated from the French of F. Gerstacker's *Scenes de la Vie Californienne,*" *California Historical Society Quarterly* 17 (March 1938): 4.

56. Chinard, "When the French Came"; and Henry Blumenthal, "The California Societies in France, 1849–1855," *Pacific Historical Review* 25 (August 1856): 251–60.

57. Chinard, "When the French Came," 311–12; and Blumenthal, "California Societies in France," 258.

58. This statement may seem to contradict Doris Wright's view that the immigrants who came directly from France were "largely from the middle class," with many skilled mechanics and professionals (Wright, "Making of Cosmopolitan California," 72). However, due to the economic losses suffered by many members of the middle class in the aftermath of the 1848 Revolution, even they might have been penurious.

59. Henniker-Gray, "Beginnings of Nativism," 38.

60. Faugsted, *Chilenos in the California Gold Rush,* 42.

61. Leonard Pitt, "The Beginnings of Nativism in California," *Pacific Historical Review* 30 (February 1961): 23–38; Richard H. Peterson, "The Foreign Miners' Tax of 1850 and Mexicans in California: Exploitation or Expulsion?" *Pacific Historian* 20 (Fall 1976): 265–70; and Richard H. Morefield, *The Mexican Adaptation in American California, 1846–1875* (San Francisco: R & E Research Associates, 1971).

62. M. Colette Standart, "The Sonoran Migration to California," *Southern California Quarterly* 58 (Fall 1976): 340.

63. Richard H. Morefield, "Mexicans in the California Mines, 1848–53," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 35 (March 1956): 38.

64. Morefield, *Mexican Adaptation,* 9.

65. Richard H. Peterson, "The Mexican Gold Rush: 'Illegal Aliens' of the 1850s," *The Californians* 3 (May/June 1985): 19.

66. Standart, "Sonora Migration," 340.

67. Peterson, "Mexican Gold Rush," 19; and Morefield, "Mexicans in the California Mines," 38.

68. William R. Kenny, "Mexican-American Conflict on the Mining Frontier, 1848–52," *Journal of the West* 6 (October 1967): 587.

69. Ibid., 587–88; Morefield, *Mexican Adaptation,* 3–5.

70. Kenny, "Mexican-American Conflict," 591.

71. Ibid., 583–84.

72. For an account of a tragicomic incident involving French miners in the vicinity of Sonora, see Cosgrave, "French Revolution."

73. Morefield, *Mexican Adaptation,* 12.

74. George Cosgrave, "A Diplomatic Incident on the Little Mariposa," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 11 (December 1942): 360–61.

75. Winifred Storrs Hill, *Tarnished Gold: Prejudice during the California Gold Rush* (San Francisco: International Scholars Publications, 1990), 27–28.

76. Quoted in ibid., 29–30; and in Henniker-Gray, "Beginnings of Nativism," 41–43.

77. Rudolph Lapp, *Blacks in Gold Rush California* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 12–48; and B. Gordon Wheeler, *Black California: The History of African-Americans in the Golden State* (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1993), 39–65.

78. Kenneth G. Goode, *California's Black Pioneers: A Brief Historical Survey* (Santa Barbara: McNally & Loftin, 1974), 3–36.

79. Lapp, *Blacks in Gold Rush California,* 49.

80. Goode, *California's Black Pioneers,* 59.

81. Lapp, *Blacks in Gold Rush California,* 52.

82. Ronald C. Woolsey, "A Southern Dilemma: Slavery Expansion and the California Statehood Issue in 1850—A Reconsideration," *Southern California Quarterly* 65 (Summer 1983): 123.

83. Gordon M. Bakken, "Constitutional Convention Debates in the West: Race, Religion, and Gender," *Western Legal History* 3 (Summer/Fall 1990): 229.

84. Ray Albin, "The Perkins Case: The Ordeal of Three Slaves in Gold Rush California," *California History* 67 (December 1988): 214–27 and 187–89.

85. William E. Franklin, "The Archy Case," *Pacific Historical Review* 32 (May 1963): 137–54. For other cases, see Lapp, *Blacks in Gold Rush California,* 126–57.

86. Lapp, *Blacks in Gold Rush California,* 186–238. For the text of the proceedings of these conventions, as well as one held in 1865, see Philip S. Foner and George E. Walker, eds., *Proceedings of the Black State Conventions, 1840–1865,* vol. 2 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1972), 110–205.

87. Charles M. Wollenberg, *All Deliberate Speed: Segregation and Exclusion in California Schools, 1855–1975* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 8–27.

88. Wheeler, *Black California,* 55.

89. It is outside the scope of this essay to discuss the sustained efforts made by the Chinese to gain civil rights. For a succinct summary, see Sucheng Chan, *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1991), 45–61 and 81–100. For a more detailed exposition, see Charles J. McClain, *In Search of Equality: The Chinese Struggle Against Discrimination in Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

90. For a discussion of this historiographical issue, see Sucheng Chan, "European and Asian Immigration into the United States in Comparative Perspective, 1820s to 1920s," in *Immigration Reconsidered: History, Sociology, and Politics,* ed. Virginia Yans-McLaughlin (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 37–75; and Franklin Ng, "The Sojourner, Return Migration, and Immigration History," *Chinese America: History and Perspectives, 1987* (San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society of America, 1987), 53–72.

91. The two books that point most clearly in this direction are Sucheng Chan, *This Bittersweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860–1910* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); and McClain, *In Search of Equality.*

92. Chan, *This Bittersweet Soil,* tables 2, 3, 4, and 5, on pp. 48, 54, 62, and 68.

93. Stephen Williams, "The Chinese in the California Mines, 1848–1860" (M.A. thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1930), 63.

94. Ibid., 66–67.

95. David V. DuFault, "The Chinese in the Mining Camps of California, 1848–1870," *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly* 41 (1959): 156.

96. McClain, *In Search of Equality,* 12–13.

97. Williams, "Chinese in the California Mines," 75. Also see Irene D. Paden and Margaret E. Schlichtmann, *The Big Oak Flat Road: An Account of Freighting from Stockton to Yosemite Valley* (Oakland: Holmes Book Co., 1959), 67–92; and Anne Bloomfield, Benjamin

F. H. Ananian, and Philip P. Choy, *History of Chinese Camp: Cultural Resources Inventory* (Sonora: Tuolumne County Historical Preservation Review Commission, 1994).

98. Nancy Wey, "Chinese Mining in Siskiyou County, Northern California," *East/West*, October 25, 1978, 7.

99. Har Wa and Long Achik, "The Chinese in California: Letter of the Chinamen to His Excellency Gov. Bigler," *Living Age* 34 (April 29, 1852).

100. Norman Asing, "To His Excellency Governor Bigler from Norman Asing," *Daily Alta California*, May 5, 1855.

101. McClain, *In Search of Equality*, 15–16. In 1855, the tax was raised to six dollars a month, with a provision for augmenting it further by two dollars per year thereafter. However, the 1855 levy was repealed the following year, with the tax set again at four dollars a month.

102. I have found two dozen legal briefs in Nevada County (whose county seat, Nevada City, had the largest Chinatown in the Northern Mines) in which Chinese sued each other as well as whites. I have not written up my findings, but a brief summary of the issues addressed in these cases may be found in McClain, *In Search of Equality*, 295–96, note 122.

103. David Beesley, "More than *People* v. *Hall:* Chinese Immigrants and American Law in a Sierra Nevada Town, 1850–1920," *Locus* 3 (Spring 1991): 123–39; Charles J. McClain, "The Chinese Struggle for Civil Rights in Nineteenth Century America: The First Phase, 1850–1870," *California Law Review* 72 (July 1984): 548–53; and Hudson N. Janisch, "The Chinese, the Courts, and the Constitution: A Study of the Legal Issues Raised by Chinese Immigration to the United States, 1850–1902" (J.D. diss., University of Chicago Law School, 1971), 50–61.

104. Quoted in Janisch, "The Chinese, the Courts, and the Constitution," 60.

105. California State Legislature, "Report of the Joint Select Committee Relative to the Chinese Population of the State of California," *Journals of the Senate and Assembly*, Appendix, vol. 3 (Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1862), 7.

106. McClain, *In Search of Equality*, 24.

107. Asing, "To His Excellency," 127–28.

108. Chun-chuen Lai, *Remarks of the Chinese Merchants of San Francisco, upon Governor John Bigler's Message and Some Common Objections; with Some Explanation of the Character of the Chinese Companies, and the Laboring Class in California* (San Francisco: Whitton, Towne and Co., 1855).

109. Arnold Shankman, "Black on Yellow: Afro-Americans View Chinese-Americans, 1850–1935," *Phylon* 39 (Spring 1978): 2 and 6.

110. As quoted in Leigh Dana Johnsen, "Equal Rights and the 'Heathen Chinee': Black Activism in San Francisco, 1865–1875," *Western Historical Quarterly* 11 (January 1980): 61.

111. David J. Hellwig, "Black Reactions to Chinese Immigration and the Anti-Chinese Movement: 1850–1910," *Amerasia Journal* 6 (1979): 30–31. Also of interest is Dan Caldwell, "The Negroization of the Chinese Stereotype in California," *Southern California Quarterly* 53 (1971): 123–31.

112. Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 1994), 55–56.

4

"Because he is a liar and a thief"

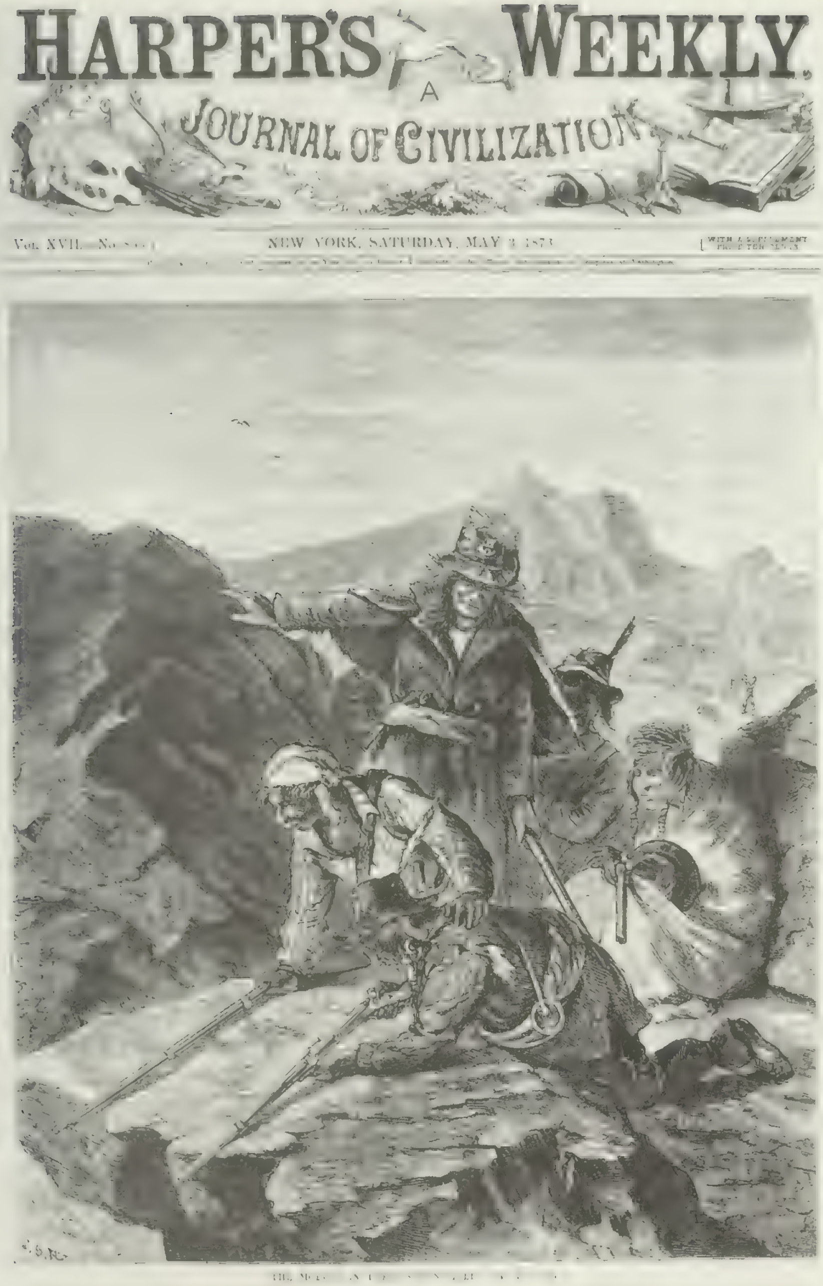
Conquering the Residents of "Old" California, 1850–1880

James A. Sandos

History to the defeated
May say Alas, but cannot help or pardon
—W. H. Auden, "Spain 1937"

Capitulate or assassinate? Seeking a way to follow the only path he thought honorable and to avoid the act that a majority of his young warriors had demanded of him, Kientipoos, the Modoc war chief known to whites as Captain Jack, began by pressing his alternative plan to Gen. Edward Canby. On Good Friday, April 11, 1873, Canby had come to Jack's stronghold in the lava beds, in remote northeastern California, below Tule Lake, to negotiate peace on Canby's terms. For twenty years white settlers had been moving steadily onto Modoc sacred land. Whites had displaced the Modoc by opening roads, planting 28,000 acres in crops, opening five quartz mines, and logging 4.2 million lumber feet of timber. In the process, whites increased their number to 9,500 against the Modoc population of less than 300. The Modoc retaliated with raids and killing. The U.S. Army, along with volunteers, had fought the Indians and in the early 1860s, forced them onto a reservation to the north with their numerically larger, long-standing enemies, the Klamath. In doing so, the military enforced American Indian policy, which not only removed the Modoc from their territory but also consequently subjected them to death by their reservation neighbors.[1]

Frustrated, Kientipoos and about 150 followers left in April 1870 for their former lands to the south. The Modoc's return enraged worried whites and precipitated new violence. Conflict escalated to the point that General Canby commanded a force of one thousand troopers, Indian scouts, and volunteers when he went to meet Kientipoos. Canby intended that the Modoc immediately surrender and return to their


HARPER'S WEEKLY
A JOURNAL OF CIVILIZATION
Vol. XVII.
NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 3, 1873

A sensationalistic rendering of *The Modocs in Their Stronghold* fills the 3 May 1873 cover of *Harper's Weekly.* Defying federal authorities who had forced them to share a reservation with the Klamath, their traditional foes, some fifty Modoc warriors and their families followed the war chief Kientipoos, or Captain Jack, to the wild volcanic terrain of the lava beds bordering Tule Lake. For months they successfully held off a vastly superior force of U.S. Army regulars until, their resistance crushed, they were resettled in the far-off Indian Territory of Oklahoma. *California Historical Society, FN-05449.*

assigned reservation. Canby dismissed as foolish the warning from his Modoc interpreter and cousin of Kientipoos, Winema (little woman-chief), that the Modoc planned to kill him and the other commissioners during the meeting.

Canby began by saying, "I know I will be able to make you see things right today. You will see as I see. Jack, I know that you are a smart man . . . you understand everything good now. The white man's law is straight and strong. What I say is law[.]" Holding up a sagebrush twig, Kientipoos replied that "your law is as crooked as this." But first, Kientipoos tried peace, telling Canby that "If you promise me a home, somewhere in this country, promise me today; although your word is not much good, I am willing to take you at your promise." Canby remained silent. Realizing the futility of talk, Kientipoos said to his braves "ut wih kutt" (let's do it), then drew his revolver, pointed at Canby's face, and squeezed the trigger. Misfire. The second round did not. Canby, struck below the right eye, reeled backward, mortally wounded. Kientipoos had done what his young warriors wanted and in so doing foresaw the consequences for his people: whites would vanquish them. After a long war, Kientipoos was captured, tried, and executed as Captain Jack. The surviving Modoc were resettled in Indian Territory (Oklahoma), where, by the early twentieth century, no full bloods remained and the Army believed that their culture had been extinguished. The Modoc War, 1872–1873, cost the Army its only officer of the rank of general ever killed in the Indian wars (George Armstrong Custer held the rank of lieutenant colonel when he died at the Little Big Horn in 1876), and nearly $1.6 million of today's dollars for each of the five Modoc warriors killed.

Kientipoos and the Modoc represent California Indians' most violent response to American conquest; within their story, in varying degrees, however, lies those of all the other tribes. They are tales of outsiders taking land and game, destroying the ecological basis of Indian life while killing Indians outright if they either objected or did not move out fast enough; of a new legal system that sanctioned the outsiders' behavior; of Indian agents both sincere and corrupt creating a phantom reservation system; and of a confused national Indian policy subverted by local interests. In the words of historian Hubert Howe Bancroft, "the advance of settlement was everywhere marked by a more or less revolting treatment of the natives."[2] While true, we should not let such blanket descriptions of victimization blind us to Indian coping strategies for dealing with this catastrophic change.

Nor were Indians the only older residents of California to suffer devastating consequences from the new American order. Most Californios, whether of native or foreign birth, lost heavily to the newcomers legally, economically, socially, and culturally. While Canby and Kientipoos negotiated in the lava beds, far to the south in San Diego, English-born Juan (John) Forster took to an American court the last Mexican governor of California, Pío Pico—who was also Forster's brother-in-law and

The famed Andrés Pico, scion of an old California family and brilliant commander of the Californios' forces at the Battle of San Pascual, in the early 1850s. Pico and his brother Pío, the last governor of Mexican California, lost enormous land holdings when—like so many other Californios—their lack of business experience, extraordinarily high interest rates, falling cattle prices, and the great drought of the 1860s led them to default on mortgages. *Courtesy Seaver Center for Western Research, Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History.*

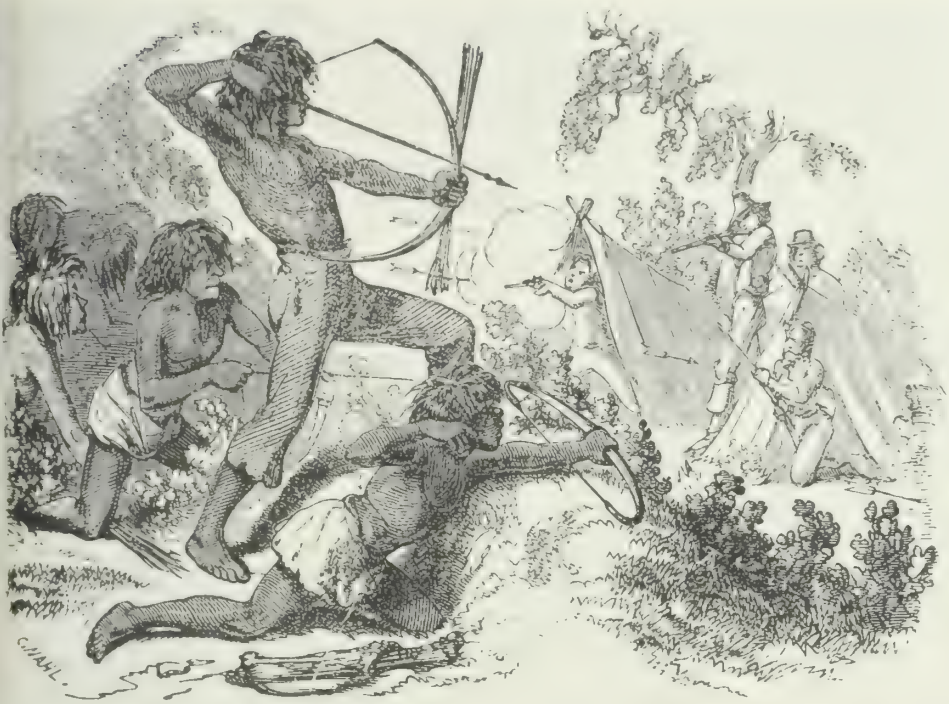
godfather—to extinguish Pico's claim to the Santa Margarita Rancho. Forster claimed that Pico had given him full interest in the rancho, today the site of Camp Pendleton, in return for money lent to pay Pico's debts. Pico countered that he had given Forster only one-half interest in the property. Despite the truth of Pico's claims, Forster won and Pico lost the land. Pico survived another twenty years "living off the charity of friends," and died owing his landlady two years' rent.[3]

Many Californios lost their land through carelessness and swindle; Indians were driven out and killed. The suffering of both groups from the influx of settlers invading their spaces was further complicated by the legal entanglement in American courts of their land titles conferred by previous governments. Americans, viewing land ownership differently from Californios and Indians and anxiously seeking to claim land for themselves, impatiently awaited the surveying and parcelization of "vacant" territory, which then could be theirs.

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA INDIANS

Californios exploited the new wealth of the discovery of gold by following their well-established pattern. Utilizing Indians from their ranchos or from adjacent Indian rancherias, Californios supervised Indian labor and reaped the profits while the Indians did the work of panning for gold; in return, Indians received little more than subsistence. Californios such as John Sutter, John Bidwell, James Savage, and Antonio Coronel all used Indian labor to find gold. After a few months local Indian tribes decided to pan on their own. They were, however, generally cheated of the full value of their discoveries. "You know . . . no Christian man is bound to give full value to those infernal red-skins," a store keeper at a trading post on the American River reportedly said. "They are onsoffisticated vagabones and have no more bissiness with money than a mule or a wolf; they've got no religion, and tharfore no consciences, so I deals with them accordin."[4]

When outsiders arrived, many of them took offense at the use of gang-labor because it threatened the interests of individual (and white) effort. Breakdown in cooperation between Indians and whites in mining is generally attributed to men from Oregon Territory, the nearest outsiders to arrive. They quickly made known their displeasure about Californios employing Indians as miners. In March 1849, Oregonian miners entered a southern Maidu village on the American River. In the course of their actions they raped several Indian women; the Maidu men tried to stop it and some were killed. Soon after, five Oregon miners were attacked and killed; their comrades retaliated with another raid in which they killed more than a dozen Indians and captured many more. Seven of the Indian prisoners were taken to Coloma, site of the initial gold discovery, where the Oregonians promptly executed



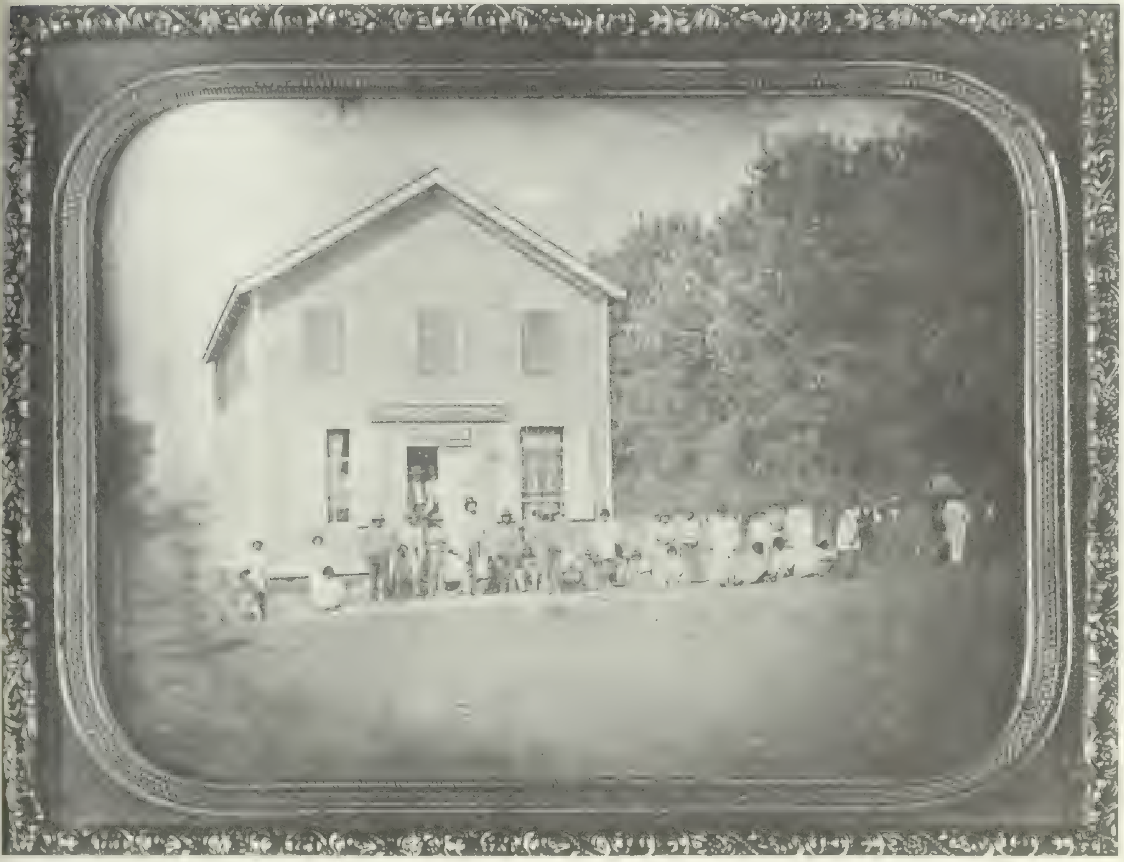
Indians attack an encampment of miners in a wood engraving from a design by the celebrated gold-rush artist Charles Nahl. Conflict between Argonauts and natives broke out in the spring of 1849, when, in reprisal for outrages against several of their women, a party of Maidu killed five miners from Oregon Territory at what would subsequently be called Murderers Bar, on the American River. Quickly retaliating, the Oregonians hunted down and slaughtered several Indians, precipitating a series of bloody encounters that drove most natives from the mines. *California Historical Society, FN-31548.*

them. While the Oregonians did not represent all the white men working claims, their treatment of Indians led to a tense racial climate in the diggings and ushered in a period of tolerated abuse and destruction of "diggers." The Coloma tragedy caused Indians to flee the mines. Whereas when the Oregonians arrived in 1848, more than half the miners were Indians, following the Coloma incident one observer noted that Indian labor, "once very useful, and in fact, indispensible . . . has been utterly sacrificed by this extensive system of discrimination and revenge."[5]

While the Indians withdrew their labor, the hostilities begun against them led to recurring skirmishes. Indians attacked the white men's cattle and hogs, which ranged upon their land devouring the seeds, grasses, roots, and acorns vital to Indian survival. Those Indians who could stood their ground in their villages, but since these were invariably in places well-watered, with good exposure to sun, and protected against wind and flood, whites coveted them. Fighting back was one option. Augustin Hale, a midwestern emigrant who arrived in the diggings after the Coloma episode in 1849, expressed fear that Indians would steal his animals as they had done to other miners. A year later, after meeting with another group of miners, he wrote in his diary: "This party like all others who have learned from sad experience, positively affirms that it will not do to allow even *one* of them [Indians] to come into camp for they will *surely prove treacherous.*" Despite his admonition, Hale's own experiences proved that Indian-white relations could not be reduced to such a simple formula. When he arrived in Sacramento, he and his companions had "breakfasted on salmon bought of the Indians." At year's end he noted that he "had been sick two months and lived nearly all that time on acorn and beef." The scarcity of wheat flour made its price dearer than many miners could afford. Out of flour, in desperation, and despite the illness plaguing Hale and his party, they nonetheless gathered acorns to make bread. They could only have obtained the knowledge and technique for this process from Indians.[6]

Even as hostilities between Indians and whites spread throughout the mining districts—northern, central, and southern—another set of problems emerged in the area of governmental policy toward native peoples. For nearly two hundred years, first while still British colonies and later as a sovereign nation, the policy of the United States had favored removal: the physical relocation of Indians away from the flow of white settlement. With the conquest of California and its incorporation into the union, federal officials began to rethink the policy of removal. Since Manifest Destiny had carried America from sea to sea, where, then, would the Indians go? Confinement in place for the Indians of the new state—in other words the creation of reservations—emerged as a dominant mode of thinking in Washington. In California, those not directly involved in Indian skirmishing thought the new policy good. Hostile settlers and miners, however, favored continued removal. Newly appointed federal Indian agents and commissioners, therefore, attempted to protect their charges and to negotiate treaties with them in a contentious environment.[7]

An insight into these conflicts comes from the interactions among the pre-American-conquest resident John Bidwell and his Indian neighbors against encroaching miners and settlers. Bidwell had come to California in 1841, worked for Sutter, learned Spanish and the methods for employing Indian labor, and obtained a land grant to the Rancho Chico on the Feather River, site of present-day Chico. When gold was discovered upriver in the Sierra foothills, Bidwell employed Indians to mine for him; he soon extracted more than $100,000 from his operation, known as Bidwell's Bar. Indians had to wade into the cold water to pan and were paid two red calico handkerchiefs a day if they worked well, one if they did not. When the Oregonians objected to his use of Indian labor, Bidwell withdrew from active mining.



John Bidwell poses with Indians from the Yana, Wintun, Maidu, and other tribes at the store and post office on his Rancho Chico, about 1852. Bidwell, who had come to California in 1841 with the first overland emigrant party, employed large numbers of Sacramento Valley natives on his land and tried to protect them from the depredations of miners and of rival Indian tribes. He also worked in the new state legislature to obtain lands for the Indians in return for peace, but, sadly, his efforts had unfortunate consequences. *Courtesy Meriam Library, Special Collections, California State University, Chico, and Bidwell Mansion State Historic Park, Chico.*

He bought more land and gathered Indians together to live on his rancho, both to avoid the attacks of miners and to work for him. Indians who lived in that vicinity mainly came from the tribes of Mechoopda, Wintun, Yana, and Maidu. Bidwell provided them with food, clothing, beads, and protection from whites. Within a few years they had sowed 300 acres of grain and 435 acres of wheat and oats for Bidwell, who in turn prospered further from selling the food and the flour made from his gristmill to miners and settlers.[8]

In late summer 1851, one of the eighteen treaties concluded with California Indians by federal Indian commissioners was signed at Bidwell's ranch. It created reservations in several adjacent areas in which the Indians were to be confined in return for keeping the peace with whites. The reservations, however, included foothill land, the prime target of miners, who immediately began encroaching and filing claims. Hostilities ensued, as they did everywhere in the mining districts where such reservations were created. Newcomers now wanted Indian labor, but on new terms. Miners and settlers took advantage of a law that, ironically, Bidwell had helped to craft. The 1850 Act for the Government and Protection of Indians, designed to preserve Indian labor for Californios, allowed whites to take Indians as indentured servants. Newcomers raided Indian villages to take women as sex slaves and children as servants and workers. These marauders either took Indians for themselves or, in businesslike fashion, sold their victims to others. Even after the law was repealed during the Civil War, these kidnapping raids provided constant points of conflict.[9]

Sheltered by their host, Indians at Bidwell's ranch weathered the surrounding storms of conflict in relative calm until the early 1860s. By then, retaliatory raids by some Indians finally struck at white children, and the resultant outcry for Indian removal could not be stilled. Bidwell himself reluctantly agreed with the federal suggestion to round up the Indians in his area and remove them 120 miles away to the reservation at Round Valley. It was a dreadful, but seemingly unavoidable, choice. The Round Valley Reservation was itself overrun by white squatters, who occupied about four-fifths of its area. Since many of the whites were single men, the competition, fair and unfair, for Indian women further disrupted Indian life. The widow of Indian chief Solano, who had seen the despoliation of her own and other native peoples in northern California, later told an interviewer, "I do not like the white man much because he is a liar and a thief."[10]

Indian removal from Rancho Chico was targeted at the Yana particularly, but the roundup was so hasty that few if any Yana were included. It was the unlucky Maidu, Wintun, Mechoopda, and others who became the dispossessed. Gathered together and escorted by a mixed force of California militia and some federal troops, 461 Indians began an involuntary 120-mile trip down the hot and dusty Sacramento Valley, then up over the steep Coast Range and down into Round Valley. The lack of food, disease, and exhaustion that characterized the march killed many. About 277 reached the reservation, many of them sick. Thirty-two more subsequently died. Some of the more able-bodied fled. It had taken the Indians two weeks to make the journey; the well-fed and mounted military escort returned to Chico in just three days.[11]

Initially, the reservations in northern California were no more successful than in the rest of the state. Reservations failed to keep Indians in or whites out. Despite the good will and intentions of some of the early Indian agents and subagents, these men were quickly succeeded by the venal and corrupt, who exploited their positions for personal profit while failing to feed or protect Indians. Of a total of 3,000 Indians

Maidu headmen with United States Indian commissioners, a poignant image of alien cultures that resonates with failed hopes, broken promises, and, ultimately, the destruction of a native people. *Courtesy George Eastman House, Rochester, N.Y.*

originally under reservation supervision, by the time of the Round Valley removal fewer than 1,000 remained and these were fading quickly into the wild to hide and survive as best they could. And survival was precarious. When whites discovered that the Yana they had wanted to relocate had avoided the roundup, settlers formed volunteer groups to hunt down and kill the natives. At the time of the Gold Rush the Yana had numbered about 1,900. When whites ambushed a remnant group and killed 45 of them in 1867, not enough Yana survived to bury the dead. Over two decades, more than 1,800 Yana died to avenge the deaths caused by them of fewer than 50 whites. Thus within twenty years the Yana numbered less than 100 and went into concealment.[12] The Yahi subtribe had even fewer. Nothing would be heard from them until 1911, when a nearly naked and starving Yana-Yahi man, the last of his tribe, entered the corral of a slaughterhouse in Oroville seeking food. A practitioner of the new discipline of anthropology, Alfred L. Kroeber learned of the "discovery" of this Indian, and Kroeber and his colleagues brought the man to San Francisco for study. They never learned his Indian name and instead called him by the Yana word for man—"Ishi."[13]

Indian population decline had been precipitous under American rule. From about 150,000 native people still living in California at the time of the gold discovery, that number had plummeted to 30,000 in 1860, an 80 percent decline in just twelve years.[14] In the words of historical demographer Sherburne F. Cook, "This desolation was accomplished by a ruthless flood of miners and farmers who annihilated the natives without mercy or compensation."[15] Observers at the time knew that. William Gwin described the plight of California Indians to his colleagues in the U.S. Senate, saying "Their hunting grounds have been destroyed; the rivers where they maintained themselves by fishing the salmon, running through them by the millions, which supported them at certain seasons, are now entirely occupied by miners. The whole of the ground, upon which formerly the trees grew, where they got the acorns they made use of as bread, has been taken up by miners."[16] Added to these causes of Indian decline must be the constant spread of infectious diseases (but without the more severe epidemics of the Spanish and Mexican eras) and the natural causes of age and accident. But it was the unnatural factors, the systematic murders of Indians by whites, that seem to have been the greatest single cause of death after 1848.

Writing at the end of the nineteenth century and lacking the knowledge of more recent human atrocities that the twentieth century would bring, Hubert Howe Bancroft, the first modern historian of California, wrote of this period that "It was one of the last human hunts of civilization, and the basest and most brutal of them all . . . it was not a mark of high merit on the part of the new comers to exterminate them [Indians] so quickly."[17] Whereas historian Frederick Jackson Turner saw the American frontier pushed ever westward by heroic and noble settlers, Bancroft saw a different group in California, one composed of "free trappers, desperadoes, the scum of society, together with unlicensed settlers, knowing no laws and having no protection save of their own devising."[18] Bancroft remarked on the differences in Indian policy between Spain and America but seemed unwilling to draw a comparison to the parallels. Spaniards seeking gold in the Caribbean and more of it in the conquest of the Aztecs, while ruthless in fighting the Indians, did not try deliberately to destroy them. Even though Spaniards regarded Indians as their inferiors, Spaniards nonetheless accepted them and incorporated them as low-caste members of Spanish-created society. Single men seeking gold in California, however, behaved differently. Historian Laurence Hauptman, writing a century after Bancroft, and after carefully examining white behavior in northern California in the 1850s and 1860s, finds that only one word accurately describes what happened to

Indians there: genocide. Using a measured definition of the term, Hauptman concludes that the word can only be precisely used twice in the history of Indian policy in North America, first with the Pequots in Connecticut in the 1630s, and again in northern California in the 1850s and 1860s. In both cases the state supported the murders committed by settlers, whether they organized themselves as militia or acted in informal groups. And in each case the destruction of the Indians, fueled by race hatred, was the goal.[19] From sea to forest, from the Mendocino coast to the lava beds, gold seekers, adventurers, settlers, and thugs carried the destruction of Indians northwest and northeast from the upper mining districts.[20] Fortunately for California Indians, this policy of deliberate genocide was not followed in the rest of the state.

CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA INDIANS

Intense but intermittent violence characterized Indian-white relations in the southern mining district, the Sierra foothills south of Coloma. Conflict spread out of the foothills and onto the bottomland of a significant portion of the great Central Valley surrounding Fresno. Federal commissioners continued their negotiations with Indian tribes with the goal of creating reservations. In May 1851, an Indian reservation was created near Fresno; a few days later a small detachment of federal troops established Fort Miller for the protection of Indians and built it with Indian labor. This act initiated in California the military reservation system.[21] But settlers were unhappy with the federal approach. Seeking, and usually finding, support for paramilitary campaigns against Indians from the state legislature, newcomers became progressively more outraged at the treaties the federal representatives concluded with natives they regarded as hostiles. Throughout central and southern California, as well as in the north, from the settlers' viewpoint, the U.S. government's appointees were proposing to *give* land to Indians rather than to extinguish altogether any Indian claim to title.

Acting in good faith, Indian agents in 1851–1852 negotiated eighteen treaties from Humboldt Bay and the Klamath River in the north to Temecula in San Diego County in the south, setting aside as reservation land 7,488,000 acres, or about 7.5 percent of the total state land area. Moreover, nearly 20,000 whites illegally squatting on those reservation lands would have to be removed. Previously favorable public sentiment went sour.[22] The California legislature appointed a special committee to investigate the treaties. In its majority report the committee recommended that the treaties be set aside and all the Indians, save the former mission converts (called neophytes), be removed from the state boundaries. A lone old-time ranchero from the south, J. J. Warner, raised his voice in dissent. Since the Indians had already agreed to the treaties, what right did Americans have to try and annul them unilaterally? "Will it be said," Warner asked, "that while our doors are open to the stranger from the uttermost parts of the earth, we have not spare room for the residence of the once sole inhabitants of our magnificent empire?"[23] State concerns, nonetheless, decisively influenced national policy. In secret executive session, the U.S. Senate rejected the treaties on July 8, 1852 (although that fact was not revealed until more than fifty years later).[24] In August, the Senate, after lengthy debate, agreed to provide $100,000 to purchase food for the Indians who had lost their lands. In the Senate's view, this one-time expenditure of money would buy peace. To ensure that there would be no ongoing relationship, however, the Senate resolution concluded with the following provision: "That nothing herein shall be so construed as to imply the obligation on the part of the United States to feed and support the Indians who have been dispossessed of their lands in California."[25]

The secret rejection of the treaties created further confusion and contention. Reduced to what were no more than temporary reservations, Indians were quickly evicted by white squatters who filed claims to land that Indians thought was theirs, only to learn that it was not. Benjamin D. Wilson, President Millard Fillmore's Indian agent for southern California, in a letter to his subagent, provided the following instructions: "Use all prudent means to protect the Indians, in their rights against impious white men; settle all disputes among themselves; advise with them and encourage them to labor and provide for the maintenance of their families. At present we have no *treaties* to make or supplies to furnish them; our present object is to keep them quiet."[26] With nothing to offer and no power to prevent white encroachment, Indian agents, no matter the nobility of their intentions, were little better than powerless to stop the growing conflict. To calm hostilities, the federal government in 1853 formally imposed a system of military reservations. Utilizing the existing station at Fort Miller as a base, the War Department a year later created Fort Tejon in the Tehachapi Mountains south of the San Joaquin Valley. Eventually five military reservations emerged, but their fates vacillated with federal policy shifts. They were administered by civilian agents who proved mainly to be corrupt, men who charged the government for food and cattle they failed to provide to their charges. Some, like Cave Couts in San Diego County, filed claim and secured title to the very Indian lands they were supposed to protect.[27] Indians with the ability to move away and try something else did so; those who remained were frequently weak and demoralized.

In those areas where Indians proved less contentious, whites used state and local anti-vagrancy laws to control Indian labor. The legislature's 1850 Act for the Government and Protection of Indians also forbade their public loitering and vagrancy. An Indian detained by lawmen, for any reason, and unable to prove employment would be arrested, fined, and if unable to pay, sold at public auction for the fee. For paying the fine, whites could buy an Indian's labor for up to four months. Thus by being indigent, a condition imposed by white invasion and conquest, Indians could be made to work. Intoxicated Indians proved especially vulnerable because whites usually gave them free liquor to initiate the process and did so again after their servitude expired, causing it all to repeat.[28]

Other Indians, including former mission Indians, followed coping strategies of varying effectiveness. In the backcountry inland between Los Angeles and San Diego, Antonio Garra, ex-neophyte from Mission San Luis Rey, led his Cupeño in a tax revolt against an American impost levied on Indians in 1851. Garra sought a pan-Indian effort against the new rulers. His uprising led to the deaths of a few Indians and whites but was crushed by the combined military activity of the Americans and the seizure of Garra by a rival, Juan Antonio, a Cahuilla chief. Juan Antonio then surrendered Garra to the Americans, who tried and executed him. Even Juan Antonio and his Cahuilla suffered from American neglect in maintaining their lands, however. Subsequent white encroachment continued to erode Cahuilla reservations. On the other hand, Manuelito Cota, chief of the Luiseño and later the federal government's appointed chief of the Cupeño following Garra's death, managed to keep Americans sufficiently satisfied that they honored his people's territory, at least until his resignation in 1858. During his tenure the Luiseño, who had farmed land around their central village in Temecula since mission secularization in the 1830s, had become the most prosperous Indians in California. Following Cota's retirement, however, their fortunes declined, slowly at first, then rapidly.[29]

The southern neighbors to the Luiseño, the Diegueño (Kumeyaay), under the leadership of *Capitán* José Panto, struggled to maintain the integrity of their settlement at San Pascual, the site of the only Californio victory over the Americans during the war of 1846–1848. Following American occupation of California, Panto tried to pursue peaceful relations with whites. San Pascual had been organized as a civil pueblo under Mexican rule in the 1830s with an Indian alcalde. The ex-neophytes raised crops and tended cattle, but they also included within their number muleteers, blacksmiths, carpenters, millers, wool-carders, leather-workers, and cheese-makers. In January 1852, Panto signed a treaty of peace and friendship with an American Indian agent and thought his village safe from encroachment as a result. But it was not. In 1856 he complained against white squatters living in the community, but to no avail. Despite assurances that the land had been set aside by executive order as an inviolate reservation, whites continued to move onto Indian land. Apparently through ties of marriage, by 1860 Panto also became headman at the village of Mesa Grande, approximately twelve miles further inland and more remote. As white incursions into San Pascual continued, displacing progressively more Diegueño, many of the Indians sought refuge in Mesa Grande. Panto died in 1874, still fighting white settlement; four years later, it was over. In 1878 "the Superior Court of San Diego County, after hearing the testimony relative to the Indians claim to said land, issued a writ of ejectment in favor of [claimant Perry] Bevington and Deputy Sheriff Ward demolished the Indian huts and moved them off of the land, which land was afterward patented to Perry Bevington."[30] In the phrase of one scholar, white displacement literally pushed Indians "into the rocks" to try and survive.[31]

Compared to northern California, southern California Indians did better in their interactions with whites. The principal reason seems to have been the previous Indian experience with outsiders under Spanish and Mexican rule. Especially for Indians associated with the missions, this background, which included extensive involvement in agriculture, better prepared native peoples to negotiate with, and adapt to, whites than those who had had little or no white contact until the Gold Rush. That southern California was much less affected by the Gold Rush, resulting in a relatively slow influx of new settlers, was also important. In the south, whites at first accepted majority Mexicans, albeit at a step below themselves in their racial hierarchy because Mexicans were mestizos, or racially mixed. Whites also seem to have treated what they perceived as Mexicanized Indians as a type of Mexican—inferior, yes, but people to be dealt with, and perhaps exploited, rather than destroyed.[32] In this context, the Indians surrounding Mission San Fernando fared somewhat better than others in southern California. Indians associated with the mission came from Gabrielino, Chumash, Kitanemak, Tataviam, and Serrano peoples; following mission secularization in the 1830s, they had secured ranchos and villages near the mission. The 1,110- acre rancho of El Escorpión was given in 1845 to Odón Chihuya and two other Indians, who in turn represented upward of thirty more; twenty-one years later the rancho was secured to the Indians by U.S. patent.[33] Through intermarriage of female descendants with French and Basque males, the property eventually became subdivided. Yet El Escorpión represented one of the very few Indian land grants to survive Americanization. Other Indians near the mission settled in the interior along Piru Creek and worked for Californio families as vaqueros and day laborers. One of the important Californio ranchos that continued to maintain an Indian village, drawing native peoples from different tribes, was Rancho Camulos, near present-day Newhall, owned by the Del Valle family. As American intrusion progressed, some San Fernando Indians stayed where they were. Others migrated to the Tejón Ranchería, where although a reservation existed intermittently, cattle ranches needing Indian vaqueros provided continued employment well into the twentieth century.[34] As the cases of El Escorpión and Tejón indicate, the fate of Indians in southern California was linked to that of the Californios through continued contact and work that was different from the north.

The mission of San Fernando, founded in 1797 in the broad valley north of Los Angeles. Descended from neophytes who had labored for the Franciscans, the Indians who inhabited the lands surrounding the old mission had long experience with a conquering race—as well as title to real property in some cases—and fared far better than most natives in the social and cultural turmoil that accompanied the Gold Rush. *California Historical Society, FN-31531.*

THE CALIFORNIOS

American impact on the Californios has been masterfully described by, among others, Robert Glass Cleland, Douglas Monroy, and Leonard Pitt.[35] The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848, which concluded the Mexican-American War, promised in Article X to respect Mexican land titles, both those that had been perfected under Mexican law and those in the process of being perfected. The U.S. Senate, however, would not accept such a limitation on American authority and so deleted Article X before ratifying the treaty.[36] Those claiming land in California under Spanish or Mexican grants then would have to prove the validity of their titles. On March 3, 1851, Congress created the Board of Land Commissioners to hear such private land claims. The burden of proof lay with the petitioner, meaning that original documents had to be found, copied, notarized, and translated into English to prepare a legal brief to present to the board. American law demanded precise surveys, rather than the general plats, or *diseños,* of Spanish and Mexican usage, and these had to be paid for by the petitioner. To do the work, lawyers and translators had to be hired, depositions taken, and a new legal sea navigated, all at the expense of those who thought they had title. Ultimately, the board heard 809 claims, confirming 604 and rejecting 190 (the rest were withdrawn). Since the board decided finally only *three* of these cases and the rest went to litigation, the final decision lay with higher bodies—district courts, circuit courts, the U.S. Supreme Court. Thus, securing land title was expensive and the process lengthy, taking an average of seventeen years to resolve. Rancheros paid the costs by selling and mortgaging their lands. In the end, 582 private land claims were patented.[37] By then, most of the Californios had lost their land to Americans.

In addition to having to prove their title to the land they occupied, Californios confronted a new problem unknown under Spain or Mexico—land taxes. With statehood, California adopted the general property tax then universal in America, meaning that those owning or claiming to own land in California had to pay annual state and county taxes on it. Failure to pay put the owner in arrears and, if enough time passed, the land could be foreclosed for delinquency. As in defending their land titles, Californios frequently borrowed money to meet these financial obligations, but since interest rates ranged from four to seven percent *a month,* Californios could quickly fall into serious debt. In 1861, for example, Julio Verdugo mortgaged his portion of Rancho San Rafael in Los Angeles County (now Glendale) for $3,445. Paying interest of three percent a month, within eight years his debt had increased to $58,750, and he was landless.[38]

While the question of private legal title dragged through the courts, in time-honored frontier tradition, newcomers squatted on what they regarded as vacant public land, seeking thereby to establish claim to what they wanted to believe was federally held property, which would eventually be open to settlement. When squatting on Indian lands, they frequently prevailed. Politicians appealed to this class for votes since the squatters were numerous and frequently violent. The worst squatter riots erupted in Sacramento, but violence occurred throughout the state. In 1850, squatters rushed in and laid out Oakland on the San Antonio rancho in complete disregard of the Peralta family's rights. In 1853, in Santa Clarita Valley near El Escorpión, northwest of Los Angeles, squatters murdered the owner of Rancho Sespe when he tried to interfere with their claims to land between Santa Paula Creek and Piru Creek. Squatters had become sufficiently powerful that the state legislature passed an act declaring all land to be public until the title could be proven to have passed into private hands. The U.S. Supreme Court eventually declared the statute unconstitutional as a violation of federal authority, but it illustrates squatter power.[39] Squatting also hastened the drive to map the state's lands for division and sale. Surveys by federal, state, and county employees often conflicted because local authorities, eager to get the job done and sell lots, often conducted "saloon surveys" rather than field work. Legal contestation ensued. Yet by 1865, most of California public lands had been plotted. Wetlands, embracing millions of acres of tidelands, salt and fresh marshes, and swamp and overflow lands, which under federal law were subject to transfer to state ownership, proved especially enticing to land speculators.[40] Indians living adjacent to wetlands lost access to food and game. Rancheros frequently found such lands sold from under them. In California, as elsewhere in the world where wetlands were reclaimed, "the poorest landholders and agricultural labourers found their living conditions deteriorating as the loss of their traditional resources through drainage and enclosure led to intensification of economic marginalisation, poverty and landlessness."[41]

Californios held out as long as they did because, initially, the Gold Rush gave their ranching economy, particularly in the south, a boost. In Spanish and Mexican times, cattle had been raised primarily for their low-value hides and tallow. Miners needed beef, however, in addition to the other products, and cattle ranching assumed heretofore unprecedented importance and profitability. With the price of an animal soaring from a few dollars to as high as several hundred dollars a head, herds were gathered from the southern California counties of San Diego, Los Angeles, and Santa Barbara and driven north to market. These cattle drives, led by Californios with Indian vaqueros, took one of two main routes, either up the coast, frequently through the surf and skirting wetlands, or over the Tehachapi Pass into the San Joaquin Valley. Herds going into the valley at the southernmost point assembled at Newhall for the crossing. Once on the valley floor, herders drove their cattle to the east or west before heading north. Along the eastern side in the Sierra foothills, grass and water were more abundant, but there were more tributaries and canyons to cross than on the valley's west side, and the markets of Stockton and Sacramento at trail's end were smaller. The western route, however, meant a difficult and prolonged crossing of the San Joaquin River at its widest point, and the drier region meant less water and grass for the cattle. Proximity to the vast market at San Francisco Bay at its terminus, however, made the route more lucrative. Tens of thousands of cattle yearly made the valley trip.[42] Initially, cattle from what geographer Terry Jordan has called the "Hispanic" ranching system, constituted the vast majority supplied to the mines. But a newer cattle frontier emerged quickly in the central San Joaquin Valley, one Jordan terms the "Anglo Californian" ranching system, dominated by newcomers who replaced Spanish stocks with hardier midwestern bloodlines imported during the 1850s. This newer frontier began to eclipse the southern California ranches by the early 1860s.[43] But in their heyday, Californios of the south made great profits from cattle, profits they spent on gracious living, fancy clothes, silver ornamented saddles, bridles, coats and breeches, and wagers lost on various gaming events, as well as overstocking their ranches.

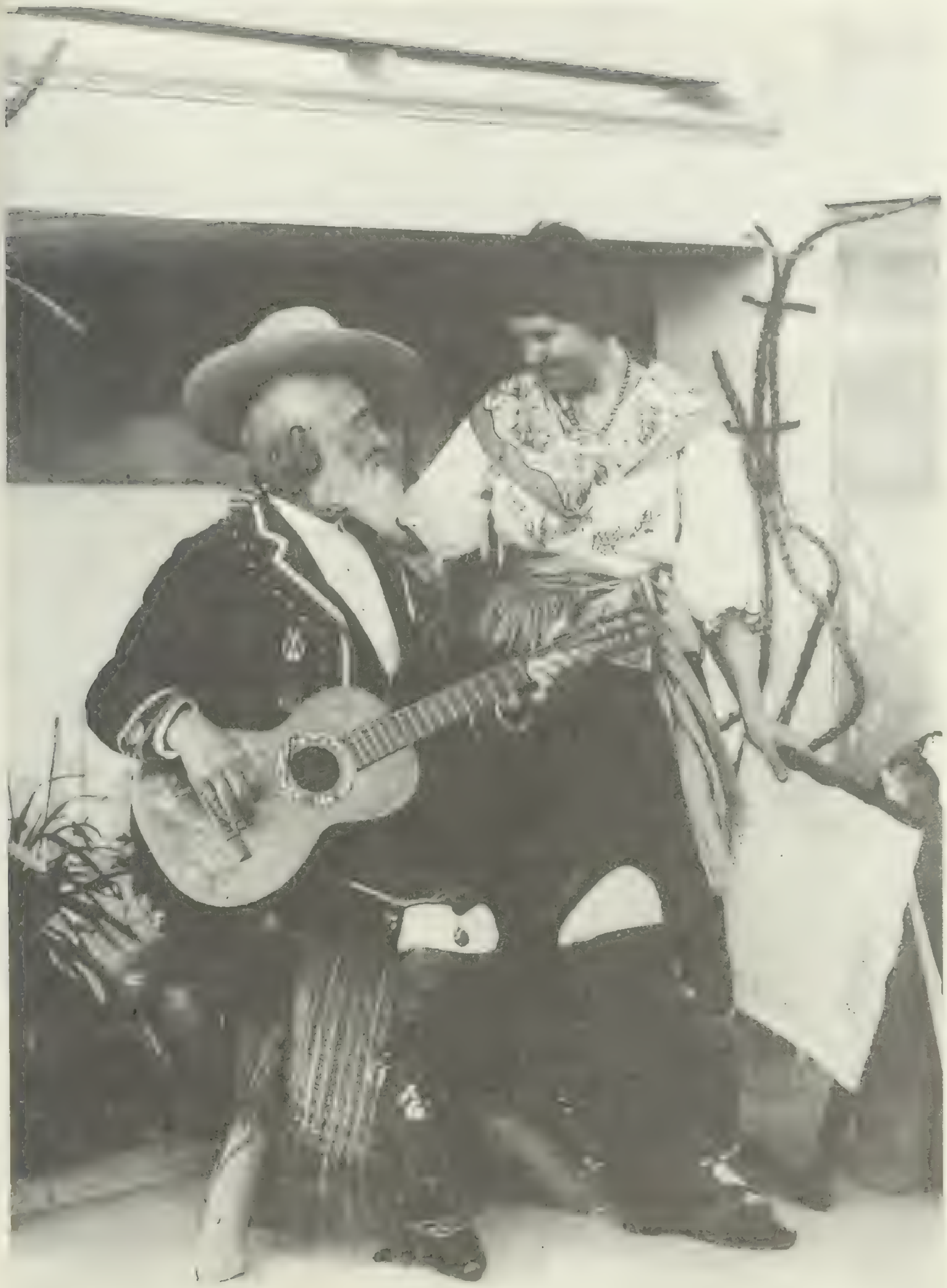
Both cattle frontiers expanded because of the "no-fence rule," which confirmed older Spanish and Mexican laws privileging the rancher over the farmer. The "open range" philosophy meant that cattle could live off the land. Farmers built fences at their own expense to keep them out, but only if such fences did not obstruct the cattle routes.[44] Cattle drives wrought far-reaching changes to California's environment. Spreading new seeds and animal diseases wherever they went, cattle and horses grazed and trampled the indigenous grasses of coast and valley, setting up conditions for their replacement by hardier and less sweet, invasive European grasses and weeds. Native villages and food sources were disrupted or destroyed by the drives. Environmental degradation accelerated with the twin natural disasters of flood and drought of the early 1860s. In the winter of 1861–62, severe flooding from heavy rains caused thousands of cattle to drown. From 1862 to 1865, severe drought followed the floods, causing hundreds of thousands of cattle to die of starvation and thirst, especially in the south. In Santa Barbara County, 97,000 head of cattle grazed the parched lands in 1863, and by 1865 that number had fallen to 12,100. Surviving cattle everywhere in the south were too weak to make the northbound journey. Loss of income from cattle deaths coupled with ongoing property taxes, the need to litigate to prove their title, and the rapidly falling price of beef caused more and more Californios to lose their land. New and old livestock owners who hung on turned to sheep raising. According to one environmental historian, "this set in motion a pattern of transhumance, or migratory sheep grazing, which virtually devastated the southern Sierra Nevada up to its highest meadows."[45] Sheep grazed grasses even shorter than cattle and enjoyed the same free range as cattle had. Sheep population peaked at six million in 1876, but by then pressures from farmers, who had become more numerous and politically powerful, forced sheepherding out and into the intermountain states. Sheep and cattle raising

The Del Valle family at Rancho Camulos in Ventura County in the late 1880s. Like other Californios, the Del Valles experienced great prosperity in the cattle boom ignited by the Gold Rush, and then suffered from the effects of drought and usurious interest rates. But unlike so many of their friends and neighbors, they managed to keep most of their lands intact, and under the wise guidance of the patriarch Ygnacio, they diversified their holdings and successfully adapted to the new order of American rule and culture. Helen Hunt Jackson spent a few hours at Rancho Camulos one morning in 1882 and later drew heavily upon what she had seen to create the fictional Rancho Moreno in her celebrated romance of old California, *Ramona. California Historical Society, FN-30503.*

had been marginalized. Californio land grants foreclosed by outsiders became parcelized as farms, and this new farming class secured the repeal of the "no-fence" law in 1872, transferring the burden of fencing to the ranchers. Farming would be the immediate agricultural future.[46]

Not all Californios succumbed to the Yankee onslaught. Some of them had sought to join the American union before the war and adapted to changed circumstances afterward. The Del Valle family at Rancho Camulos in the Santa Clarita Valley, for example, made money during the cattle boom and lost heavily from the floods and drought of the 1860s. Ygnacio, the patriarch, saw in these reversals an opportunity to diversify. He borrowed money at high interest rates and planted citrus trees, becoming one of the first in Ventura County to do so. He further invested in nut trees and wine-grape vines. In addition to his twenty-member extended family, Ygnacio also counted two hundred Indians and Mexicans living on his rancho. He sold off other landholdings to consolidate his position at Camulos, and he developed important roles for his sons. Ulpiano and Joventino managed the vineyards, winery, viticulture, and cattle. Reginaldo became a lawyer and politician influential in Los Angeles and capable of managing the family's legal affairs. His brothers proved equally efficient at managing the new economic enterprises that made them similar to American farmers and agriculturalists. The family prospered.[47] Antonio Coronel, close friend of the Del Valles, lived in Los Angeles. He had made money in the mining areas, both with his Indian servants and through bartering with Indians in the gold fields, and had returned south to buy land. His home and some property in Los Angeles he kept, but neither his rancho land claims nor those of his father survived the Land Commission's inspection process. But Coronel remained active in Los Angeles civic life and, among other pursuits, was a school commissioner and a charter member of the Historical Society of Southern California. Coronel continually promoted the retention of Californio customs such as dress, dances, singing, and fiestas.[48] The Pico brothers, Pío and Andrés, also adapted fairly well to the new order. Pío had been the last Mexican governor of the state, and Andrés had led the Californios in defeating the Americans under Stephen Kearny at San Pascual during the war. Afterward both men held political office under the American flag and made and lost money in the cattle boom and bust. Following the downturn, however, neither man moderated his extravagant lifestyle, and the debts mounted. Assumption of their debts for a share of Pío's Santa Margarita rancho by Pío's son-in-law Juan Forster has already been mentioned. The Picos, Coronels, Del Valles, and others of their group saw themselves as Californios, people united by a common language, religion, and shared customs. They saw their ancestry as Spanish, but, on the remote frontier and neglected by Mexico, they mostly identified with their own land, California, and with their group's interests, which differed from Mexico's. Most Californios thought the transfer of their province to the United States to be inevitable. Some thought it desirable.

With the conquest, Americans had to deal with the people who had held political power to effect a smooth transition in rule. Americans, especially southerners, had to confront a disconcerting reality. Some of the mixed-blood Mexicans with whom they would have to work had African ancestry. The Pico brothers were one-eighth African, and Pío visibly reflected it. Andrés did to a lesser extent as well. Whites had to choose: discriminate against potential friends and allies on the basis of skin color or ignore it.[49] Since they called themselves Californios, whites chose to adopt the term as well and to focus on the Spanish ancestry of the Mexican residents, disregarding Mexican antecedents when they could. In the twentieth century, journalist Carey McWilliams called this the "Fantasy Heritage," one that hypocritically ignored the Mexican contribution, past and present, to California.[50] But



The prominent Californio Don Antonio Coronel, dressed in traditional ranchero attire, poses with his wife, Mariana, at their Los Angeles home, *El Recreo.* Adapting easily to American ways, Coronel served as mayor of Los Angeles and later state treasurer, but he cherished his memories of old California, and working to preserve knowledge of days gone by, he assembled a large collection of artifacts and helped to found the Historical Society of Southern California. *Courtesy Seaver Center for Western Research, Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History.*

McWilliams missed the historical point. While Mexicans as Californios preserved and celebrated their culture, whites needed to use the ambiguous construct of "Californio" to avoid the logic of their own racial preferences. Whites, more than Mexicans, constructed this Californio heritage as white European, and then celebrated its accomplishments. Whites did so to curtail the damage to their interests that unbridled racism, with its attendant rejection of the Californios, would have brought them.

CONCLUSION

The story of Indian and Californio response to American conquest reveals that both adversely affected parties played more complex roles than as mere victims of white aggression. Despite the odds against them, and the horrible assault upon Indians, both groups found ways for some of their members to prevail. One of the keys to that success lay in the later protest of activist, Indian reformer, writer, and humanitarian Helen Hunt Jackson. Jackson had written a history of the treaties made and broken by American governments with Indians and published it herself in 1881 as *A Century of Dishonor* and sent a copy, at her expense, to every member of Congress. In recognition of that work, Congress appointed her, along with Abbot Kinney, to investigate the plight of the Mission Indians of southern California. She arrived in the state in 1882 and began her inquiry. In Los Angeles she met Antonio Coronel and his wife and spent many hours in their company. From the Coronels, Jackson learned of Californio culture and history, at least their version of it, and of the different approach to Indians that Spanish-speaking people had adopted. Through the urging of Antonio and through his connections with the family, Jackson visited Rancho Camulos to see the Del Valle family, along with their remaining Indian retainers, at work and play. Together with Kinney she visited many of the Indian villages and reservations set aside for their protection. The more she saw, the more indignant she became.

As a much published writer, she took the lead in writing their final report. Wherever she went she had seen the same story. "From tract after tract of such [ancestral] lands they have been driven out, year by year, by the white settlers of the country," she wrote, "until they can retreat no further; some of their villages being literally on the last tillable spot on the desert's edge or in the mountain fastness." Jackson and Kinney were particularly appalled at the ejection of the Luiseño from Temecula, where they had lived "from time immemorial" and where they had been told annually for twenty years that their lands were secure. "Now [1873], without any previous knowledge by them of any proceedings in court, they [were] ordered to leave their lands and homes." The personal property of the Luiseño had been seized to pay the cost of the lawsuit. The commissioners recommended the creation of genuine reservations and the removal of all whites from Indian settlements.[51]

Upon her return home to Colorado, Jackson learned that her recommendations for relief of the Mission Indians had been rejected. Vexed and furious, Jackson decided that, if nonfiction would not bring redress, then she would write a novel. Not any piece of fiction, this story would be grounded in historical fact and so tender that it would move the hardest heart to corrective action, just as Harriet Beecher Stowe had succeeded in doing with *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* Fleeing the distractions of home, Jackson went to New York, where she wrote with the passion of a woman possessed. The protagonist of her story would be an innocent mixed-blood woman, while her lover would be pure Luiseño, the son of a chief. Jackson situated her principal character in the home of a Señora Moreno, set in a carefully detailed version of Californio life drawn from the reminiscences of the Coronels and from the home of the Del Valles. The travails of the star-crossed lovers would largely be caused by Americans, cast in Jackson's view as the primary villains. Jackson entitled her novel after her principal character, *Ramona.* When it appeared in 1884, it caused a sensation, but not in the sense Jackson had intended. Readers responded not to American despoliation of Californios and Indians but to the tragic love story and to the romantic descriptions of bygone, halcyon days filled with dashing *dons* and beautiful *señoritas* living in a Spanish arcadia. Jackson died a few months after *Ramona*'s publication, fearing her work had gone for naught.[52]

Jackson, however, did not fail. Despite the massive influx of tourism and subsequent settlement in southern California that her novel generated, she contributed to a healing of Anglo and Hispanic tensions through the veneration of the Californio myth. And her close friend in the Indian reform movement, Albert K. Smiley, inspired by her example and motivated by her death, soon secured congressional authorization to adopt her suggestions. Heading a new federal Indian commission, Smiley set out from his winter home in Redlands in 1891, and laid out the reservation system in southern California that exists today. Of course it was inadequate, but Indians would cheat the cheaters by turning their marginal, arid lands into gold through gambling casinos a century later.

NOTES

1. Description of the Modoc War comes from Jeff C. Riddle, *The Indian History of the Modoc War* (1914; San Jose: Urion Press, 1991), quoted at 90–91; Keith A. Murray, *The Modocs and Their War* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959); and Gregory A. Reed, *An Historical Geography Analysis of the Modoc Indian War* (Chico: Association for Northern California Records and Research, 1991). Cost computation based upon John H. McCusker, "How Much Is That In Real Money? A Historical Price Index for Use as a Deflator of

Money Values in the Economy of the United States," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 101 (October 1991): 297–373.

2. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California,* vol. 7 (Santa Barbara: Wallace Hebberd, 1970; facsimile of 1886 edition), 488, note 21.

3. Paul Bryan Gray, *Forster vs. Pico: The Struggle for the Rancho Santa Margarita* (Spokane: Arthur H. Clark, 1998), passim, quoted at 231.

4. William Kelly, *An Excursion to California over the Prairie, Rocky Mountains, and Great Sierra Nevada . . . ,* vol. 2 (London, 1851), 45, cited in James J. Rawls, "Gold Diggers: Indian Miners in the California Gold Rush," *California Historical Quarterly* 55 (Spring 1976): 36.

5. Rawls, "Gold Diggers," 28–45.

6. Diary entries for August 23, 1850, and December 30, November 28, and October 7, 1849; Augustin Hale Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, California. I thank Peter Blodgett of the Huntington Library for bringing this source to my attention.

7. George Harwood Phillips, *Indians and Indian Agents: The Origins of the Reservation System in California, 1849–1852* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 3–15 ff.

8. John Bidwell, "Dictation by General John Bidwell," ms, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley (hereinafter "Bidwell Dictation"). In the early 1850s Bidwell had the only gristmill in northern California. See also Dorothy Hill, *The Indians of Chico Rancheria* (Sacramento: Department of Parks and Recreation, 1978), 12–28; and Rockwell D. Hunt, *John Bidwell: Prince of California Pioneers* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1942), 133–43.

9. James A. Sandos, "Between Crucifix and Lance: Indian-White Relations in California, 1769–1848," in *Contested Eden: California before the Gold Rush,* ed. Ramón A. Gutiérrez and Richard J. Orsi (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 216–20.

10. Autobiography of Isidora Filomena de Solano, transcribed by Enrique Creel, April 9, 1874, ms, Bancroft Library.

11. Hill, *Indians of Chico Rancheria,* 39–42; Edward D. Castillo, "The Impact of Euro-American Exploration and Settlement," in *Handbook of North American Indians,* vol. 8, *California* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1978), 107–13.

12. Jerald Jay Johnson, "Yana," *Handbook of North American Indians: California,* 361–69.

13. Theodora Kroeber, *Ishi in Two Worlds: A Biography of the Last Wild Indian in North America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967).

14. Albert L. Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 1. The major source for these figures is the writings of Sherburne F. Cook.

15. Sherburne F. Cook, "Historical Demography," *Handbook of North American Indians,* 93.

16. Senate Debate, May 26, 1860, from the *Congressional Globe,* cited in Robert F. Heizer, ed., *Federal Concern about Conditions of California Indians: Eight Documents* (Socorro, N.M.: Ballena Press, 1979), 46.

17. Bancroft, *History of California,* vol. 7 (San Francisco: The History Co., 1886), 474.

18. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft,* vol. 38 (San Francisco: The History Co., 1890), 69.

19. Laurence M. Hauptman, *Tribes and Tribulations: Misconceptions About American Indians and Their Histories* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), 3–14, 123–27.

20. For original and county boundaries and subsequent adjustments, see Warren A. Beck and Ynez D. Hasse, *Historical Atlas of California* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1974), 61–64.

21. Phillips, *Indians and Indian Agents,* 99–185.

22. George E. Anderson, W. H. Ellison, and Robert F. Heizer, *Treaty Making and Treaty Rejection by the Federal Government in California, 1850–1852* (Socorro, N.M.: Ballena Press, 1978), 26, 53–54. See also Robert M. Utley, *The Indian Frontier of the American West* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984), 51–52.

23. California State Journal, 3rd Session, 1852, cited in Anderson, Ellison, and Heizer, *Treaty Making and Treaty Rejection,* 42–44.

24. Robert F. Heizer and Alan F. Almquist, *The Other Californians: Prejudice and Discrimination under Spain, Mexico, and the United States to 1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 76–79.

25. *Congressional Globe,* August 6 and 11, 1852, cited in Anderson, Ellison, and Heizer, *Treaty Making and Treaty Rejection,* 122.

26. Benjamin D. Wilson, Los Angeles, to Cave J. Couts, June 13, 1853, Benjamin Davis Wilson Collection, Huntington Library.

27. Florence C. Shipek, *Pushed into the Rocks: Southern California Land Tenure, 1769–1986* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 29.

28. Heizer and Almquist, *Other Californians,* 48–50.

29. George Harwood Phillips, *Chiefs and Challengers: Indian Resistance and Cooperation in Southern California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), passim, 160–76.

30. Glenn J. Farris, "José Panto: *Capitan* of the Indian Pueblo at San Pascual, San Diego County," *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 16 (1994): 149–61, quoted at 159.

31. Shipek, *Pushed into the Rocks.*

32. Tomás Almaguer, *Racial Faultlines: The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), draws his examples of white brutalization of Indians from the northern California experience, implying it was the same for Indians everywhere. Gregorio Mora makes a point very similar to mine in his review of Almaguer's book. See Mora, "New Directions in the Chicano History of California," *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 14 (Summer 1998): 453–56.

33. Crisostomo Perez, *Land Grants in Alta California: A Compilation of Spanish and Mexican Private Land Claims in the State of California* (Rancho Cordova, Calif.: Landmark Enterprises, 1996), 66.

34. John Johnson, "The Indians of Mission San Fernando," in *Mission San Fernando Rey de España, 1797–1997: A Bicentennial Tribute,* ed. Doyce B. Nunis (Los Angeles: Historical Society of Southern California, 1997), 249–90.

35. Robert Glass Cleland, *The Cattle on a Thousand Hills: Southern California, 1850–1880,* 2nd ed. (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1951); Douglas Monroy, *Thrown Among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); and Leonard Pitt, *The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846–1890* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966). Unless otherwise specified, my portrait of the era is drawn from these sources.

36. Richard Griswold del Castillo, *The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo: A Legacy of Conflict* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 46–86, 190.

37. Perez, *Land Grants in Alta California,* 6–8; W. W. Robinson, *Land in California: The Story of Mission Lands, Ranchos, Squatters, Mining Claims, Railroad Grants, Land Scrip, Homesteads* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948), 91–109. Robinson's figures differ from those of Perez, but the latter's are unquestionably more reliable.

38. Cleland, *Cattle on a Thousand Hills*, 112.

39. Robinson, *Land in California*, 111–32.

40. François D. Uzes, *Chaining the Land: A History of Surveying in California* (Sacramento: Landmark Enterprises, 1977).

41. Robin A. Butlin and Neil Roberts, eds., *Ecological Relations in Historical Times: Human Impact and Adaptation* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1995), 8.

42. Siegfried Demke, *The Cattle Drives of Early California* (San Gabriel, Calif.: Prosperity Press, 1985), 9–22.

43. Terry G. Jordan, *North American Cattle-Ranching Frontiers: Origins, Diffusion, and Differentiation* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993), 241–66.

44. "Laws Concerning Rodeos and Defining the Duties of Judges of the Plains," March 30, 1851, cited in Demke, *Cattle Drives of Early California*, 17. Taken together, these were called the "no-fence" law, repealed in 1872.

45. Raymond F. Dasmann, *California's Changing Environment* (San Francisco: Boyd and Fraser, 1978), 27; Jordan, *North American Cattle-Ranching Frontiers*, 246–48.

46. According to Jordan, *North American Cattle-Ranching Frontiers*, 246–47, the Anglo-Californian cattle frontier moved out of the state and into the Pacific Northwest, Nevada, and Utah.

47. Richard Griswold del Castillo, "The del Valle Family and the Fantasy Heritage," *California History* 59 (Spring 1980): 3–15.

48. Antonio Franco Coronel, *Tales of Mexican California*, trans. Diane de Avalle-Arce (Santa Barbara: Bellerophon Books, 1994), 2–11.

49. This point is thoughtfully discussed in Gray, *Forster vs. Pico*, 51–80.

50. Carey McWilliams, *North from Mexico: The Spanish Speaking People of the United States* (Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott, 1949), 35–40.

51. Helen Hunt Jackson and Abbot Kinney, *Report on the Condition and Needs of the Mission Indians of California . . . to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1883), 3–31. Jackson noted that the term "Mission Indians" meant all those who had been in the missions or missionized by Franciscans. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, however, used the term to refer to only those Indians in Los Angeles, San Bernardino, and San Diego counties and restricted the tribes further to only the Serrano, Cahuilla, Luiseño, and Diegueño. The Serrano and Cahuilla had only limited mission contact, and all other missionized tribes were excluded. For background on Jackson, see Valerie S. Mathes, *Helen Hunt Jackson and Her Indian Reform Legacy* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990); Ronald C. Woolsey, *Migrants West: Toward the Southern California Frontier* (Claremont, Calif.: Grizzly Bear Publishing, 1996), 138–59.

52. James A. Sandos, with the historical architectural assistance of Edna Kimbro, "Historic Preservation and Historical Facts: Helen Hunt Jackson, Rancho Camulos, and Ramonana," *California History* 77 (Fall 1998).

5

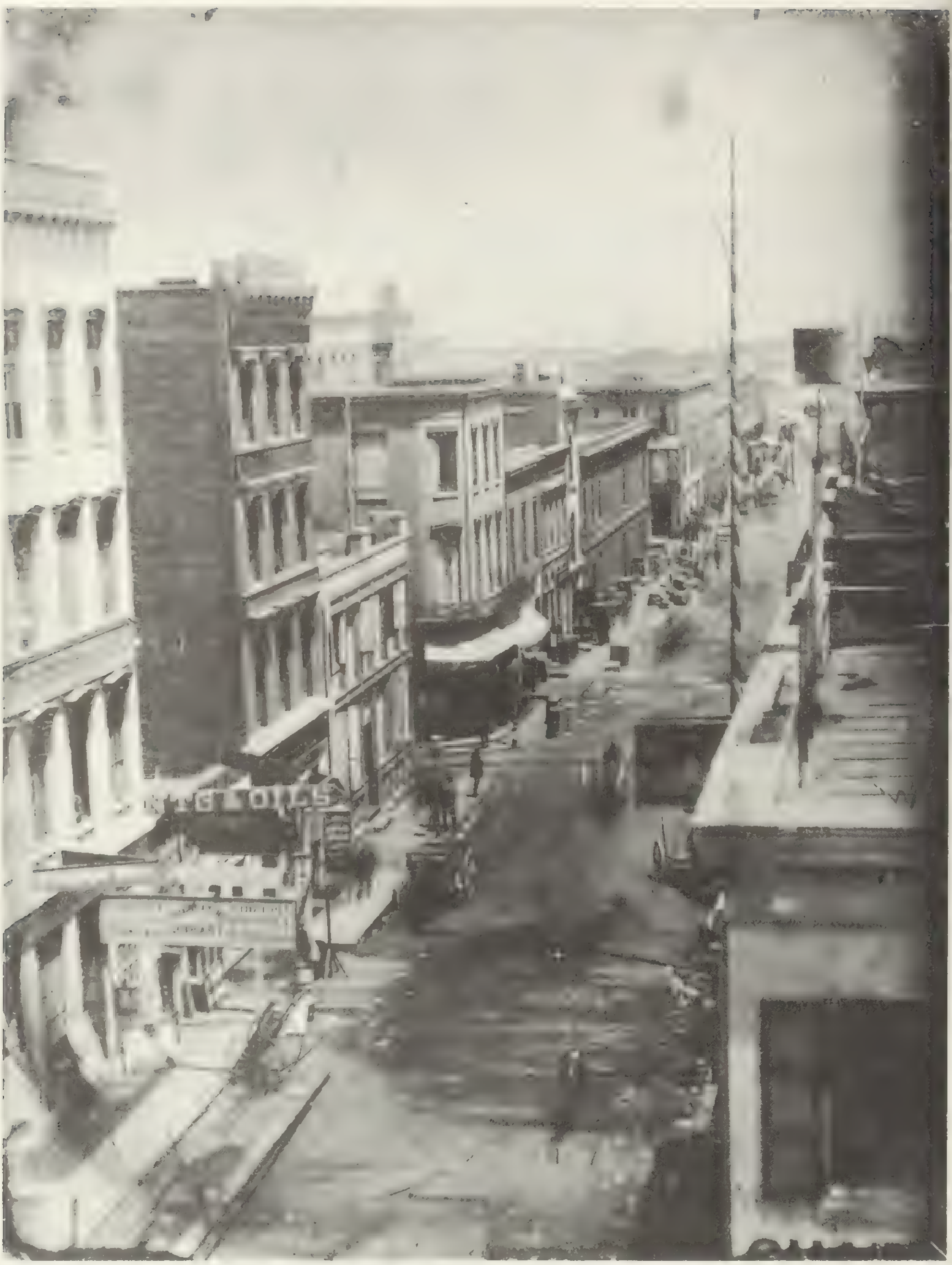
"All hands have gone downtown"

Urban Places in Gold Rush California

Robert Phelps

On December 25, 1849, D. D. Demarest found himself in the tiny settlement of San Diego, waiting to resume his journey to the California gold fields. Demarest was a native New Yorker, part of a company of prospective miners who had emerged from the southern overland trail only a week before. The men had expected to continue their overland expedition after a quick re-supply in town, but the locals advised them to sell their animals and "await a chance of passage by sea, as it is impossible to travel up by land at this season." Frustrated by the delay, the men pitched their tents on the east side of Point Loma and waited. San Diego itself was five miles to the northeast, sited on a river "about the size of the Hackensack." Demarest thought the town was "better built" than those he passed on the Rio Grande, with houses "roofed with tiles instead of with mud." In San Diego, the men were able to sell their animals and break up the monotony of frontier life, and Demarest himself spent Christmas Day watching the natives engage in "some fine sport among themselves." Finally, on January 18, 1850, an ocean steamer arrived. It had come from Panama, was full of gold seekers, and it was headed north. The steamer, with the Demarest party aboard, chugged into San Francisco Bay three days later.

Overrun by miners, sailors, and merchants, San Francisco was crowded. The steamer was unable to find a mooring, and the owner of a small boat charged the company two dollars a head to land them on the wharf. Although local saloons were "fitted up in the most showy style," Demarest found San Francisco "nothing but a collection of tents." To the company's dismay, experienced miners recommended that they winter in town. Most boardinghouses resembled "hog pens," and Demarest decided to rent space in a carpenter's shop. Once more disappointed at this "rather long time to be idle," the prospective miners spent the remainder of the winter touring the booming town. Of particular interest were the mission and the



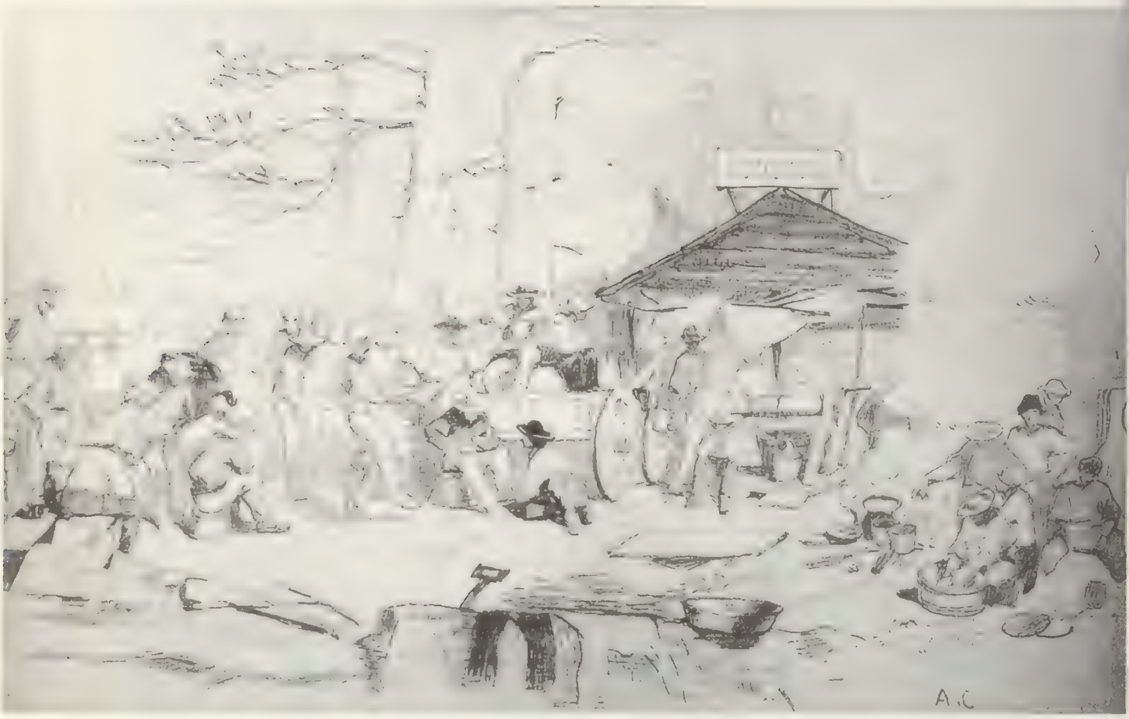
Sacramento Street in San Francisco, looking east from Montgomery Street in the mid-1850s. When the Argonaut D. D. Demarest arrived in January 1850, he dismissed the town as "nothing but a collection of tents." Then overnight, or so it seemed, a great city arose on the shore of Yerba Buena Cove—the metropolis of the Golden State and the financial and cultural center of the American West. Little more than a year after Demarest made his way through the muddy streets of San Francisco, the city had a population of some thirty thousand, and the commerce of its port was exceeded only by that of New York, Boston, and New Orleans. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

residio, remnants of another era when the peninsula served as the northern outpost f Spain's system of defensive settlements.

Demarest and his friends left San Francisco the first week of April, booking assage toward the gold fields on a small sailboat for $35 each. They "had quite a low in the San Pablo Bay the first night out," but reached Sacramento without incident. There were plenty of saloons and gambling houses in town, but having aleady wasted valuable time, they were anxious to leave. A few of Demarest's friends itched a ride on a rowboat headed upriver. The boat belonged to a merchant who had come to Sacramento to purchase goods for his store farther inland. In exchange for rowing both the merchant and his goods thirty-five miles up the Sacramento and Feather rivers, the gold seekers were allowed to return with the boat for the rest of the party. Four days of rowing against the current found Demarest and his friends, now reunited, in Marysville. They returned their borrowed craft, purchased supplies, and then set out for the gold fields, finally ending their journey at the mining camp at Long Bar. It had been nearly a month since the Demarest party had left San Francisco, and almost fourteen months since they had left New York.

Camps like Long Bar were established along branch streams of the Yuba River, where the shifting course of the waters revealed gold-rich sand bars. One of the original camps, founded by Scotsman William Downie and a mining company that included an Irishman, a Native American, a Hawaiian, and ten African Americans, had developed into Downieville, the terminus of a supply system that stretched one hundred miles back to San Francisco. There, miners could find food, the repair or replacement of tools, city newspapers, and most importantly, a mail express service. Consisting of a solitary log cabin only the year before, in the summer of 1850 Demarest found "15 hotels or gambling houses, 4 bakeries, 4 butcher shops." With bedrolls on their backs, the miners of the Yuba made regular trips to Downieville, anxious to take advantage of the goods and services the settlement provided.[1]

The dependence of D. D. Demarest and his fellow gold seekers on the transport, supply, information, and other vital services found in cities and towns confirms the fact that from the time of its inception, California has demonstrated one of its most important contradictions: a physical vastness matched only by an extraordinary level of urbanization.[2] In many ways, the development of urban places in California reflected the larger patterns of city-building in the American West, as mining was the catalyst for the creation of hundreds of frontier settlements throughout the nineteenth century. Yet the appearance of cities and towns in gold-rush California would never have occurred without the miners' reluctance to part with the way of life they had left back home. Far from the popular image of self-reliant frontiersmen, the Americans who traveled to California during the 1850s brought with them a conception of "necessity" that was evolving in a rapidly industrializing nation. They had the habit, in the words of Patricia Limerick, of "celebrating independence while



Miners entertain themselves on a Sunday at Forbestown—or Forbes Diggings, as it was also known—in a spirited drawing done about 1852 by Alonzo Chappel from a daguerreotype. Despite the transient character of life in the diggings, the need for supplies and services created countless camps and towns, making California one of the most urbanized states in the nation. Founded in 1849 near the South Fork of the Feather River and named for Ben Forbes, who established a store here the following year, Forbestown had a population of nearly a thousand by the mid-1850s. *California Historical Society, C. Templeton Crocker Collection, FN-19210.*

relying on a vital connection to the outside world."[3] For the gold seekers, that "vital connection to the outside world" was the network of cities and towns they built on the California frontier. A transient urban system based on the exploitation of inland gold deposits, the patterns of urbanization laid out during the Gold Rush nevertheless provided the template for the state's future urban development.

Urban historians have been at the forefront of an extended reinterpretation of the history of the American West over the last fifty years. As with so many historical subfields, the target for this redirection has been Frederick Jackson Turner, whose celebrated frontier thesis portrayed western cities as the end-product of U.S. territorial advancement and the final stage of American historical development. Turner may have foreshadowed an urban critique of his own paradigm when he noted that the U.S. Census Bureau had declared the frontier closed only a few years before his acclaimed address at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, the 1893 exhibition itself a testament to the growth of western cities during the second half of the nineteenth century. However, such was the power of the frontier thesis that it was not until Americans were faced with the urban problems engendered by the Great Depression that an extended reevaluation of the historical development of U.S. cities appeared. Works like Arthur Schlesinger, Sr.'s "The City in American History" and his later *Rise of the City, 1878–1898*, as well as Lewis Mumford's 1938 classic, *The City in History*, pointed to the prominent role played by cities on a national scope and opened the door to an urban reinterpretation of U.S. history.[4] The appearance of corresponding arguments asserting the prominence of the city in the development of the American West was immediate. Schlesinger himself pointed to "the occupation of the Great West" as a major catalyst of U.S. urban development, a process grounded on "the exploitation of natural resources such as the world had never known."[5] Although the historiography of the American city continued to develop after World War II, Richard Wade's 1959 *The Urban Frontier: The Rise of Western Cities, 1790–1830* is considered the first comprehensive articulation of the "urban West" perspective. The argument is simple: towns were the spearhead of the frontier. Writing at a time when the frontier thesis still held tremendous influence, Wade was cautious, arguing that while cities represented the "more aggressive and dynamic force" of American expansion, town and country developed in tandem.[6] The recent rise of both the New Urban History and the New Western History has strengthened Wade's arguments. Bradford Luckingham's work on the urban Southwest reaffirmed the notion that cities were a vanguard of American frontier expansion, while Gilbert R. Cruz's *Let There Be Towns* rejuvenated the study of the Spanish origins of urban places in the American borderlands. Lawrence Larsen's *The Urban West at the End of the Frontier* helped place western cities in a broader perspective by arguing that American frontier settlements represented an extension of the city-building strategies of antiquity. Finally, William Cronon's *Nature's Metropolis* attempted to "stand Turner on his head" by depicting the frontier as the extension of environmental changes initiated by the economic power of nineteenth-century Chicago.[7]

Like historians of the American West, scholars of California history have long appreciated the role of cities and towns in frontier development. The urban nature of the Gold Rush was instinctively appreciated by amateur historians from the end of the nineteenth century to the present day. Hubert Howe Bancroft himself lent much time to recording the rise of the state's cities and towns. That California scholars would write urban histories conforming to national historiographical trends was natural. Ironically, the emergence of serious scholarly work on California cities was not initiated by a professional historian, but by Carey McWilliams, a trained attorney. In an introductory essay for Ray B. West's *Rocky Mountain Cities* and in McWilliams's own *California: The Great Exception*, both published in 1949, Mc-

Williams proposed that western cities in general, and California cities in particular, were historically more important than their counterparts in the other regions of the United States. Western cities tended to dominate their states' economies and housed a larger proportion of their states' population relative to eastern cities. The attendant rural populations of western states were in fact so negligible that, in effect, western cities and western states were one and the same. This basic recognition of the importance of urban California has had a broad influence. Indeed, Kevin Starr's exhaustive series on the California Dream in many ways follows the tradition set by McWilliams in its emphasis on city culture in the development of the state's unique ideology.[8]

In regard to the Gold Rush itself, San Francisco's status as California's nineteenth-century metropolis made the Bay Area a focal point of study. In *Instant Cities,* Gunther Barth presented San Francisco as a prime example of city-building far in advance of the frontier line. Although Barth argued that the "instant frontier city" was grounded in antiquity, San Francisco was a novel historical variant: an emporium "brought to life by the immediate wealth" of a mining boom "and sustained through the steady need for supplies required by those mining operations."[9] Urban geographers joined in the study of the genesis of gold-rush cities. James E. Vance's *Geography and Urban Evolution in the San Francisco Bay Area* examined the geographic influences that made gold-rush San Francisco a water-transportation-oriented city—the "Venice of the West"—while Mel Scott's *The San Francisco Bay Area* emphasized the early metropolitan nature of the bay community, tracing the development of the region's urban places as an integrated whole. Historian Roger Lotchin complemented such metropolitan approaches with an extensive study of San Francisco itself, downplaying the role of geography and instead focusing on the contingent historical forces that drove the city's growth during the gold-rush era.[10]

Comprehensive studies of the state's cities have not been confined to the San Francisco Bay region. *Southern California: An Island on the Land* (1946), Carey McWilliams's general study of southern California, discussed the social changes unleashed by the Gold Rush in Los Angeles and the smaller communities of the region. While focusing on the development of Los Angeles after the arrival of the railroad, Robert Fogelson's *Fragmented Metropolis* also traced the growth of the city's ranch economy and its role as an agricultural supplier to the state's northern towns during the 1850s and 1860s. John W. Reps's exhaustive work on urban planning on the American frontier provided a rich collection of city biographies that pointed to the importance of urban places in California from Spanish colonization to the end of the nineteenth century. Ralph Mann's intensive study of society and culture in Nevada City and Grass Valley not only provided a glimpse of town life in California during the second half of the nineteenth century, but also reflected the growing belief of historians that the history of the American West was "largely an urban history." Forming a chain of scholarship that addresses the origin and development of great coastal cities, agricultural depots, and ephemeral mining settlements, such diverse studies have made the historiography of urban California, particularly during the Gold Rush, uncommonly rich.[11]

Cities are different things to different people, depending on a myriad of contexts and perceptions. Typically, the dividing line of opinion lies between form and function, as some observers emphasize the built-environment, while others focus on the range of activity contained within a central locality.[12] The U.S. Census Bureau defines "urban" as a place containing 2,500 inhabitants or more. Even by this criteria California was one of the most urban states in the nation by the late nineteenth century. Half of the state's population lived in cities and towns around 1885, at a time when only 35 percent of the total population of the United States was urbanized. As Eric Monkkonen points out, however, such a definition "ignores the hamlets, the places under 2,500 people," which, while not fitting the dichotomous paradigm of "urban" and "rural," were home to people who "certainly had lives that were far less rural than the farmers and farm laborers" of the United States.[13]

For purposes of this overview, we will define an urban place as a center of population, communication, and economic activity whose built-environment is densely arranged relative to its surrounding area. Urban places appear because of the need of an otherwise dispersed population to converge on a central location in order to acquire goods and services. The providers of such items likewise concentrate their activities in a central place because it is where they can reach the largest market and realize economies of agglomeration. However, central places do not exist in isolation, but rather develop in symbiotic relation with other central places. Together, these relations form city systems.

Scholars of city development recognize two basic urban networks. The first network, termed the primate city system, is composed of a single dominant metropolis that contains a disproportionate share of population, economic activity, and political power relative to other central places in a particular region. The commanding influence of the solitary metropolis atrophies the smaller central places within its orbit, thus preventing the appearance of urban rivals. California's central places were enmeshed in such a system during the Spanish and Mexican eras. Although the excellent siting of some of the state's earliest settlements demonstrated the lessons learned in Spain's long tradition of city-building, California's first urban centers were handicapped by their relative isolation from one another and the outside world, the limited nature of their state-delineated functions, and subsequent political decisions that prevented sustained urban growth. The pueblos of Los Angeles and San Jose were required to focus almost exclusively on agricultural pursuits in order to supply nearby presidios, and the development of artisan occupations in both settlements was stunted. Moreover, the export of sea otter pelts to China, a lucrative trade that could have facilitated the growth of California's coastal communities, was quickly terminated by the protests of those holding a royal charter in Spain's Asian trade.[14]

Unlike the primate system, a rank-order system develops as an expanding population's increasing distance from initial points of convergence generates the establishment of additional central places. Eventually, a dynamic urban network will develop, consisting of a principal regional metropolis that serves an ascending number of cities, towns, and hamlets, ranked according to a descending range of functions and population. At the top of the rank-order, the metropolis owes its influence to the distinct communications' advantages it has over its regional rivals. The metropolis not only furnishes goods and services required by the population, but might also attract singular activities that are best carried out in one location, be it financial (Wall Street), professional (Hollywood), or a similar activity. The metropolis serves a number of cities within its orbit, which are the next lower tier of the rank-order. Cities engage in a range of economic activities, but without the transportation advantages of the metropolis; they lack the latter's specialized functions, and their growth potential relative to the metropolis is limited. The next functional rank in the network is the town, settlements that, although more numerous than cities, serve a smaller population and hence support only a few economic functions. Towns sometimes exist only to maintain a single activity, mining for example, and town-dwellers must often journey to the cities to acquire more specialized goods and services. Last in rank is the hamlet, a small settlement that serves a highly localized area with a very few basic services such as retailing.[15]

The spread of urban places throughout the United States was characterized by this rank-order pattern. The lack of the powerful city charters typical of Europe, an intense spirit of urban boosterism, and the early availability of steam transportation meant that no single central place could long dominate the nation.[16] New York City was the metropolis of the eastern seaboard, but its presence could not stifle the growth of Philadelphia or Boston, or prevent the appearance of Chicago as a rival metropolis at the end of the nineteenth century. In California before 1848, the independence of the Californios from the rule of Mexico City and the appearance of a small but aggressive merchant class in such communities as Yerba Buena, later San Francisco, may have heralded the arrival of a rank-order system. However, the almost simultaneous discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill with the American conquest of California may have preempted the evolution of a potentially vigorous Californio city system and instead initiated the rapid development of a rank-order network based on the provision of goods and services for gold-rush emigrants. Table 5.1 shows that California's rank-order was an eclectic but interlocking system of ports, mining settlements, and agricultural centers, their size, importance, and economic adaptability directly related to their proximity to waterborne transportation links.

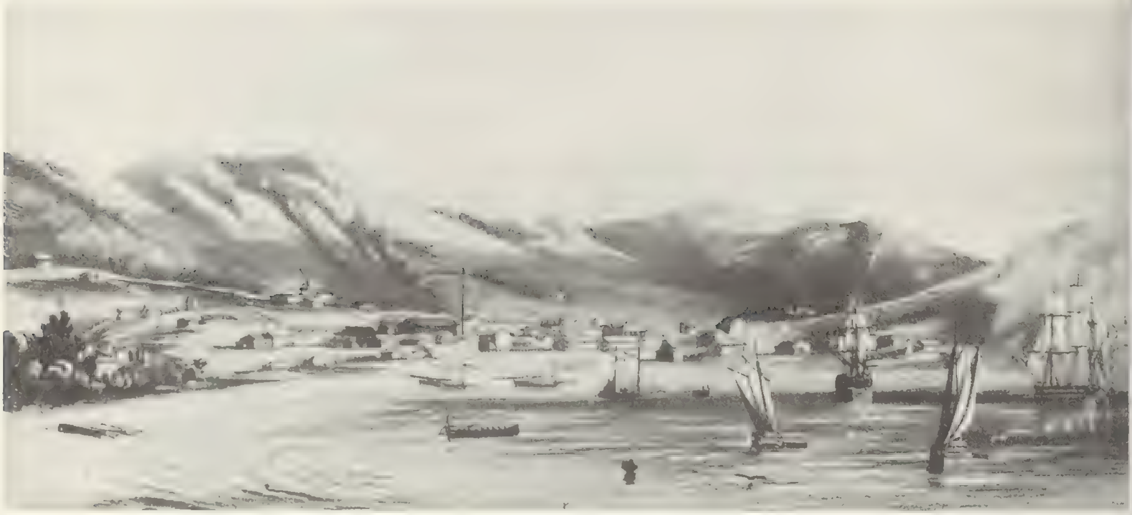
San Francisco was the metropolis of the gold-rush urban system. The city's

TABLE 5.1
Major Urban Centers in California by Population and Function, 1850–1860

		Population	
City	*Function*	*1850*	*1860*
San Francisco	Sea port	34,776	56,802
Sacramento	Interior port city	6,820	13,785
Marysville	Interior port city	4,500	4,740
Stockton	Interior port city	n.a.	3,679
Los Angeles	Agricultural center	1,610	4,385
Nevada City	Mining town	2,683	n.a.
Oroville	Mining town	n.a.	2,499
Napa	Agricultural center	159	2,378
Diamond Springs	Mining town	420	2,142
Sonora	Mining town	n.a.	1,960
Placerville	Mining town	n.a.	1,754
Rough and Ready	Mining town	672	1,719
Yreka	Mining town	n.a.	1,631
Santa Rosa	Agricultural center	n.a.	1,623
Mud Springs	Mining town	2,080	1,572
Petaluma	Agricultural center	n.a.	1,505
Monterey	Minor sea port	1,092	n.a.
San Diego	Minor sea port	n.a.	731

SOURCE: *Seventh Census of the United States: 1850. An Appendix, Embracing the Notes Upon the Tables of Each of the States, Etc.* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1853); Department of the Interior, *Population of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864).

importance in gold-rush trade owed to the simple fact that clipper ships and ocean-going steamers could not negotiate the shallow waters of the state's riverways, and thus passengers and cargo had to be transferred to smaller vessels for the trip inland.[17] Although the limitations of ocean-going craft meant that a major city was certain to appear on San Francisco Bay during the era, geography did not predetermine San Francisco's status as California's nineteenth-century metropolis. During the Mexican War, Edwin Bryant described the town as an isolated backwater, its estimated population of two hundred housed largely in small adobes and wood-framed shelters.[18] The site was impaired by poor climate, a lack of water, inconvenient hills, a mud flat fronting the bay, and the existence of superior inland riverport locations on the *contra costa*, particularly Benicia, which William Tecumseh Sherman described in 1849 as "the best natural site for a commercial city." Instead, San Francisco's preeminence in the state's



San Francisco, Upper California, in 1847, a lithograph published by the New York firm of Sarony and Major. At this date the future metropolis of the Golden State was a wind-blown, scattering village of some four or five hundred souls living in splendid isolation on the far reaches of the American continent. *California Historical Society, C. Templeton Crocker Collection.*

city system is owed to a combination of historical and geographical accident and boosterism. After the American conquest of California, the federal government decided to quarter its troops and place its customshouse in the tiny village of Yerba Buena at the tip of the San Francisco peninsula. Favorably positioned as a major regional center, Yerba Buena then changed its name to San Francisco in order to identify itself as the primary port on the bay. The strategy was successful. By 1849, as Sherman observed, every ship that "cleared from any part of the world, knew the name of San Francisco," and made it their ultimate California destination.[19]

San Francisco's growth was also spurred on by the fact that the gold seekers spent an interim of anywhere between a few days and a few months in the city before setting out for the gold fields—waiting out a frontier winter they had no desire to challenge, arranging for river transportation, garnering intelligence about the best routes and richest gold fields, or purchasing the seemingly endless array of goods accumulating on the city's docks. Virtually every item available in an eastern port city could be had in San Francisco. Typical of the suppliers arriving in the metropolis was the packet ship *Silvie DeGrass,* which in May 1849 advertised among its 164 articles such items as brandy, gin, whiskey, champagne, sugar, molasses, pickles, tomato catsup, playing cards, kino boards, backgammon boards, dominoes, billiard balls, shovels, kettles, cologne water, tea, coffee, stationery, violins, rifles, pistols, sunglasses, corkscrews, rosaries, and crucifixes.[20] As the gold seekers idled in San Francisco, subsidiary industries associated with the carrying trade appeared, initiating a "multiplier effect" that drove the city's growth. Individuals who were perceptive enough to understand that the real money to be made was not in panning for gold, but in pandering to the vices of the gold seekers themselves, opened saloons and gambling houses. Others built hotels and boardinghouses, charged exorbitant rates, and used the profits to build more of them. Merchants, bankers, butchers, bakers, blacksmiths, shopkeepers, shoemakers, expressmen, and a host of other entrepreneurs appeared to supply and serve the gold seekers. Gold was shipped east from San Francisco or minted there into coin, and the express and shipping companies that carried it opened headquarters in the city as well. A U.S. post office added to the importance of the metropolis. San Francisco, whose residents had deserted the city at the start of the Gold Rush, became the permanent site of a rapidly growing population.[21]

Beyond San Francisco, the largest of California's gold-rush cities were the three inland ports of Marysville, Stockton, and Sacramento, as well as the agricultural center of Los Angeles to the south. Though the development of the river cities owed much to the opportunism of local landowners, geography also played a hand, as each was on a strategic position on the Feather, San Joaquin, or Sacramento river. All functioned as the commercial and transport centers for towns and hamlets farther inland. Marysville served the northern settlements, Stockton the southern, Sacramento the central. Like San Francisco, the waterfronts of the inland ports were "piled up with all sorts of goods and provisions for the mines," and all experienced modest versions of the same multiplier effect that built the metropolis.[22] Lacking direct water connections, Los Angeles was the only major settlement outside the immediate geographic zone of the Gold Rush, although the southern city was firmly within the economic orbit of the state's urban system. Southern California was a major source of beef, and the pueblos' rancheros drove their herds to cattle markets in the Sacramento Valley. San Pedro even then served as Los Angeles's rudimentary port, and the federal government established a post office there.[23]

The towns of gold-rush California, the next functional category of the rank-order system, were a diverse lot. Some, like the coastal communities of Monterey and San Diego, were sites that had developed prior to American conquest but maintained specialized economic functions such as whaling, or developed into small way stations for travelers headed to the gold fields. Settlements like San Bernardino, Napa, Santa Rosa, and Petaluma comprised another type of gold-rush town. Some, like tiny San Bernardino, had been established during the Spanish/Mexican colonial era, while others developed after the American conquest. All served as the supply and transport centers for agricultural regions involved in food production for emigrants pouring into the northern part of the state.[24]

The most numerous of California's central places during the Gold Rush were the inland towns and small hamlets that directly served or housed the gold seekers. The

TABLE 5.2
Nevada City, Occupational Make-up, 1850

Occupation	*N*	*Occupation*	*N*
Miners	2,063	Lawyers	8
Auctioneers	2	Magicians	2
Bakers	18	Millwright	1
Barber	1	Painters	2
Blacksmiths	2	Physicians	20
Butchers	14	Sailors	2
Carpenters	29	Servants	4
Clerks	2	Tailor	1
Cooks	3	Tavern keepers	6
Dentist	1	Teamsters	21
Druggist	1	Traders/merchants	215
Engineers	2	Tinner	1
Farmers	2	Town officials	3
Grocer	1	Waiters	4
Laborers	2	Watchmakers	2

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Schedule of Population for Cities, 1850,* Microfilm Reel 36 (California State Library, Sacramento).

larger towns of Placerville, Sonora, Yreka, and Nevada City typically based their economies on the provision of lodging, general retailing, entertainment, and a small number of specialized services. Table 5.2 shows the diverse occupational makeup of residents of Nevada City, one of California's largest mining towns in 1850. Of Nevada City's 2,683 inhabitants, the occupations of 2,435 could be identified. Miners made up the majority of town residents, with merchants, traders, teamsters, and others engaged in commerce making up the next largest occupational grouping.

Beyond mining and commerce, Nevada City's most important occupational groups were those involved in food preparation and medical care, activities usually associated with women at midcentury. Men made up roughly 90 percent of the state's population during the early 1850s, and hence, the household economy in which women played a vital role was not transported west during the initial stages of the Gold Rush. Male gold seekers were therefore confronted with a dilemma: they could perform the activities usually associated with women themselves, or they could pay someone else to do it. The diaries of many miners suggest their ineptitude in performing such tasks as cooking, washing, sewing, or caring for the sick, and the miners' lack of skill created a massive market for restauranteurs, physicians, launderers, boardinghouse keepers, and other service providers. Old hands who camped near

Coloma were representative in their habit of visiting the town every Sunday "for the express purpose of having one good dinner in a week," and JoAnn Levy's study of women during the Gold Rush found that cooking was profitable employment for female emigrants.[25] This commercialization of the family economy, and the advantage of concentrating these activities in central places, was another impetus to the growth of urban California. In New York State, arguably the most "urban" of states in the antebellum period, there was one baker for every 744 residents in 1850. California's ratio was one to every 351 residents. In the 1850 census, 413 individuals in California listed themselves as cooks, an occupation that does not appear as a separate census category for any other state that year. New York boasted one physician for every 612 state residents, but, while the credentials of its physicians may have been lax, "frontier" California possessed a ratio of one to every 148 residents.[26]

The larger mining towns were linked by dirt trails and river tributaries to the periphery of the urban system, a galaxy of small hamlets and mining camps with names like Angels Camp, Rough and Ready, Jackson, Mokelumne Hill, You Bet, San Andreas, and China Camp. Acting as tiny centers of trade and transitory residence near the gold deposits themselves, most of the hamlets stretched in a broad band from the Merced River north to Lake Almanor, with another concentration based in the north around the Klamath River.[27] Rough and Ready, a mining hamlet of 672 men a few miles east of Nevada City, was a typical mining hamlet. True to a town developing according to a rank-order system, Rough and Ready lacked the specialized services available in Nevada City, things like watch repair, dental care, a druggist, or extensive legal help, although two magicians were present in Nevada City in 1850. However, Rough and Ready had relatively more cooks than Nevada City, and the building trades were stronger in the smaller community as well, the latter probably due to the newness of the settlement and a corresponding flurry of construction activity (see table 5.3). Rough and Ready was also home to sixteen physicians, a ratio of doctors to residents that far outstripped Nevada City, although the hamlet's doctors probably also served miners in the surrounding camps.[28]

The hardships associated with filling the economic void left by women were only matched by a corresponding lack of (or freedom from) family-centered leisure. The difficult nature of placer mining and the need for companionship in a place full of strangers made male-centered leisure an important activity in California's cities and towns. The tavern and other forms of recreation were a ubiquitous feature of frontier life, serving not only as an important place of sociability, but also as a place where one might borrow money, purchase food and supplies, or sleep. San Francisco's saloons were the best built and decorated structures in the city during its early years, and the presence of drinking establishments, gambling houses, and even bowling alleys made people like Chauncey Canfield report in 1853 that Sacramento was "the liveliest place I ever saw."[29] Such services were even more vital in the more isolated

EMPIRE
BAKERY.
HOTEL
W.H. MAYON

The volunteer firemen of Timbuctoo, Yuba County, strike a pose by the Empire Bakery, about 1857. One of the innumerable gold camps that sprang up in the diggings, Timbuctoo is thought to have been named after an early black Argonaut active in the district. Although a flourishing community for many years, Timbuctoo faded into obscurity before the turn of the century, and all that remains from its glory days are the Wells Fargo Express Office and a few crumbling stone walls. *Courtesy Stephen Anaya Collection. Photograph courtesy Oakland Museum of California.*

inland mining settlements. Nevada City was home to six tavern keepers in 1850, while Rough and Ready was home to fourteen. The relative lack of tavern keepers in Nevada City, as well as its relative want of physicians and cooks, may seem strange in a place otherwise so important commercially, but Nevada City differed from surrounding hamlets in one important respect: Nevada City was home to 43 females over the age of ten, women engaged in the traditional activities of the family economy. Not a single female lived in Rough and Ready when the census taker appeared in early 1850.[30]

Throughout the early years of the Gold Rush, the morphology of California's urban places, their physical form and structure, reflected the expediency of rapid settlement.[31] Since the adoption of the federal Land Ordinance of 1785, which established the surveying of public land in the West into six-mile-square townships divided by lines intersecting true north and south at right angles, most American

TABLE 5.3
Rough and Ready, Occupational Make-up, 1850

Occupation	*N*	*Occupation*	*N*
Miners	360	Miners/traders	2
Sportsmen	16	Painter	1
Bakers	9	Physicians	16
Blacksmiths	5	Ranchers	3
Bricklayer	1	Saddle maker	1
Butchers	12	Sailors	3
Carpenters	38	Shoemakers	2
Clerk	1	Stage drivers	3
Cooks	7	Tailors	2
Coopers	2	Tavern keepers	14
Farmers	8	Teamsters	19
Hotel keepers	2	Traders/merchants	107
Laborers	6	Wagon maker	1
Laddlers	2	Waiter	1
Lawyer	1		

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Schedule of Population for Cities, 1850,* Microfilm Reel 36 (California State Library, Sacramento).

cities developed along the grid pattern. Such a rectilinear organization of space allowed for the convenient laying out of roads and a rapid subdivision and sale of lots. San Francisco's grid was established by an 1847 survey, commissioned by Yerba Buena that year in order to promote the sale of city lands. Unlike the north-south axis of most of the city's thoroughfares, Market Street and the streets below Market were set at a diagonal to avoid conflict with previously settled land grants and to correspond to the general route of travel between the center of town and the mission, a decision that complicates the city's morphology to this day.[32]

"Though not half the size of San Francisco," Sacramento, D. D. Demarest thought, had "much the same appearance." The only difference of note was that, "instead of hills and a large Bay for surrounding scenery," Sacramento had "a level plain and rivers on two sides." In 1848 John Augustus Sutter, Jr., hired an army topographical engineer to lay out his father's land in anticipation of brisk sales. The resulting town was built on a conventional grid spreading east from the Sacramento River, save for its northern and western borders, which were dictated by the flow of the Sacramento and American rivers. Twelve public squares were placed in regular intervals to break up the grid's monotony, and the city cemetery was prudently located on a small protrusion on the southern fringe of town. Stockton, developed by entrepreneur

Charles M. Weber, was among the best planned gold-rush cities. The town's gridiron was broken up by the intrusion of three main channels linking the city to the San Joaquin River, enclosed by levees to protect commercial neighborhoods from flooding. Weber reserved large tracts for public use, and while Sacramento may have been chosen as the capital, Stockton was able to provide the grounds for the state insane asylum, a coveted prize in an era of minimal public expenditures. Los Angeles owed its original morphology to the plan developed by Governor Felipe de Neve in 1781, which generally followed the approach to city-building prescribed by Spain's Law of the Indies, with houses facing a common plaza to facilitate protection and sociability. By the time of Mexican independence in 1821, a new asymmetrical plaza had been constructed, surrounded by a church, erratically placed townhouses, and streets with irregular widths. In 1849, Los Angeles leaders hired Army Lt. Edward Ord to survey the pueblo and to lay out surrounding land for future development. Ord's extensions gave Los Angeles a hybrid morphology: a compact but chaotic center encased by American-style gridirons to the southwest and northeast.[33]

The most developed neighborhoods of California's larger cities were usually in close proximity to the most important economic activities, and over time spread outward along the path of least resistance. San Francisco's area of initial development was on the waterfront. At first, vessels had to anchor offshore, the tidal mudflats on the eastern side of the peninsula preventing their approach. Private businessmen built an assortment of piers linked by plank walks to solve the problem, the largest being Long Wharf, which extended two thousand feet to allow the docking of Pacific Mail Company steamers. Subsequent growth spread along the shore on the low ground north and south of Market Street.[34] Once the waterfront was largely settled, people began to fill the remaining low-lying land in the crevices between the slopes and also the mudflats between the piers. Throughout the era, the lowlands possessed the highest population densities in San Francisco, not only because they were easier to build on, but also because few streets were planked. Even on level streets, high boots were needed to avoid sinking in winter mud. Slopes were virtually impossible to traverse.[35] Eventually the hills to the west could not be avoided. Some of the smaller ones were blasted. People moved up the larger ones. Plank roads were laid to ease access, and by 1851, neighborhoods began to appear on Russian, Telegraph, and Nob hills. Crowding continued, and by the end of the 1860s the scarcity of open space was enough of a problem to prompt city leaders to set aside public land for Golden Gate Park.[36]

Sacramento built up first around Sutter's Fort, near the center of town. To facilitate commerce, "building activity," often in the form of tent raising, then shifted to the embarcadero at the foot of J Street, just south of where the American River joins the Sacramento.[37] Settlers were confident in the typicality of the mild winter of 1848–49 and ignored evidence of past flooding. The streets of the city were as poor

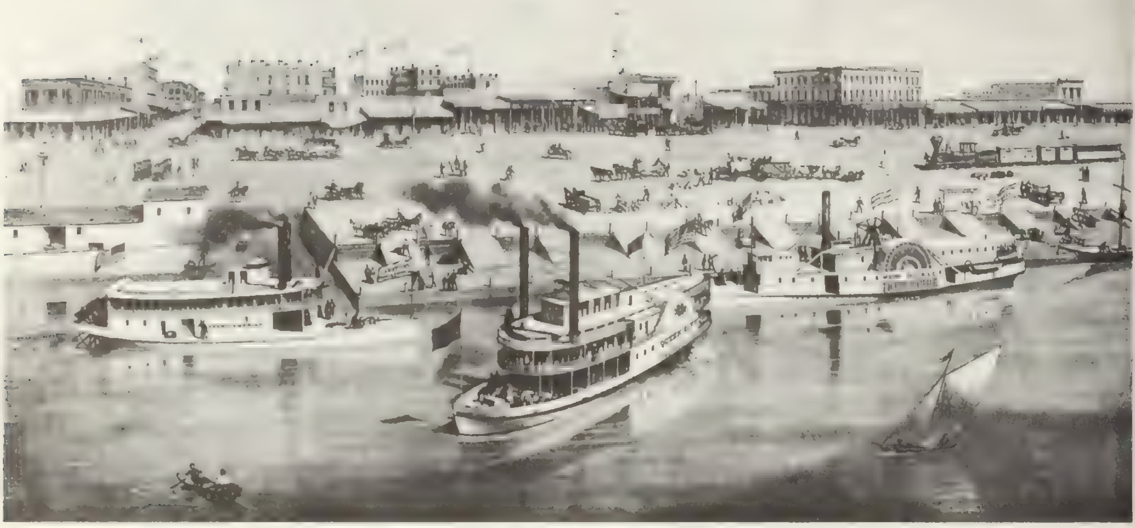
TABLE 5.4
Major Urban Centers in California by Population and Function, 1850–1870

		Population		
City	*Function*	*1850*	*1860*	*1870*
San Francisco	Sea port	34,776	56,802	149,473
Sacramento	Interior port	6,820	13,785	16,283
Oakland	Interior port	n.a.	1,543	10,500
Stockton	Interior port	n.a.	3,679	10,066
San Jose	Agricultural center	n.a.	n.a.	9,089
Los Angeles	Agricultural center	1,610	4,385	5,728
Marysville	Interior port	4,500	4,740	4,738
Nevada City	Mining town	2,683	n.a.	4,022
Santa Rosa	Agricultural center	n.a.	1,623	2,898
Santa Cruz	Minor sea port	n.a.	950	2,561
San Diego	Minor sea port	n.a.	731	2,300
Napa	Agricultural center	159	2,378	1,879
Placerville	Mining town	n.a.	1,754	1,562
Petaluma	Agricultural center	n.a.	1,505	n.a.
Oroville	Mining town	n.a.	2,499	1,425
Sonora	Mining town	n.a.	1,960	1,322
Rough and Ready	Mining town	672	1,719	1,210
Watsonville	Agricultural center	n.a.	398	1,151
Monterey	Minor sea port	1,092	n.a.	1,112
Yreka	Mining town	n.a.	1,631	1,063
Healdsburg	Agricultural center	n.a.	334	959
Visalia	Agricultural center	n.a.	548	913

SOURCE: Department of the Interior, *Population of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864); Department of the Interior, *Population of the United States in 1870; Compiled from the Original Returns of the Ninth Census* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1874).

as those of its Bay Area cousin, and Sacramento sidewalks were notorious as "fracture traps" because of the numerous cracks between the plankings.[38]

In spite of the early confidence of its boosters, Sacramento was visited by five major floods between 1850 and 1863, and the city newspaper lamented the misfortune of residents to have been "continually visited with a greater supply of aqueous effusions than were required for any conceivable purposes."[39] Without effective municipal government, private citizens built the city's first levee system. When Sacramento's first mayor was elected under its new articles of incorporation in 1850, the



Steamboats line the waterfront in the lithograph *Sacramento City,* taken from a drawing by Thomas Boyd and published in 1858. The origins of the town date to 1839, when John A. Sutter began work on the fort that became the headquarters of his enormous rancho, Nueva Helvetia, and a famed wilderness outpost. But it was the discovery of gold at Coloma by Sutter's employee James Marshall that gave rise to the "City of the Plain," making it a great river port and entrepôt for the mines, the center of an inland empire. *California Historical Society, FN-30635.*

city came of age: it could borrow money. Funds were used to prevent a recurrence of additional flooding, but the municipal levees could not stop another inundation in 1852. Finally, after the disastrous flood of 1853 threatened to force a mass exodus of local businessmen to rival Sutterville, Sacramento leaders forever changed its physical form by initiating a major program that included road planking, levee improvement and, in a demonstration of the power of municipal government, the raising of I, J, and K streets by three to four feet, at a total cost of $250,000.[40]

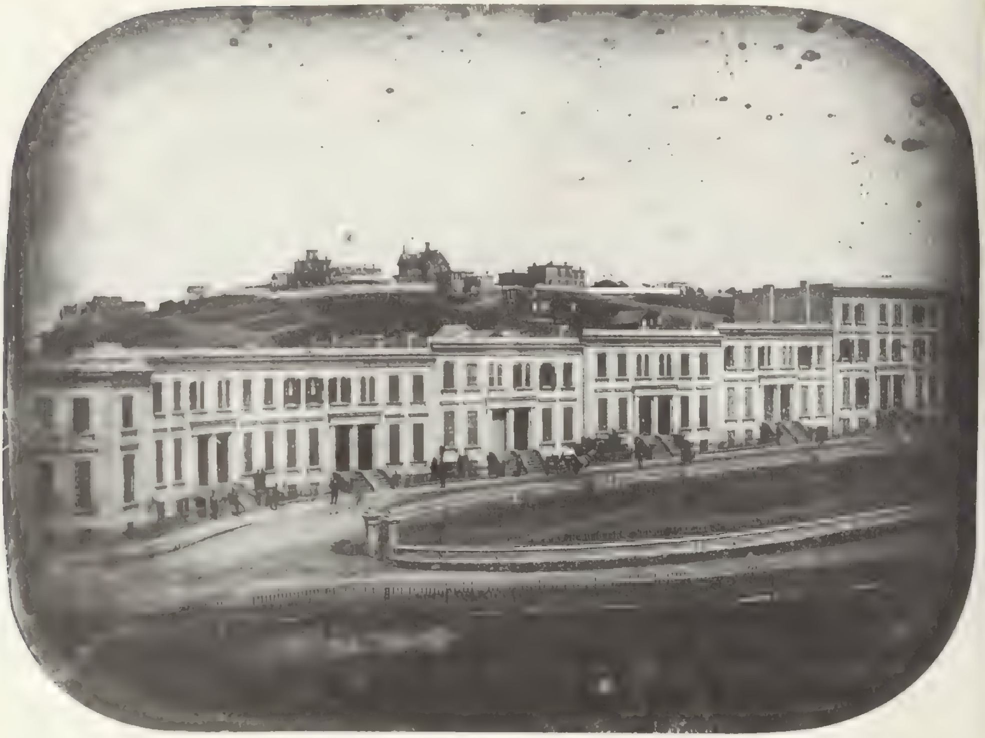
Unlike the larger cities of California, most mining towns had a very simple morphology: a single dirt street fronted by businesses and dwellings. As miner John Fletcher described:

> I am at the camp all alone, for all hands have gone downtown. I must give you some description of Nevada City, as it is called, for there is a great many such cities in California. The town has actually got a street in it (though to be sure it is crocked and not very safe for the ox carts which occasionally pass through it). . . . The houses are either

> made of canvas or of cedar boards split out instead of sawed and put on rough in the same way clapboards are at home. There are five round tents as large almost as a circus tent occupied entirely as gambling shops and nine out of every ten doors on the street open the way to a liquor bar. There are several tents, camps, and cabins scattered around in the woods. Such is the City of Nevada.[41]

The small size and uncomplicated morphology of California towns was countered by the eclectic origins of gold-rush emigrants, and anyone spending time "downtown" was introduced to the ethnic, racial, and national diversity of the state's population. Indeed, between the end of the Mexican War and 1860, only half of San Francisco's population was American. Roger Lotchin has argued that the American population of San Francisco possessed a general respect for other cultures throughout the 1850s, although such attitudes were tainted by a ranking of the virtues of specific groups and an expectation of eventual assimilation.[42] Tolerance was certainly present, but American cities in the 1850s were walking cities, and their size, made compact because of the lack of commuter transportation services, resulted in a relative integration of residents over space. Yet because of the lack of housing, as well as the notorious conditions of California streets, gold-rush cities were probably even less than walking cities, and San Francisco's relative tolerance may have been reinforced by crowding and the spatial immobility of the population. Even so, California's central places displayed early segregationist impulses. Ralph Mann's study of Grass Valley and Nevada City shows that residents typically sought out men from the same state or region when forming a household. As Mann points out, "camp residents were disposed not only to trust and to associate intimately with men from their own sections of the country, but also to distrust and segregate themselves from natives of other sections."[43] As the Gold Rush wore on, ethnically and class-based neighborhoods began to appear in California's larger cities. San Francisco's Chinese attempted to recreate their homeland around Dupont and Stockton streets. Chileans lived in a tent colony on Telegraph Hill. Americans gradually replicated the class society they had left "back East." San Francisco's middle classes initially clustered around their places of business at the city center, with workers occupying an outer ring just beyond. By mid-decade, the middle classes had deserted their old neighborhoods for the hills to the west. The more prosperous merchants and professionals established elegant homes on Rincon Hill, while the city's Happy Valley section was increasingly occupied by factories and working-class residences. With laborers pouring into the land south of the original settlement, "South of Market"—San Francisco's skid row—owed its origin to the Gold Rush.[44]

Like the morphology of California's smaller communities, gold-rush architecture had an ephemeral quality. Wood and canvas were the most widely used materials in the built-environment in 1849 and 1850. Canvas was used to pitch simple



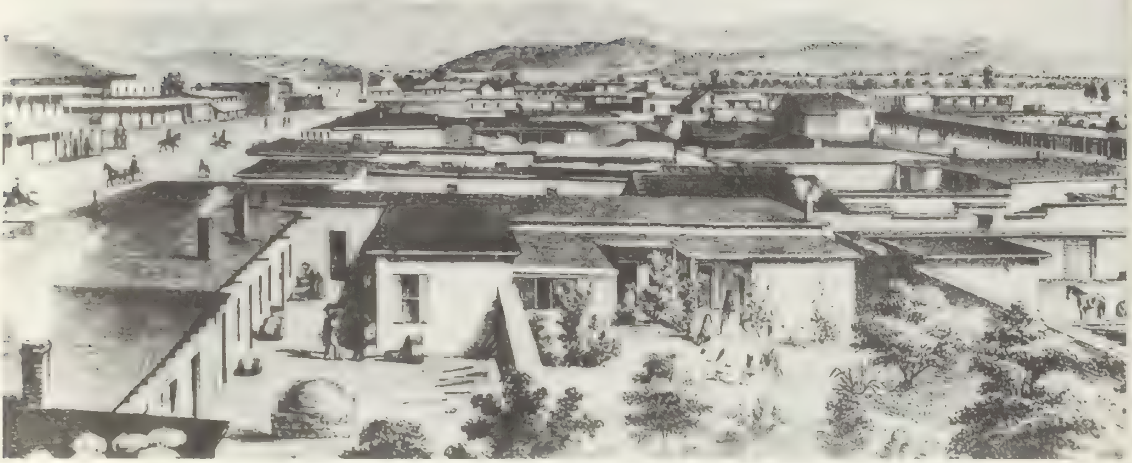
South Park in San Francisco, looking north toward Rincon Hill, in the mid-1850s—a starkly striking image of the first exclusive neighborhood in California and compelling testimony to the transforming power of gold. Developed in 1854 by the English-born Forty-niner George Gordon and designed by his countryman the civil engineer and architect George H. Goddard, South Park was modeled on the elegant crescents of London and New York. United States Senator William M. Gwin made his home here, as did such other prominent men as Lloyd Tevis, Isaac Friedlander, and Charles Lux. *Courtesy Oakland Museum of California.*

tents, or to cover box frames built with logs or processed lumber. In spite of the primitive quality of the building materials, tent houses gave San Francisco its first panoramic skyline. "Made transparent by the lamps within," the darkness transformed the city's tents into "dwellings of solid light," and the translucent skyline was an early hallmark of all California urban places.[45] "Most every shanty," a Sacramentan reported, was either a "doggery and provisions store, or a provision store," and most were made of canvas. A tent with a "Hospital" sign hung over the flap indicated the presence of a physician. The advantage of such a minimal investment in building materials was described by one Sacramento resident, who remembered that on the same ground where he had shaded his team only hours before "there stood a Baker's shop in full operation selling bread and receiving the money for it!"[46]

The rudimentary nature of the built-environment made life hard in California's urban places. Battered by an undeveloped street system, ramshackle buildings, and the peninsula's cold climate, one merchant complained that "as a residence" San Francisco was "fraught with discomfort. The high winds, and constant dust, together with broken planks," rendered foot travel, "if not dangerous, exceedingly disagreeable." Moreover, San Francisco houses were home to flies "to such an extent that it is impossible to read with any degree of attention. Fleas are so numerous as to be an intolerable nuisance."[47] The city's lodging houses were "barn-like tenements," one miner remembered, "abominable odours arose, and creeping things abounded."[48] To alleviate the lack of structures, captains beached older ships on the bay and riverfronts in San Francisco and Sacramento, converting the hulls into hotels, boardinghouses, and warehouses. By the spring of 1849, however, more substantial structures began to appear in the major cities. Prefabricated buildings, made of sheet metal, iron, or wood, arrived in San Francisco in 1849. The St. Francis Hotel, on the corner of Grant and Clay, was actually a dozen prefabricated cottages joined together side by side or stacked on top of each other.[49] By 1850, Sacramento had "several hundred" permanent structures, "wood, large, commodious, and comfortable," as well as a bowling alley that doubled as a rooming house. The following year the *Sacramento Union* reported lines of "substantial frame houses, and the dwellings of many of the miners are constructed of logs or boards, and the tent is seldom seen."[50]

As wood structures replaced the canvas of the first days of the Gold Rush, California architecture took on a "colonial" quality. Major architectural forms were borrowed from earlier traditions. In Los Angeles and San Diego, where the effects of emigration was minimal, pre–gold-rush architecture remained dominant. Illustrations of Los Angeles in the late 1850s show the prevalence of one-story adobes, walled patios, and outdoor ovens. In the northern part of the state, the "Yankee" origins of many of the gold seekers meant that the New England frame house quickly surpassed the Mediterranean masonry tradition of the Spanish and Mexican colonial eras.[51] The concurrent appearance of the balloon frame in America building practices, which replaced mortises and tenons with nails and two-by-four-inch studs covered by either clapboards or shingles, was ideally suited to rapid house-building in San Francisco and the interior cities.[52]

Due to the state's isolation, there was a significant lag time between the development of architectural innovations in the East and their appearance in California. It took roughly a decade for the stick house, a wood frame structure with front bay windows and steeply pitched gabled roofs, to appear in California after its introduction on the eastern seaboard during the 1850s. By the late 1860s, the common San Francisco townhouse was a flat-roofed stick with an overhanging cornice.[53] In spite of the dominance of American architecture, San Francisco architecture reflected the international origins of its residents throughout the gold-rush era. Classical building designs, particularly examples of Greek Revival, were prominent in the



Los Angeles in the 1850s. The enormous demand for beef cattle created by the Gold Rush brought a wonderful prosperity to the rancheros of El Pueblo, but following hard upon the trail of sudden riches came outlaws, prostitutes, and monte dealers, who gave the dusty cowtown a reputation as one of the toughest and most crime-ridden cities in the American West. *California Historical Society/Title Insurance and Trust Photo Collection, University of Southern California.*

city because, as Harold Kirker points out, it was the only architectural form held in common by San Francisco's competing colonial cultures. Greek and Roman derivatives were the dominant traditions of civic architecture, the best example being San Francisco's second city hall, completed in 1851. The state capitol, occupied in 1869, was similarly derived from a "florid Roman-Corinthian" design.[54]

Since California cities were built overwhelmingly of canvas and wood during the first years of the Gold Rush, fire was an important impetus to the development of the state's architecture. The presence of a masculine culture that valued late nights of heavy drinking illuminated by lantern, and the random tossing of smoldering cigars, exacerbated the threat. Four fires destroyed major portions of San Francisco between 1849 and 1851. A large portion of Marysville burned in 1851. Sacramento, when it was not under water, was visited by five major blazes in the early 1850s. Nevada City burned to the ground for the first time in March 1851, the flames presenting "a spectacle of meteoric splendor seldom equaled." Nevada City residents were generally well armed, and a number of gunpowder-filled structures exploded, "casting flaming timbers, brands, and miss[i]les of all descriptions into the air." Pine trees, interwoven with town buildings, added to the conflagration. Residents finally contained the blaze by tearing down buildings to create a fire break, but only after it destroyed 125 structures, fully half of the town. Nevada City burned to the ground a total of three times during the 1850s.[55]

After each major blaze, individuals in every community used brick in the reconstruction of many buildings, giving an increased sense of permanence to the state's urban places. When fire burst through the windows and doors of masonry structures, landlords began to install locally made iron shutters that doubled as a barrier to burglars. Following the fire of May 1850, San Francisco enacted the state's first building ordinance, prohibiting the construction of cloth structures in the city's commercial district.[56] In spite of the plethora of disasters visited upon California's cities and towns, economics dictated that a booming town would survive. After Nevada City's first great fire, Aaron Augustus Sargent observed that it was "impossible to give a death blow to any point of rendezvous of miners, or miner's supplies, short of an exhaustion of the mines." Like so many gold-rush towns, Nevada City was rapidly rebuilt. Indeed, most inhabitants felt that in the long run, "the fire was a benefit" to the town, "for better buildings and straighter streets resulted from it." Local businessmen "soon forgot their losses in new profits," and by the summer of 1851, Nevada City was as busy as ever. A mud slide swept away a large part of the town in March 1852.[57]

Even as Californians built up their cities and towns, the urban system in which they were enmeshed was in rapid flux. The placer phase of the Gold Rush gave way, and most of the mining hamlets disappeared, the "ghost towns" forming a still-visible skeleton of this ephemeral urban system. All of the mining towns lost population and only the larger towns survived at all. Stockton and Sacramento, too dependent on supplying the dying towns of the southern and central mining districts and the latter devastated by floods as well, witnessed a modest period of growth during the 1860s. Marysville, too far north to tap into the trade associated with the Central Valley's growing agricultural areas, stagnated. Los Angeles, its economy shattered by an oversupply of beef and a terrible drought in the 1860s, struggled as well. Monterey, the provincial capital in Spanish and Mexican California, failed to adjust to the changing reality of competing cities, and saw its population expand by only 600 people between 1870 and 1900.[58]

Yet even with the exhaustion of the gold deposits, the urban dimension of California life was secured. Over the remnants of the gold-rush city system, the transcontinental railroad and the end of California's isolation ushered in a new era of urban development. San Francisco remained the state's major port, its commerce and a growing array of manufacturing establishments providing goods to California's agricultural communities. Oakland boomed as a railroad terminus, and other East Bay communities developed as ferry points and as places of residence and trade.[59] Inland towns continued to grow as supply and transfer points for agricultural products and soon outnumbered the surviving mining towns. Demonstrating the symbiotic relationships inherent in the California city system, much of the agricultural produce found its way to San Francisco and other cities. With the opening of the Santa Fe Railroad, Los Angeles would experience the boom of the 1880s, beginning the reversal of forty years of San Francisco dominance. Great battles would result from this tremendous urban growth into the next century: over possession of water resources, over command of municipal governments, and over the control of city space itself. Rather than representing a break with the past, the hamlets, towns, and cities that have played so important a role in the history of twentieth-century California embody a historical continuity with the world of the Forty-niners. Today, for better or worse, the constancy of city-building in the physical expanse goes on. The modern metropolitan world called California is yet another demonstration of the importance of the urban civilization crafted by the Gold Rush.

NOTES

The author is indebted to Professor Richard Orsi and Professor Judith Stanley of the California State University, Hayward, as well as Professor Eric Monkkonen of the University of California, Los Angeles, and Professor Ronald Tobey of the University of California, Riverside, for their encouragement, support, and generous advice. Thanks are also extended to the staffs of the California State Library and the special collections department of the University of the Pacific Library, who supplied access to their wonderful collections.

1. Diary of D. D. Demarest, 33–39, Demarest Family Papers, mss. 28, box 1, Holt Atherton Collection, University of the Pacific, Stockton, Calif. For the character of mining in the Yuba camps and a description of the history of Downieville, see Remi Nadeau, *Ghost Towns and Mining Camps of California: A History and Guide* (Santa Barbara: Crest Publishers, 1992), 156–61.

2. For an excellent overview of the contradictory aspects of the urban West, see Carl Abbott, *The Metropolitan Frontier: Cities in the Modern American West* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1993), xi–xxiii.

3. Patricia Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1987), 18.

4. For an excellent overview of the urban interpretation of western history, see Gerald D. Nash, *Creating the West: Historical Interpretations, 1890–1890* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991), 159–95. On the frontier and American historical development, see Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Influence of the Frontier in American History," in his *History, Frontier, Section: Three Essays by Frederick Jackson Turner* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993). For a general view of the impact of the frontier thesis and its early challengers, see John Higham, *History: Professional Scholarship in America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 174–205. For early urban counters to the frontier thesis, see

Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., "The City in American History," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 27 (June 1940): 43–66, and *Rise of the City, 1878–1898* (New York: Macmillan, 1933); and Lewis Mumford, *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its Prospects* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1961).

5. Schlesinger, "The City in American History," 57. For Schlesinger's impact on western urban history, see Nash, *Creating the West,* 37–38.

6. Richard Wade, *The Urban Frontier: The Rise of Western Cities, 1790–1830* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), 1. On Wade's impact on western history, see Nash, *Creating the West,* 178.

7. Bradford Luckingham, *Phoenix: The History of a Southwestern Metropolis* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989); Gilbert R. Cruz, *Let There Be Towns: Spanish Municipal Origins in the American Southwest, 1610–1810* (College Station, Tex.: Texas A&M University Press, 1988); Lawrence Larsen, *The Urban West at the End of the Frontier* (Lawrence, Kan.: Regents Press of Kansas, 1978); William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1991).

8. For an example of Bancroft's views of urban California, see Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft,* vol. 35 (San Francisco: The History Company, 1888), 260–93. For McWilliams's views of the urban West, see Carey McWilliams, Introduction to *Rocky Mountain Cities,* ed. Ray B. West (New York: W. W. Norton, 1949), 7–23. For the development of the California Dream within a largely urban context, see Kevin Starr, *Inventing the Dream: California Through the Progressive Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985) and *Material Dreams: Southern California Through the 1920s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990). Also see Nash, *Creating the West,* 175–76.

9. Gunther Barth, *Instant Cities: Urbanization and the Rise of San Francisco and Denver* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975).

10. James E. Vance, Jr., *Geography and Urban Evolution in the San Francisco Bay Area* (Berkeley: Institute of Governmental Studies, 1964), 33–34; Mel Scott, *The San Francisco Bay Area: A Metropolis in Perspective* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959); Roger W. Lotchin, *San Francisco, 1846–1856: From Hamlet to City* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1974). Also see William Camp, *San Francisco: Port of Gold* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1947); William Issel and Robert W. Cherny, *San Francisco, 1865–1932: Politics, Power, and Urban Development* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); Dianne Kirkby, "Gold and the Growth of a Metropolis: A Comparative Study of San Francisco and Melbourne, Australia," *Journal of the West* 17 (April 1978): 3–15; and Felix Reisenberg, *Golden Gate: The Story of San Francisco Harbor* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1940).

11. Carey McWilliams, *Southern California: An Island on the Land* (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith Books, 1973); Robert Fogelson, *The Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles, 1850–1930* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967); John W. Reps, *Cities of the American West: A History of Frontier Urban Planning* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979); Ralph Mann, *After the Gold Rush: Society in Grass Valley and Nevada City, California, 1849–1870* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982). For overviews of California mining towns during the Gold Rush, see William A. Bullough, "Entrepreneurs and Urbanism on the California Mining Frontier: Frederick Walter and Weaverville, 1852–1868," *California History* 70 (Summer 1991): 162–73; Joseph Henry Jackson, *Anybody's Gold: The Story of California's Mining Towns* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1941); and Earl Ramey, *The Beginnings of Marysville* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1936).

12. For a brief discussion of these two views, see Spiro Kostof, *The City Assembled: The Elements of Urban Form Through History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992), 7–8.

13. Eric Monkkonen, *America Becomes Urban: The Development of U.S. Cities and Towns, 1780–1980* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 85.

14. For Spanish methods of town development in the region, see Cruz, *Let There Be Towns.* For the economic limitations of California towns during the Spanish and Mexican eras, see Steven W. Hackel, "Land, Labor, and Production: The Colonial Economy of Spanish and Mexican California," in *Contested Eden: California Before the Gold Rush,* ed. Ramón A. Gutiérrez and Richard J. Orsi (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 111–46.

15. Monkkonen, *America Becomes Urban,* 45–48.

16. Ibid., 77–81.

17. Roger Lotchin, "San Francisco, 1846–56: The Patterns and Chaos of Growth," in *Cities in American History,* ed. Kenneth T. Jackson and Stanley K. Schultz (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), 146–47.

18. Edwin Bryant, *What I Saw in California: The Complete Original Narrative and Appendix from the 1849 Appleton Edition in True Facsimile* (Palo Alto, Calif.: Lewis Osborne, 1967), 323–24.

19. William Tecumseh Sherman, "Memoirs of General William T. Sherman," in *Gold Rush: A Literary Exploration,* ed. Michael Kowalewski (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1997), 151. For the problems of the city site and the efforts of local boosters to overcome them, see Lotchin, "San Francisco, 1846–56: Patterns and Chaos of Growth," 143–46.

20. San Francisco *Alta California,* May 3, 1849, 2.

21. Lotchin, *San Francisco,* 3–29, 45–82.

22. "Rio Rico Mines, Feb. 12, 1850," in *California Emigrant Letters,* ed. Walker D. Wyman (New York: Bookman Associates, 1952), 149. On passenger estimates on the river, see the *Sacramento Union,* September 12, 1851, 2. For an overview of the inland cities' economic functions, see J. S. Holliday, *The World Rushed In: The California Gold Rush Experience, An Eyewitness Account of a Nation Heading West* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1981), 302–303. On freight activities in Marysville, see the *Sacramento Union,* October 23, 1851, 2. For the history of Sacramento during the period, see V. Aubrey Neasham and James E. Henley, *The City of the Plain: Sacramento in the Nineteenth Century,* ed. Janice A. Woodruff (Sacramento: Sacramento Pioneer Foundation, 1969). For the history of Stockton and surrounding towns during the Gold Rush, see Reps, *Cities of the American West,* 215–19; and Raymond W. Hillman and Leonardo A. Covello, *Cities and Towns of San Joaquin County Since 1847* (Fresno: Panorama West Books, 1985).

23. Fogelson, *Fragmented Metropolis,* 14–15.

24. Scott, *The San Francisco Bay Area,* 39–41.

25. Charles B. Gillespie, "A Miner's Sunday in Coloma," in Kowalewski, *Gold Rush: A Literary Exploration,* 198–203. On the male lack of talent in household endeavors, see Andrew Rotter, "'Matilda for God's Sake Write': Women and Families on the Argonaut Mind," *California History* 58 (Summer 1979): 128–39. On women cooks during the Gold Rush, see JoAnn Levy, *They Saw the Elephant: Women in the California Gold Rush* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), 91–107. On medical care as an aspect of the nineteenth-century household economy, see Susan M. Reverby, *Ordered to Care: The Dilemma of American Nursing, 1850–1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 1–7, 11–16; and Charles E. Rosenberg, *The Care of Strangers: The Rise of America's Hospital System* (New York: Basic Books, 1987), 4.

26. *Seventh Census of the United States: 1850. An Appendix, Embracing the Notes Upon the Tables of Each of the States, Etc.* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1853).

27. For the location of individual mining hamlets, see Erwin G. Gudde and Elisabeth K. Gudde, *California Gold Camps: A Geographical and Historical Dictionary of Camps, Towns, and Localities Where Gold Was Found and Mined; Wayside Stations and Trading Centers* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975). For additional descriptions and general histories of the camps, see Nadeau, *Ghost Towns and Mining Camps.*

28. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Schedule of Population for Cities, 1850,* Microfilm Reel 36, California State Library, Sacramento.

29. Chauncey Canfield, *The Diary of a Forty-Niner* (Stanford: American Book-Strafford Press, 1947), 31. For the role of the tavern in the American West, see Elliot West, *The Saloon on the Rocky Mountain Frontier* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979).

30. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Schedule of Population for Cities, 1850.*

31. For an excellent overview of the development of urban morphology, see James E. Vance, Jr., *The Continuing City: Urban Morphology in Western Civilization* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990).

32. Geoffrey P. Mawn, "Framework for Destiny: San Francisco, 1847," *California Historical Quarterly* 51 (Summer 1972): 165–74. On the dominance of the grid system in U.S. cities west of the Appalachians, see Vance, *Continuing City,* 275–81.

33. Diary of D. D. Demarest, 36; Reps, *Cities of the American West,* 98–101, 195–97, 215, 245–50. Also see Lynn Bowman, *Los Angeles: Epic of a City* (Berkeley: Howell-North Books, 1974), 32–34, 46–51, 141–46.

34. Scott, *San Francisco Bay Area,* 28.

35. Charles Lockwood, "Tourists in Gold Rush San Francisco," *California History* 59 (Winter 1980): 318–19. Lotchin, *San Francisco,* 168–69.

36. Lotchin, *San Francisco,* 14–15. On the development of Golden Gate Park, see Scott, *San Francisco Bay Area,* 52–53.

37. Reps, *Cities of the American West,* 210–11.

38. *Sacramento Union,* October 22, 1851, 2. On the improvement of Sacramento streets, see August 12, 1851, 2.

39. *Sacramento Union,* August 19, 1851, 2. On the flooding of Marysville, see March 8, 1852, 2.

40. Marvin Brienes, "Sacramento Defies the Rivers, 1850–1878," *California History* 58 (Spring 1979): 3–14.

41. John E. Fletcher to Ruth Fletcher, June 20, 1850, John E. Fletcher Correspondence, mss. F613 1849, Holt Atherton Collection, University of the Pacific, Stockton, Calif. For a general history of Nevada City, see Mann, *After the Gold Rush.*

42. Lotchin, *San Francisco,* 100–113.

43. Mann, *After the Gold Rush,* 17–19.

44. Lotchin, *San Francisco,* 3–30, 123–26, 191. Alvin Averbach, "San Francisco's South of Market District, 1850–1950: The Emergence of a Skid Row," *California Historical Quarterly* 52 (Fall 1973): 197–201. Also see Kevin Starr, "'South of Market and Bunker Hill: An Introduction to Neighborhood Histories' by Anne B. Bloomfield and Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris and Gail Sansbury," *California History* 74 (Winter 1995/96): 370–71; and Anne B. Bloomfield, "A History of the California Historical Society's New Mission Street Neighborhood," *California History* 74 (Winter 1995/96): 372–93.

45. Lockwood, "Tourists in Gold Rush San Francisco," 316.

46. "Sacramento City, Aug. 7, 1849," and "Sacramento City, Aug. 17, 1849," in Wyman, *California Emigrant Letters,* 163–64.

47. "Storeman in San Francisco. St. Joseph Adventure, Oct. 9, 1849," and "Discomforts in San Francisco," in Wyman, *California Emigrant Letters,* 168.

48. William Shaw, "Creeping things abounded," in *San Francisco Memoirs, 1835–1851: Eyewitness Accounts of the Birth of a City,* ed. Malcolm E. Barker (San Francisco: Londonborn Publications, 1994), 169.

49. On the quality of prefabricated houses in San Francisco, see Harold Kirker, *California's Architectural Frontier: Style and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century* (Santa Barbara: Peregrine Smith, 1973), 40–41. On the St. Francis Hotel's construction, see Lockwood, "Tourists in Gold Rush San Francisco," 320.

50. "Rio Saco Mines, Feb. 12, 1850," in Wyman, *California Emigrant Letters,* 165. On housing in Sacramento, see the *Sacramento Union,* August 19, 1851, 2.

51. On the colonial quality of California architecture during the Gold Rush, see Harold Kirker, "California Architecture and Its Relation to Contemporary Trends in Europe and America," *California Historical Quarterly* 51 (Winter 1972): 289–99. Also see the chapter on architecture in the Federal Writers' Project, *California: A Guide to the Golden State* (New York: Hastings House Publishers, 1939), 167–76. For Los Angeles architecture during the 1850s, see Reps, *Cities of the American West,* 250. For additional works on California architecture throughout the nineteenth century, see Joseph Armstrong Baird, Jr., "Architectural Legacy of Sacramento: A Study of 19th Century Style," *California Historical Quarterly* 39 (September 1960): 193–200; Ralph Herbert Cross, *The Early Inns of California, 1844–1869* (San Francisco: Cross and Brandt, 1954); David G. DeLong, ed., *Historic American Buildings: California,* 4 vols. (New York: Garland Publishers, 1980); David Gebhard and Harriette Van Breton, *1868: Architecture in California: An Exhibition Organized by David Gebhard and Harriette Van Breton to Celebrate the Centennial of the University of California* (Santa Barbara: Regents of the University of California, 1968); Donald R. Hannaford and Revel Edwards, *Spanish Colonial or Adobe Architecture of California, 1800–1850* (New York: Architectural Book Publishing Co., 1931); and Harold Kirker, *Old Forms on a New Land: California Architecture in Perspective* (Niwot, Colo.: Roberts Rinehart Publishers, 1991).

52. Kirker, *California's Architectural Frontier,* 59–62.

53. For an overview of the elements of the stick style, see Vincent J. Scully, Jr., *The Shingle Style and the Stick Style: Architectural Theory and Design from Downing to the Origins of Wright* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977).

54. Kirker, *California's Architectural Frontier,* 44–85.

55. David Allan Comstock, ed., *1848–1851: 150 Years Ago. Reprint from an account published in 1856. "A Sketch of Nevada County," by Aaron Augustus Sargent* (Nevada City, Calif., 1998), 9–10.

56. Malcolm Edwards, "'Substantial, Fire-Proof Edifices . . .' Made So by the Marvelous Invention of Iron Door and Window Shutters," *California Historical Quarterly* 50 (December 1971): 431–37. On the San Francisco ordinance, see Kirker, *California's Architectural Frontier,* 32. On brick as an impediment to fire, see the *Sacramento Union,* October 25, 1851, 2.

57. Comstock, *1848–1851,* 24–25.

58. On the decline of Monterey, see Barth, *Instant Cities,* 74–75.

59. Vance, *Geography and Urban Evolution,* 33–34.

6

Weaving a Different World

Women and the California Gold Rush

Nancy J. Taniguchi

A woman helped start the rush for gold. That fact was remembered more than twenty-five years later by a feature writer for the San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin,* who risked venturing to a hotel in "a quarter where up town ladies seldom visit" for an interview. The lady-like reporter, Mary P. Winslow, there located "Aunty Jenny" (Elizabeth J. Bays Wimmer), former cook for Sutter's workforce at Coloma. She and her husband had arrived in the city in 1874 "in the hope of getting some relief from the society of Pioneers" with the claim that they had Marshall's original gold nugget, plucked from the millrace, in their possession. Winslow invited them to dine, and after dinner, when Wimmer was settled in the largest available rocking chair sucking on her pipe, Winslow allowed the storytelling to begin. Jenny recounted the day when her little son; Martin, came running into the house, calling, "'Here, mother, here's something Mr. Marshall and Pa found, and they want you to put it into the saleratus water to see if it will tarnish.'" Jenny replied, "'This is gold, and I will throw it into my lye kettle . . . and if it is gold it will be gold when it comes out.'" The next morning, after her lye soap was removed and cut, she recalled, "At the bottom of the pot was a double-handful of potash, which I lifted in my two hands, and there was my gold as bright as it could be."[1] True story or not, the nugget (shaped, according to Winslow, like "a piece of spruce-gum just out of the mouth of a school-girl") was not bought by the Society of California Pioneers, but did go on display at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair, a symbol of continuing interest in Aunty Jenny's tale.[2]

By then "her" gold had become the main catalyst of subsequent California history. As Winslow put it, Jenny Wimmer had revealed "this magic instrument that revolutionized the world, gave us the Central Pacific Railroad, Emperor Norton, Bret Harte, *Occident,* the Comstock ledge, [the] Palace Hotel, strawberries and cream the whole year round, Mark Twain, earthquakes, James Lick and King Kaiakaua."[3]

As California transformed, so did the lives of its women. The world of the Indian rancheria and Mexican rancho became surrounded and submerged by Yankee settlement.[4] As the society shifted to one commanded by men from "the States," the position of—and opportunities for—women likewise transformed. Some groups of women were discounted or destroyed, while others arrived, taking advantage of fleeting opportunities, either in traditional or new labor categories largely determined by the desires of the women themselves. But as the Yankee men replicated their past society by bringing "respectable" women from the States, many such possibilities evaporated and society began to harden.

Of course, none of this was anticipated. Jenny Wimmer had not come to Coloma to discover gold. Her specific tasks included cooking and washing laundry for white laborers, as well as caring for the local Indians also in Sutter's employ. Her husband, Peter Wimmer, according to James Marshall, "had charge of the Indians, [and directed] at what particular point to set them to work for the day."[5] In 1855, Jenny and Peter were interviewed for an article in the San Francisco *Daily Herald,* which reported that "Mrs. W., assisted by Martin and Sarah her children, did cooking for the party, and employed her leisure time in making shirts for the Indians."[6]

Then gold was discovered. As the rush started, much of the northern California population flocked to the Mother Lode. The earliest gold seekers often utilized the handiwork of Sierra Indian women in their haste to get rich. As the San Francisco *Californian* reported on August 14, 1848, extractive methods included rockers and long toms. "But far the largest number use nothing but a large tin pan or an Indian basket into which they place the dirt and shake it until the gold gets to the bottom."[7] Indians worked side by side with miners such as Mr. Murphy, who had "a small tribe of wild Indians who gather gold for him . . . in part [due] to the fact that he has married the daughter of the chief—a young woman of many personal attractions."[8] These peaceful, cooperative, sometimes familial relationships foundered in the sea of incoming Argonauts, who routed Indian women from the hills and replaced their beautifully woven baskets with mass-produced products of eastern manufacture. Women's existence disappeared in the stock figure of the lone, unshaven miner with his battered tin pan.

THE UNACCULTURATED

Unacculturated men, fresh from the East, set the tone for gold-rush California due to the sheer weight of numbers. Based on the 1860 census, males outnumbered females in San Francisco by three to two. However, the sex ratio for those under fifteen was about even, so the marriageable population—from fifteen to fifty—faced even more skewed proportions, wherein about 47 percent of the men found no

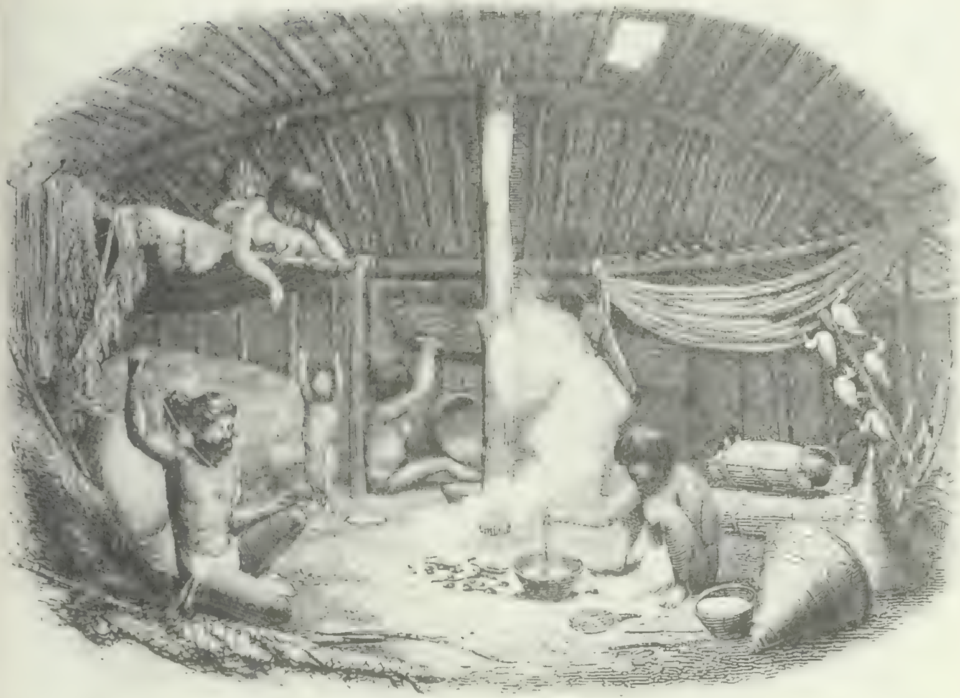
Eliza Jane Steen Johnson, a native of County Antrim, Ireland, who came to California in the Gold Rush with her husband, John, and opened a dry goods and millinery shop off Portsmouth Square in San Francisco. A strikingly handsome woman, independent-minded and ambitious, she helped make the enterprise a success by modeling clothing for the men who crowded the store. With its overwhelmingly male population, California presented women with both unique opportunities and challenges. *Courtesy Oakland Museum of California; gift of Barbara Smith.*

ready marriage partners. Because so many women stayed in San Francisco because of better amenities, greater work opportunities, or other reasons, the proportion of males to females was even more unbalanced in the diggings.[9] Consequently, men acquired most of the gold. Women had to find ways to earn or extract it from them in order to survive.

Furthermore, although Forty-niners came from all over the globe, the majority were white men from the northern states. Most had been reared with the typical American conventions of the day by good, God-fearing mothers. Their slice of society was preoccupied with the notion of the "separate spheres" in which men went out and swung the ax, killed Indians, engaged in sordid politics, pursued grasping commerce, and gambled for gain, while women, pure vessels of societal morality, stayed home to nurture havens for embattled males when they should be able to return.[10] Before courting such women, some Argonauts resolutely awaited a return to the East, such as avid correspondent Horace Snow, who longed for "old New England and its comely girls!"[11] Like Horace, most male Argonauts believed that slipping into sin, vice, and consorting with "bad" women was the surest road to hell. Not that they did not do such things in faraway California, but they retained ambivalent attitudes about their own behavior and were more or less willing to revert to type when "good" women showed up to demand their conformity. They shared the view of sacred womanhood articulated by pioneer Eliza Farnham, who wrote that "there is no inviolate fireside in California that is not an altar; no honorable woman but is a missionary of virtue, morality, happiness, and peace, to a circle of careworn, troubled, and often, alas, demoralized men."[12] She acted on this perceived need by offering to organize a large-scale emigration of highly respectable women of age twenty-five or older to San Francisco. It was not a success.[13]

Testaments abound to the demoralization she feared. For example, an account of the southern Mother Lode by Mrs. Lee Whipple-Haslam (her first name is unknown) revealed that "in early days I have seen all that made life worth living to a young and handsome man, vibrant with life, destroyed in five minutes, by a man's fists." This observation was occasioned by the attempted seduction of another man's wife. The would-be seducer carried life-long scars of his beating, testimony to the value of at least one gold-rush woman.[14]

Many eastern men who panned streams in the Sierra had little experience with people other than themselves, but the relative lack of women spurred a general openness and curiosity. Around them they found a variety of unfamiliar types—darker, Spanish-speaking, Roman Catholic Mexicans; native peoples as varied as the Hupa, Maidu, and Yokuts; citizens of Pacific nations such as the Chinese, Peruvians, Chileans, and Hawaiians. These people, and especially their women, had no prescribed niche in the Yankee cosmology. Therefore, the Forty-niners' reactions to these "exotics" had to be based on other notions—sometimes race, sometimes religion, sometimes the pure inventiveness born of novelty. This gold-rush multiethnicity and internationalism worked to the disadvantage of some of the women, but opened new possibilities for others, at least until the moral civilizers that the men recognized—their own Yankee women—arrived in force. Then, a newly reconstructed eastern-style society imposed its own dichotomy of femininity, of "good" and "bad" women, a division that superseded lesser concerns of race, class, and ethnicity.



California natives from an interior tribe attend to daily chores in a wood engraving of the mid-1850s. The Gold Rush disrupted traditional patterns of life for Indians throughout California, and within a couple of decades, warfare, disease, and starvation had decreased their numbers by three-quarters or more. Even more than the men, Indian women suffered from the violence and exploitation that marked the era. From John Russell Bartlett, *Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents* (1854). *California Historical Society, FN-30529.*

"WRETCHED CREATURES"

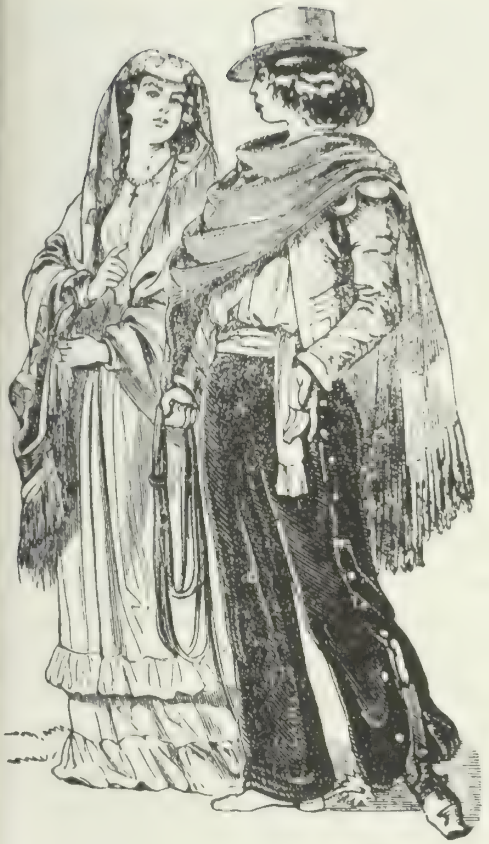
Of course, there were exceptions to this acceptance—most persistently in the prejudices against California's earlier inhabitants. Generally, Yankees condemned native Californians without bothering to distinguish one band from another, nor mission ex-neophyte from "gentile." "One fundamental difference between the Hispanic and the Anglo-American cultures," a modern historian noted, "has always been the fact that the former utilized the native as its primary source of labor whereas the latter never did. There simply was no place in the American cosmos for the Indian."[15]

One of the more charitable views of California native women came from "Dame Shirley" in her first letter from Rich Bar in 1851. She admitted that she previously "took" to the Indians portrayed as "glorious forest heroes that live in the Leather Stocking Tales." She consequently noted "the extreme beauty of the *limbs* of the Indian women of California" despite the "haggardness of expression, and ugliness of feature . . . of these wretched creatures."[16]

In general, native people were perceived as not much different from the animals in the forest, and their women, when their gender was even noticed, usually served as objects of prey, derision, or pity. Some locals even took Indian slaves. In 1846, the military commander of California, John Montgomery, found it necessary to extend a proclamation addressed particularly to persons "imprisoning and holding to service Indians against their will . . . [that] the Indian population must not be regarded as slaves."[17] These lofty sentiments were directly countermanded by the state legislature of 1852, which permitted the enslavement of Indian women, men, and children if a small sum be given as a bond to the county justice of the peace against cruel abuse. Indians could also be arrested as vagrants and sold to the highest bidder for up to four months' unpaid labor, their "vagrancy" ensured by the fact that their land was taken up as "unoccupied" by opportunistic pioneers.[18]

To some extent, this picture of absolute destruction is belied by historian Albert Hurtado, who makes specific reference to the survival of Indian women. But while "survival" may have been achieved, it was at a grim cost. In 1853, an official report from El Dorado County noted "open and disgusting acts of prostitution" among Indian women driven by poverty and misery, to the extent that syphilis had proceeded so far in one camp that the women "were unable to walk."[19] Indian women also suffered from rape as well as more generalized violence (murder, burning of their rancherias, destruction of food supplies) that characterized Argonaut-Indian relations as a whole.[20]

Men who married Indians in an attempt to form stable unions could also be discouraged or prevented from doing so, sometimes by social mores, sometimes by government policy. Some Argonauts imported sectional ideas of race that discouraged these unions. For example, William Brewer, a future Yale professor, deprecated "squaw men," equating them with "rank secessionists" and "'poor white trash' from the frontier slave states, Missouri, Arkansas, and Texas."[21] A particularly violent reaction occurred about 1854 among the southern Yokuts. According to Thomas Jefferson ("Uncle Jeff") Mayfield, raised partially among the Yokuts, "the government had been trying to establish Indian reservations on Kings and Fresno Rivers, and a troop of cavalry was attempting to round up all of the Indians of the valley." They rode up to the cabin of a white man named Mann, who had been living with his Indian wife for several years and "demanded the mokee. Mann told them that she was his wife, that he had provided for her for several years, and that he could continue to do so in the future." The expedition's leader demanded that the woman be brought forth, which Mann refused to do. The soldier forced his way into the cabin. "The mokee had crawled under the bed, and the cavalryman started to drag her out. She called to Mann for help. Mann ran to her aid and was shot in the back and killed by one of the troopers outside. The troopers tied the mokee and took her with



A Mexican couple stroll together in an illustration by Charles Nahl that appeared in the March 1857 issue of *Hutchings' California Magazine.* Like the Yankees who visited California during Hispanic days, Argonauts from New England and the Middle Atlantic states frequently responded ambivalently to the Mexican women they encountered in the new El Dorado, taken by their grace and warmth but questioning their virtue. *California Historical Society, FN-31545.*

them and left Mann lying where he had fallen." The Indians later buried him, and Uncle Jeff subsequently saw the woman "many times and heard her tell what happened."[22] Obviously, she survived, but with what future?

LEAD INTO GOLD

The future first intruded as the last lead bullets were fired in the Mexican-American War. Almost simultaneously, gold was discovered, lending credence to the rampant American belief that a benevolent Protestant God assured the "Manifest Destiny" of one nation over another, of Americans over Mexicans. The earliest views of American superiority had been shaped by firsthand accounts such as that of Richard Henry Dana, who described the *Californias'* "fondness for dress . . . [that] is excessive, and is sometimes their ruin. A present of a fine mantle, or of a necklace or pair of earrings gains the favor of the greater part."[23] The war itself had generated a spate of potboiler literature by such famous hacks as Ned Buntline. His formula novels involved heroic American frontiersmen; backward, superstitious Catholic priests; evil, cowardly Mexican men; and breathtakingly beautiful *señoritas* who predictably fell in love with the Yankee frontiersman (and adopted his ways). The American elite as well as the working class gobbled up these accounts, ensuring that many would bring inaccurate, preconceived notions to their encounters with real Mexicans in California.[24] These views differed sharply from actual Californio values, which put strong emphasis on the sanctity of family, maintained a landed elite, supported a traditional mission system, encouraged the inclusion of Indians on ranchos as laborers and as house servants, and carefully chaperoned daughters until an early marriage with a suitably stationed husband.[25] Thus, conflict was inevitable.

The most egregious confrontation occurred in Downieville on July 5, 1851. The account of Major William Downie, for whom the town was named, indicated not only the prevailing racial prejudice but the value placed on women. Downie described a man named Cannon, falling-down drunk after the Independence Day celebration, who smashed through the door of an adobe hut occupied by a Mexican couple. He apparently assaulted the woman, although Downie claimed Cannon only insulted her. The next day, Cannon returned with his male companion of the previous night, supposedly to apologize. Increasingly heated words in Spanish—not understood by the companion—passed between Cannon and the Mexican couple. Suddenly, the woman, Juanita, pulled out a knife and stabbed Cannon to death. The companion rushed back to camp and a lynch mob assembled. Although cries of "Hang the greaser devils!" rang out, the Mexican man was acquitted. Juanita, dressed in her finest, was led to a hastily erected scaffold. "Big" Bill Logan, notorious for administering a vicious flogging a year earlier, was summoned as "it took a man like that to hang a woman." Juanita spoke to "the bloodthirsty mob," explaining why she had killed and that she would do it again. (One wonders how many present understood her.) Then she placed the noose over her own neck and "leaped from the scaffold into eternity. . . . But there was a blot on the fair name of the Yuba which it took years to wash out," concluded Downie.[26]

Perhaps the Yuba River region's notoriety came partly from resultant publicity.[27] A year later, another Hispanic woman died violently with no echoing fanfare. In June 1851, arsonists took flame to San Francisco to facilitate looting. They achieved their ends, as reported by Mary Ball, a widow originally from England who kept an insightful diary. "The robbers were so numerous," she wrote, "that they were allowed to go at large after giving up the articles they had stolen." She also reported the "horror of the night was increased by a man shooting a poor Mexican woman named Carmelita without any cause"; this, while looters went free.[28]

Ball's account of the lack of repercussions for killing a Mexican woman easily squares with the views of William Streeter, an observer of Santa Barbara in the 1850s. He described the Americans: "the majority of these rough, reckless men had little respect for persons or property of the Californians. . . . The generous hospitality of the latter was often repaid with insult . . . This treatment embittered them [the Californios] towards the Americans and together with other causes prevented their reconciliation to American occupation."[29] Similar opinions peppered the testimony of *Californias* interviewed later for Hubert Howe Bancroft's histories. They stressed the centrality of family and importance of familial loyalty. John Sutter was chastised by Rosalia Vallejo de Leese as a man who "left a wife and several children [in Europe and] was living in open concubinage with two black women [Hawaiians] whom he had brought in his vessel from the Sandwich island."[30] Those women who encountered the Bear Flaggers hated and despised them as barbarians assaulting the civilized Californios, and saw the Americans as lacking in virility, both figuratively and literally.[31] Finally, Angustias de la Guerra de Ord asserted, "*La toma del país no nos gustó nada a los californios, y mucho menos a las mujeres.*"[32] Earlier faulty translation rendered an apparent double negative ("*no . . . nada*") into a positive—that is, that the Californios didn't mind the American takeover, and it bothered the women least of all—instead of recognizing the Spanish use of *nada* as emphatic language, equivalent to "they *really* didn't like. . . ." The saying should thus be more properly translated: "The Californios *really* didn't like the [American] takeover [literally, the taking of the country], and the women liked it even less."[33]

Given the already civilized nature of the very *dons* who constituted the main target of Bear Flagger displeasure (headed by John Frémont's prisoners, Mariano and Salvador Vallejo, and Jacob Leese, the husband of Rosalia Vallejo) and their own animosity to the Mexican government, Californios no doubt wondered what the gringos were really after. Diarist Mary Ball, who in 1851 was managing the Oriental Hotel in San Francisco, had this insight: "Julio [July] 15 Martes [Tuesday]. Had a party last night for the Vallejo family who have been some days with us. All the men of the army seem crazy after California Senoritas or their Padres' land, I think too often it must be the land and not the women."[34] Vallejo had his own views of this road to acculturation. Historian Leonard Pitt specified four Yankee-Hispanic unions from southern California and noted that "two of Mariano Vallejo's daughters married Yankees . . . and his son Platón returned from a New York medical school with a bride born in Syracuse."[35] Most *Californias,* however, remained segregated from Yankee society. Besides, most Argonauts anticipated better prospects mining gold.

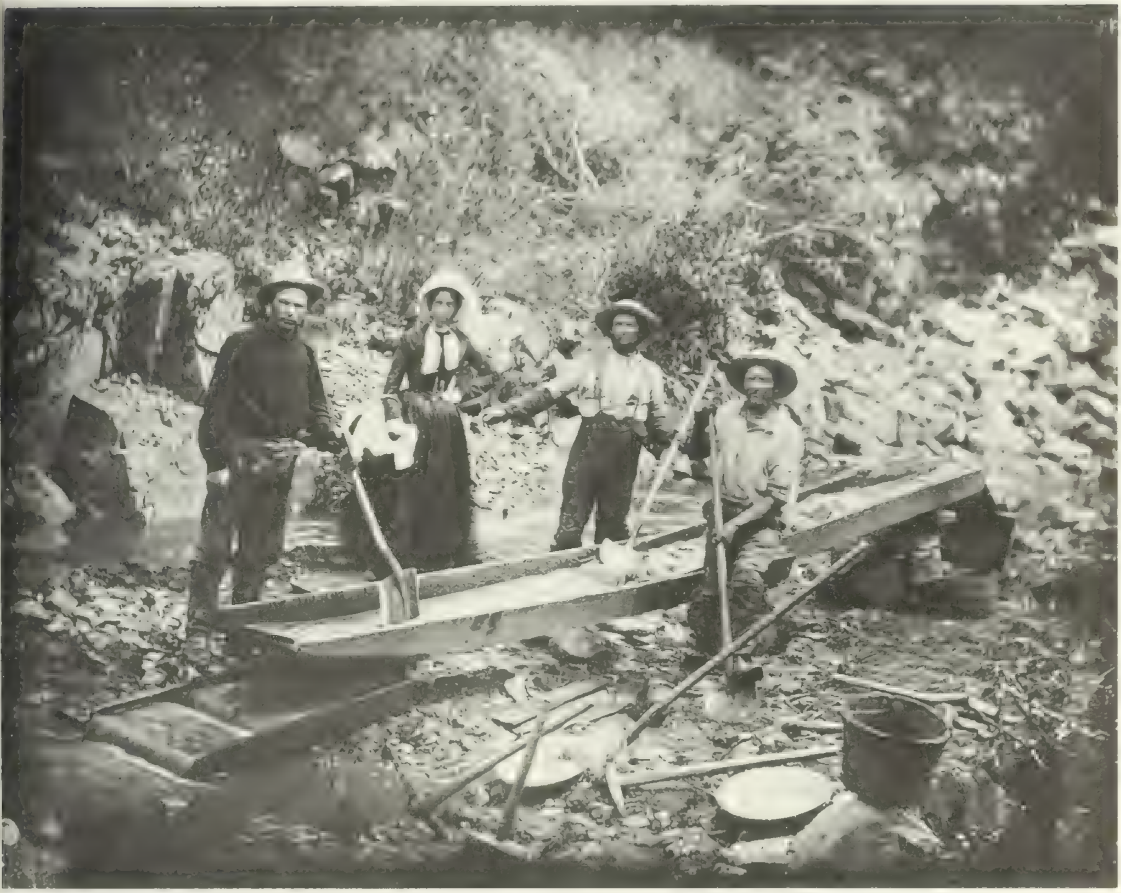
WOMEN IN THE MINES

From the beginning, women mined. In August 1848, Walter Colton, the alcalde of Monterey, remarked on "a woman, of Sonoranian birth, who has worked in the dry diggings forty-six days, and brought back two thousand one hundred and twenty-five dollars."[36] Touring the gold fields himself, Colton remarked on a nearby discovery, where "a little girl this morning picked up what she thought a curious stone, and brought it to her mother, who, on removing the extraneous matter, found it a lump of pure gold, weighing between six and seven pounds."[37] A general rush for the place ensued. Another Sonoran woman, finding only about a half dollar worth of gold in the bottom of her bowl, "hurled it back again into the water, and . . . strode off with the indignant air of one who feels himself insulted. Poor woman!" he continued. "[H]ow little thou knowest of those patient females, who in our large cities make a shirt or vest for ten cents!"[38] This sad scenario, the result of male control of capital, was soon replicated in California, although at inflated prices.

Intermittently, women still dug gold for themselves and their families. Mining historian Sally Zanjani reported that "the briefest glance at the [1850] census reveals several possible combinations among the gold rush women listed as 'miners'—daughters working with a mother or a father and women on their own as friends working together and as lone teenagers."[39] Almost inevitably came the rumor of a woman who had disguised herself as a man to join her husband in the diggings—perhaps fearing attack from so many lonely males.[40] Two women who reported a pay streak near Marysville earned particular notice because "both . . . were seventy years old."[41] A famous Frenchwoman, who traded homelessness on the streets of Paris for California's opportunities, had arrived in 1850 seeking work as a maid. She soon turned to mining, "cut off her hair, donned men's clothes, took the name of Marie Pantalon, and went prospecting in the gold country."[42]

Women who had first adopted other pursuits soon realized the possibilities of digging their own gold, or at least increasing their proximity to it. For example, by August of 1852, Mary Ball had quit managing San Francisco's Oriental Hotel and had gone north to Barton's Bar. There she boarded miners and dealt with cholera and other illnesses using remedies in Good's *Study of Medicine,* a gift she had received before leaving the East. In October she noted, "I have received over $120 and have as much more on my book for medacine, and no doubt can make more as I get more known. . . . No rest, a man has just come for me to dress his leg."[43]

The Argonaut's willingness to pay well for scarce feminine services could be heightened when a working woman reminded him of female relatives he had left at home with no financial support.[44] An example of this phenomenon was reported by the mystified Louise Clappe (Dame Shirley), who described a widow who had lost her husband to cholera after a few weeks on the trail west. With no one to accompany her back to the States, she pressed on to California with her eight sons and one daughter, the oldest apparently a teenager. "She used to wash shirts, and iron them on a chair—in the open air, of course; and you can fancy with what success. But the gentlemen were too generous to be critical, and as they paid her three or four times as much as she asked, she accumulated quite a handsome sum in a few days. . . . Poor woman! She



A woman joins a party of miners working a long tom at Auburn Ravine in 1852. Women found a range of opportunities for earning money in the diggings, from washing clothes to preparing meals to dealing monte, and despite the hard labor entailed in placer mining, some toiled with pick and shovel and pan alongside men. *Courtesy California State Library.*

told me she seldom gave them as much as they could eat, at any one meal."[45] Her children, with the exception of the eldest, were nonetheless rated "as healthy looking a set of ragged little wretches as ever I saw."[46] Dame Shirley's myopia about the economic difficulties of women alone can be partially excused by her own lack of need to work. Her husband, a doctor, supported her; the cook at the local hotel fixed their meals, and the one time she tried gold panning: "I wet my feet, tore my dress, spoilt a pair of new gloves . . . and lost a valuable breastpin, in this my labor of love."[47]

Poorer women took gold panning much more seriously. Hard-working Mary Ballou, a slightly educated white woman from New Hampshire living at Negro Bar, took a holiday break from her boardinghouse chores to pan. As she wrote home to her sons, "I just washed out about a Dollars worth of gold dust the fourth of July in the cradle so you see that I am doing a little mining in this gold region but I think it harder to rock the [miner's] cradle to wash out gold than it is to rock the cradle for the Babies in the States."[48] California's opportunities always came at a price.

UNPREDICTABLE EXOTICS

The sight of a Frenchwoman in trousers, or two septuagenarians shoveling pay dirt, did not seem so outlandish in a land where "seeing the elephant" (that most exotic of beastly adventures) served as a handy metaphor for life in general. In fluctuating gold-rush society, circumstance and setting, as well as individual taste, dictated the judgments placed on women, particularly where Americans—and Yankee sensibilities—did not dominate. The most Hispanic of the gold-rush settlements, Sonora, had been founded by Mexicans from that state, but had also attracted Peruvians, Chileans, and French, predominately. American diarist William Perkins wrote at length of his experiences there, including one evening when a difference over a game of lansquenet, presided over by a Frenchwoman, led to a cold-blooded murder. He returned to the gaming table, where "the beautiful Mlle. Virginie . . . greeted me with a fascinating smile." After exclaiming "'Ah Monsieur, quel horreur!'" she described recent events "with all the calmness she would have evinced had she been relating a scene from a novel. To me, her delicate white hands seemed smeared with blood and I left in disgust. . . ."[49] Also in Sonora, Englishman Frank Marryat saw "a lady in black velvet who sings in Italian and accompanies herself, and who elicits great admiration and applause on account of the scarcity of the fair sex in this region."[50] In another saloon, Marryat remarked upon "a very interesting and well-looking young girl [who] was attending at a part of the bar where confectionery was sold. I should not have supposed her to have black blood in her veins, but J. B. assured me that she had been a slave, and had been once sold at New Orleans at a very high price."[51] Even a Yankee woman, Elizabeth Gunn, bent somewhat in her social conventions to survive in Sonora's isolation. Seldom able to visit the nearest New England female, who lived five miles away, she made other friends in town. These included Mrs. Yancey from New Orleans, and a Catholic, Mrs. Lane. Even her French neighbor, who supported her mother, younger sister, and brother "by going to the gambling houses and dealing out the cards to the players," did not receive her censure.[52]

The social dynamics of female loneliness also shaped a distinctive future for California's first female Chinese immigrant. Marie Seise arrived in 1848 with the Gillespie family, Hong Kong traders originally from New York.[53] Her name had been acquired upon her marriage to a Portuguese sailor in Macao, who had later been lost at sea. After serving another family, she was hired by Sarah Bentner Gillespie as a personal maid, and grew to live "not . . . as a servant but above a servant—rather as a companion—enjoying her [Sarah's] fullest confidence." The two women were even confirmed together in 1854 in the first such ceremony at San Francisco's Trinity Episcopal Church, kneeling side by side.[54]

Unlike Marie Seise, most gold-rush Chinese women were slaves, procured for prostitution. Long-standing Chinese cultural tradition regarded daughters from an economic perspective. They were valued less than sons because they could not inherit, and left the family that raised them to work in their husband's family upon marriage, essentially providing no return on investment. This imbalance could be corrected, to some extent, if the daughter were sold or bartered to pay family debts, especially if she could, after transferal, earn an income that could be remanded to her family. One of the main ways a daughter could be useful, just as were women of other nations, was through her womanly skills. Daughters could be indentured as *mui tsai*—literally "little sister" in Cantonese—to provide domestic service on a twenty-four-hour basis to a more prosperous Chinese family. Under this system, the girl was supposed to be freed through an arranged marriage at eighteen so she could start her own household.[55] Like Seise, sometimes *mui tsai* were well-treated by their host families, although, in faraway America, if the wife beat them or the husband sexually assaulted them, there was very little recourse.[56] *Mui tsai* could also, despite their original agreement, be sold into prostitution, which made them the slaves of their owners for life.[57]

The combination of Chinese attitudes toward daughters, the sizable influx of Chinese men to *Gum San* ("Gold Mountain"), and the American fascination with exotic women and girls (the ideal age for a Chinese prostitute was said to be fourteen) created a high demand for Chinese prostitution.[58] Ah Toy, San Francisco's most famous Chinese prostitute, had come in 1849 to "better her condition" in this pursuit. Men thronged to gaze on this fascinating creature. In 1849, she charged an ounce of gold dust "to gaze upon her *countenance,*" as the newspaper put it, undoubtedly meaning more than just her uncovered face.[59] This fact emerged only because she had filed suit in court against those who paid her in brass shavings instead of gold, a course of action practical only because she was a free woman (not married, indentured, or a slave) and spoke English, a unique combination.[60] She successfully maintained her independent status in court, despite an attempt by local Chinese men who wished to return her to an alleged "husband" in Hong Kong.[61] In 1850, she was again in court as a public nuisance, and in 1851 to repel an attempt by Chinatown leaders to control her and the two other Chinese prostitutes she had recently employed.[62] She relied partly on her beauty to maintain her status, and was appraised by a Frenchman in 1851 as one of the "few girls who are attractive if not actually pretty . . . with her slender body and laughing eyes."[63] Her rivalry with the local Chinese male power structure escalated, especially against Yuen Sheng (also called Norman As-sing), who headed a local benevolent association and protection ring. The men were able to extend their influence, as indicated by the export of eighteen Chinese prostitutes in 1852 to Weaverville, in Trinity County, far up the Sacramento Valley.[64] As their business expanded, the men's power increased vis-à-vis a female independent like Ah Toy. Nonetheless, the growing wealth of the Chinese merchants also opened a new niche for Chinese women in America—as wife. In an example of feminine adaptation to changing society, Ah Toy apparently took this route, settling down with a husband in Santa Clara, where she died in 1928 just short of her hundredth birthday.[65]

EXPANDING ROLES

During the Gold Rush, California was larger than life, in its appetites, its tastes, and its spectacular successes and downfalls. Lola Montez (born Eliza Gilbert in Ireland), the perfect embodiment of risk and the risqué, found a temporary home on the California stage and cut another niche in the edifice of gold-rush California. She arrived in San Francisco in 1853 bearing the reputation of the discarded mistress of the mad king of Bavaria and the title his love-struck highness had bestowed, the Countess of Landsfeld. Her tour de force, the spider dance, both fascinated and repelled, according to Mary Jane Megquier, the wife of San Francisco physician Thomas Megquier and the proprietress of a San Francisco boardinghouse. Megquier wrote that "Lola Montes is making quite a stir here now but many say that her playing is of that character that is not proper for respectable ladies to attend but I do want to see her very much. Mr Clark said that in dancing the spider dance . . . she was obliged to look rather higher than was proper in so public a place."[66] Whether or not Megquier ever attended the performance (she never wrote of it), much of San Francisco did, captivated by Lola's self-constructed identity, and from a desire to be entertained. While Yankee women, especially those without protectors, had to observe proprieties, those truly (or willfully) outside recognized eastern circles had relatively more freedom.

Lola Montez literally capitalized on that freedom, charging five dollars for the best seats in the San Francisco theater, as opposed to only a dollar in New York. From her perch onstage she carried on characteristic chats over the footlights with the front-row patrons, whether they cheered or jeered. Her California sojourn—including additional appearances in Sacramento and throughout the Mother Lode—was capped by a new marriage (she had already had two, and several lovers) and withdrawal to a cottage in Grass Valley after her three-month marital relationship fell apart.[67] There she befriended another future star of the California stage, young Lotta Crabtree, whom Montez allegedly (but not very probably) taught to dance.[68]

Lotta Crabtree was much more of a home-grown entertainer than the divine Montez, and appealed to a different side of the gold-rush culture. While Lola was

As famed for her numerous love affairs as for her talents an actress, Lola Montez met with enormous acclaim when in 1853 she burst onto the San Francisco stage. She caused a sensation with her spider dance, "married" a journalist, and retreated to the mining community of Grass Valley, where she encouraged the young, budding actress Lotta Crabtree. Her stay in California was brief, though, as was her life, and she made her farewell appearance in 1856. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

scandalous, Lotta reminded the miners of that little sister or daughter they had left at home. Lotta reportedly made one of her earliest appearances in *The Gaieties, Temple of Mirth and Song,* a "bit" theater managed by Rowena Granice, a hardworking wife saddled with a controlling, alcoholic husband and two young sons. That Granice was able to support her children, defend herself against her husband's financial schemes and physical intimidation, and go on to a respectable career as California's first novelist and as a journalist in Merced County says much for the variety of economic opportunities available to hardworking women of the era.[69]

In California, theater seemed a more natural environment for women than in more staid eastern America, opening another female occupational niche: theater manager. The first to adopt this employment, Sarah Kirby, took over the refurbished Eagle Theatre (renamed the Tehama*)* near Sacramento's embarcadero. It had flooded out on Christmas Eve 1849, as miners first stood on the benches and then allegedly hung from the balcony to enjoy the performance as the waters rose. By March 1850, when Sarah Kirby took over, the emphasis was on classical plays for respectable women (and men), including *Othello, Richard III,* and *Don Caesar de Bazan.* She also sponsored benefit performances for such causes as the Odd Fellows and Masons Hospital, wedding the slightly shady world of the theater to objectives of good, feminine virtue. When a cholera epidemic closed the Tehama that November, Kirby and her partner, James Stark, traveled to San Francisco and assumed management of impresario Tom Maguire's Jenny Lind Theater. She continued in both arenas despite the devastations of fire, marrying Stark after the death of her first husband, enjoying friendship and some rivalry with other theater managers, spending two theatrical interludes in Australia, and leaving California for good for the New York stage in 1869.[70] Her activities paved the way for other women theater managers, including Laura Keene. Keene served her apprenticeship in Sacramento, Marysville, Stockton, and San Francisco, afterward making a national impact in New York, where she established a respectable niche for "lady managers" at the pinnacle of American theater.[71]

RECOURSE TO RESPECTABILITY

The preoccupation with the "proper" role for respectable women that kept Mary Jane Megquier from guiltlessly viewing Lola Montez came partly from competitive motives. Since "exotics" could generally earn so much more ready money than "good" women (often with less effort), stressing virtues embedded in Yankee mores could help balance the scale. In such circumstances, respectable women carefully policed their own society.

Protected largely by her own respectability, widow Mary Ball, who first operated a San Francisco boardinghouse, took umbrage when one of her boarders "invited a woman called Helen to dine here today. As she is not a respectable woman, I shall not submit to the insult, but go out to dinner." Ball went visiting that evening, and reported that "everyone commends my conduct in reference to Helen, but as it turned out, she did not come." Three days later her boarder and his friend were "still in high indignation at my daring to refuse to countenance a woman that neither would introduce as a companion to their wives."[72] Yet, as will be shown, Ball knew from previous experience with would-be seducers the price exacted for moral laxity.

In a similar situation, highly respectable Sarah Royce had attended a Benevolent Society Ball, organized and "conducted by the ladies of different churches, of which there were, in the city, already four." Although the ladies were bent on diverting the Forty-niners, only wholesome diversions were allowed. Then arrived a "man, prominent for wealth and business-power, bearing upon his arm a splendidly-dressed woman, well known in the city as the disreputable companion of her wealthy escort." The good church ladies sent some "gentlemen" to invite them both to leave. "Of course," she concluded smugly, "there was nothing for him to do but comply; and all went on again pleasantly."[73] Even in gold-rush San Francisco, the force of female moral suasion overruled the world of vice.

The churches to which Royce referred were all of Protestant denominations, led by the Presbyterians. They had organized in May 1849 with six members, including two women, the previously mentioned Sarah B. Gillespie of Hong Kong and Macao, and Ann Hodghton, of the missionary church at Valparaiso, Chile (evidently come to California to save a different sort of heathen).[74] They were quickly followed by the Baptists, Congregationalists, Episcopalians, and Unitarians, involving women throughout.[75] Just as the Gillespies had brought the first Chinese woman to California, the Episcopal minister brought the first woman of African descent, Annie Garrick (later Mrs. Peters), originally of St. Croix, in the Caribbean.[76] Again religion superseded race, adding to gold-rush feminine diversity.

Although the Spanish-speaking Catholics of San Francisco had continued to worship at Mission Dolores, the influx of Irish and French Catholics, particularly the former, led to the establishment of the aptly named St. Patrick's Church in 1851. The attached school and orphanage came under the administration of five Sisters of Charity, led by Sister Frances Assisium McEnnis.[77] While culturally marginalized, the Californios found some stability in religious continuity, supported by women's religious orders.

Despite the presence of Catholic congregations, eastern-based Protestantism became the dominant persuasion in gold-rush California. It prescribed a particular role for women, as noted by the first Presbyterian (and first Protestant) minister in San

Francisco: "not till loved ones are here and the charms of 'sweet, sweet home' adorn the shores of our [San Francisco] bay . . . will men plant and cherish institutions for coming time, and live for the benefit of immediate and remote generations."[78] He need hardly have added that without feminine presence, any chance for "immediate and remote generations" was mighty scant.

While much of gold-rush society might have pined for Christian virtue, the Jewish Argonauts certainly did not. In common with other gold seekers, Jewish men greatly outnumbered Jewish women, but the establishment of religious institutions depended solely on them, the requisite gathering being ten adult males. They shared the common problem of providing future generations, however, and, in the local absence of Jewish females, a man had to send for a wife, "whom he knew only by reputation, or because her brother or friend recommended her, and he did not begrudge either the passage money or the costly outfit."[79] The Jewish women brought into this distinctive society then formed their own separate organizations and, in many cases, established their own institutions for themselves and their children. For example, in 1854, San Francisco supported a Jewish school with forty to fifty students.[80] By 1855, San Francisco's Jewish population had grown enough to support two female societies, the Ladies' United Benevolent Society for so-called Polish Jews (mostly from the Prussian province of Posen) and Der Israelitische Frauenverein for German-speaking Jewish women. Both were allegedly organized to assist poor Hebrew women, but, as historian Rudolf Glanz noted, "It may be assumed that these societies were chiefly social, for . . . there were no Jewish women in want in San Francisco at that time and, indeed, few Jewish women."[81]

Since most of the Jews were merchants and observed a Saturday Sabbath, their stores remained open on Sunday. This practice prompted anti-Semitic rhetoric when a Sunday law for Santa Clara and Santa Cruz counties passed the state assembly in 1855, a bill that reflected moral sensibilities of Protestant women.[82] "There is a similar law in New York and some other Northern States," noted Daniel Levy, probably the leading French Jew in gold-rush California, "but a special clause allows the Jews to keep their establishments open on Sunday, if they observe their Sabbath. The California law does not permit this exception, which at the very least would safeguard the principle of religious freedom."[83]

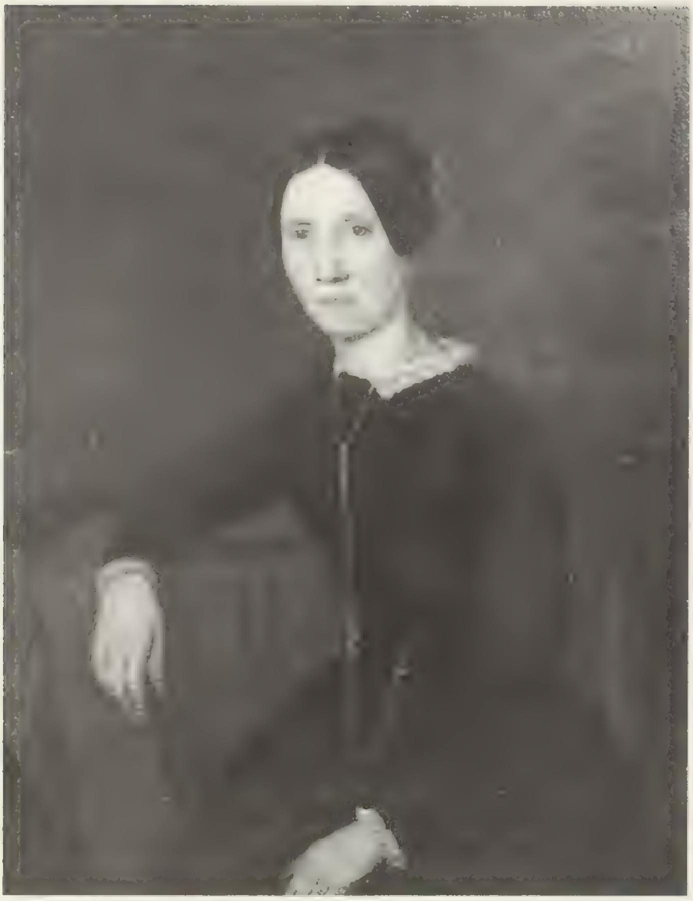
Disregarding this ideal, other Protestant women brought the Sunday-closing issue to the Mother Lode in 1856. In Columbia, where the Presbyterian minister had so far been ineffectual in this matter, women "passed around a petition and easily collected the signatures of a majority of merchants who promised to observe the [Christian] Sabbath."[84] Among those affected were probably Jewish merchant Benjamin F. Butterfield and his wife, Malvina, in nearby Jamestown. This couple, with their partner, Mr. Klein, must have felt doubly isolated as Protestant values crept deeper into formerly carefree California.[85]

THE VALUE OF DOMESTICITY

Even outside of the churches, the entrenched notion of female purity gave respectable women increased power. Mary Ballou, in Negro Bar, wrote home of her actions when a fight took place in the store (evidently connected to the boardinghouse where she worked). She had never gone in there before, but when she saw one man draw a pistol on another, "I ran into the store and Beged and plead with him not to kill him for eight or ten minutes not to take his life for the sake of his wife and three little children." That night at supper she learned of her own success, as the assailant grumbled that "if it had not been for what that Lady said to him Scheles would have been a dead man."[86] She also described how she earned her money: "the first week earnt 23 dollars sewing for the Spanish Ladies the second week earnt 26 dollars."[87] Eight months later she was given a "present" of a fifty-dollar gold piece for nursing "a French lady one week," and then she went to work in a boardinghouse for one hundred dollars a month for five months. (Her husband made only seventy-five dollars a month at the same establishment.)[88] A similar experience came to the attention of Sarah Royce, who during her 1849 stay in Weaverville was hailed by the only other woman in the camp: "[I]n quite an exultant mood [she] told me that the man who kept the boarding-house had offered her a hundred dollars a month to cook three meals a day for his boarders, that she was to do no dishwashing and was to have someone to help her all the time she was cooking. . . . Her husband, also was highly pleased that his wife could earn so much."[89]

This high value placed on chores that women did for free at home helped many to prosper, although married women who could count on a man to back them up sometimes did better than unmarried ones. Married Mary Jane Megquier wrote to her daughter about a typical day at her San Francisco boardinghouse. It started at "seven o'clock when I get up and fry the potatoes then broil three pounds of steak, and as much liver . . . ," continuing with other great quantities of food for each meal including "lamb . . . beef, and pork, baked, turnips, beets, potatoes, radishes, sallad, and that everlasting soup. . . . [of which] I have cooked every mouthful that has been eaten excepting one day and a half that we were on a steamboat excursion."[90] She also made "six beds every day and do the washing and ironing," although she had the help of another woman who swept, set the table, and washed "the dishes and carpets which have to be washed every day," presumably for wages.[91] By January of 1853, she reported, "[o]n the whole take more money in one month here than I could in the states in two years."[92]

The widow Mary Ball, proprietress of a rival boardinghouse, was not so lucky. She experienced frequent difficulty in collecting debts from her boarders and worried about her reputation when some men (both single and married) made advances toward her and women gossiped about the results. "When I think of this mortifying



The artist-Argonaut Leonardo Barbieri painted Jane Bushton Allen while on a visit to Monterey in the early 1850s. A native of England who had gone to live in Australia, she arrived in 1850 at the old Pacific capital, where she supported herself and her children by running a boardinghouse, an occupation pursued by numerous women in California. It is not unlikely that Barbieri executed the portrait in exchange for room and board. *Courtesy Colton Hall Museum, City of Monterey.*

affair," Ball lamented in one instance, "I am sick at heart, all the women keep as clear of my parlor as they would of the pest house. I shall never humble myself to them, for where there is no sin there should be no shame. If I had my money I would not be here to suffer as I do, and as I have, one month longer."[93] Still unable to collect some debts, she overcame the gossip and was again mixing socially when in February 1851 she assumed the position of manager at the partially completed Oriental Hotel. When her chambermaid, Bridget, left for a place in a private home, she wrote, "I am obliged to sew very late at night to get things for the beds, we have many more arrivals and not half the necessaries to complete the house."[94] Bridget returned a week later, seeking reinstatement through the good offices of Jane, Ball's assistant, but Ball refused. "Fortunately I got a chambermaid that very morning, so did not want her."[95] Despite all these reported difficulties, at least three independent women were making a respectable living at the Oriental Hotel.

Domestic work offered even more poignant opportunities for African American women. Many of those who came west in the Gold Rush were slaves, although census records remain silent on exact numbers. By mutual agreement, slaveholders sometimes allowed slaves to purchase their "Freedom Papers," after laying up a tidy sum for an indolent master. For example, the slave George Dennis worked as a porter for his white master (and father) in the Eldorado Hotel, "a tent measuring 30 by 100 feet . . . brought from New Orleans." This flimsy San Francisco establishment offered faro and monte tables by day and women by night. George swept up periodically, saving the sweepings, "and at the end of three months, he paid, in five and ten cent pieces, the sum of $1000" for his own bill of sale. When two of his father's gaming partners decided to bring cattle to California from Ohio and offered to fetch George's mother, he paid his father an additional $950 for her purchase. George "rented one of the [Eldorado] gambling tables at $40 per day for the privilege of his mother serving hot meals in the gambling house on it. Eggs were selling at $12 per dozen, apples 25 cents apiece, and a loaf of bread $1. While her expenses were heavy, she averaged $225 a day."[96] One wonders what looks or words passed between her and the father of her son, their former master. The granddaughter of this enterprising woman, later Mrs. Margaret L. Dennis-Benston, became an honors high school graduate, "efficient in the Spanish and Chinese languages, and afterward taught in a private school for Chinese."[97] Such racial intermingling, particularly among people of color, was one of the legacies of gold-rush California.

Domestic skills also benefited Mary Ellen Pleasant, probably the most famous free woman of African descent. She arrived in San Francisco in 1849 with inherited money from the death of her first husband and an enviable reputation as a cook. A group of men seeking to employ her crowded the dock, so she auctioned off her culinary services "with the stipulation that she should do no washing, not even dishwashing." The high bid was $500, "the highest wage paid to a cook, although several others received as much as three hundred dollars a month."[98] She allegedly invested her savings with an accounting firm, West and Harper, and went on to much greater prosperity and influence.[99]

This firm proved particularly sympathetic to African Americans, as illustrated by the enslaved Mrs. Jane Elizabeth Whiting and her three children, brought to San Francisco in 1856. They accompanied their mistress, a Mrs. Thompson, who was going to meet her husband on his ranch in Petaluma, guided by their oldest son, Howard. The Whitings maintained the fiction that they were free servants all the way across Panama (which would otherwise have granted manumission) but revealed their secret to abolitionists on board the boat steaming up the Pacific Coast. The abolitionists convinced them that since California was a free state, their arrival ensured freedom (a very problematic assertion, at best), and convinced them to be first to disembark. Mrs. Whiting and her children were then hustled to "a colored boarding house . . . which was known as the 'Harper & West Boarding House.' . . . The colored people in San Francisco held a mass meeting and decided to protect them in every way possible." They changed the family name from Whiting to Freeman, found work for the mother, and instructed the children to stay indoors with the shutters closed. But after many long weeks the children ventured outside to play. Another of the former steamer passengers recognized them as the escaped slaves and alerted their mistress, Mrs. Thompson, who had settled on her ranch in Petaluma. Interestingly, she never tried to reclaim them, and "fifteen years afterwards 'Aunt Jane' and her former mistress met on the streets of San Francisco, and recognized each other and talked together, learning that for five weeks, while Mrs. Thompson was in search of these slaves, that they were boarding within a short distance of them all the time."[100]

Other slave women obtained freedom in different ways. Mary Ann Harris worked as a "nurse girl" for a Dr. Ross, who was stationed with his family on Alcatraz Island. She was earning four dollars a month to pay for her freedom when "an old colored woman by the name of Aunt Lucy Evans stole her off the island" and freed her.[101] The most famous of California's enslaved women, Biddy Mason, had to go to court to emancipate herself and her family. In 1850, she had walked all the way from Hancock, Mississippi, behind a caravan of three hundred wagons drawn by oxen (imagine the dust!), driving cattle while minding her own three daughters, Ellen, Ann, and Harriet. After four years of residence in San Bernardino, her owner decided to take his family and slave entourage to Texas, a slave state. They went westward to catch a ship, and had been gone only a few days "when the news reached Los Angeles, through a Mrs. Rowen, of San Bernardino, that these slaves were . . . going back into slavery." The sheriff of Los Angeles County arrested their master. Biddy Mason appeared at the trial not only with her own children but with six of the eight children of her fellow slave—a seventh being at work and the eighth, a newborn babe, lying by the side of her recovering mother. The judge freed all of them, and Mason went on to become a "confinement nurse." She bought property well outside the Los Angeles city limits, but, when the city boomed, sold parcels at a profit and used the proceeds for the good of her race and other downtrodden, including paying "taxes and all expenses on church property to hold it for her people."[102] Her efforts not only ensured the uplift of her race, but added to the weight of Protestantism—no matter how segregated—in changing California.

A DIFFERENT PLACE

Despite the transplantation of so much of Yankee society, certain values were transformed under female direction, as befitted the keepers of the moral flame. Marriage itself became more fleeting, as women, much more often than men, sought to change partners to increase their financial well-being or to unload a vicious spouse. In part, California law allowed easier divorces, and women were not reticent about taking advantage of this opportunity. California joined a group of western states where the overwhelming majority of divorce cases were instigated by wives, and San Mateo and Santa Clara counties led the nation in divorces from 1850 to 1890.[103]

One sensational divorce case highlighted myriad societal changes spawned by the California Gold Rush. In 1899, Lucy Hite sued aging multimillionaire John Hite for divorce, claiming half his property as settlement. This case was unusual because Lucy was a southern Miwok, and Hite's gold-rush fortune was apparently built on the care and goodwill of Lucy and her sister. As the story goes, Argonaut John Hite had survived a snowstorm under the protection of a southern Miwok named Maresa, who, after they became lovers, led him to the gold-bearing waters of the South Fork of the Merced River. When Maresa died, Hite married her sister, Lucy, according to Indian rites. They lived together continuously from 1871 until about 1886 while Hite's fortune swelled. When in 1897 sixty-seven-year-old John Hite "quietly married" a thirty-six-year-old white widow, Lucy took John to court. Despite Lucy's adoption of (out-of-date) American clothing and her long-term association with whites rather than Indians at John's insistence, she was not accepted by most white Californians. With blue tattoos on her chin and forehead, Lucy hardly fit into the society that ate off porcelain plates on linen tablecloths. Although the trial court found for Lucy, the death of the judge led to a retrial and an out-of-court settlement. Lucy withdrew to Indian Peak Ranch above Mariposa in the southern Mother Lode, by then virtually deserted by miners. John died in San Francisco in 1906 on the morning of the earthquake. His remains were incinerated in the ensuing fire along with the funeral parlor that would have buried him, but his heirs haggled over his estate for years. Lucy benefited little and lived simply, returning to her Indian associations and older ways. She wove traditional baskets, some of which now belong to the National Park Service.[104]

The collection and preservation of Lucy Hite's baskets illustrates not only the destruction of the Miwok in absolute numbers, but of much of the culture that they carried. Like other groups present in the California Gold Rush, they still persist, but in altered circumstances. On the coast, Indians had been succeeded by Californios, whose own traditional views and feelings differed widely from those portrayed in American pulp fiction. Both groups foundered under waves of Argonauts—male and female—from almost every continent on earth: adventurers and gamblers; slaves seeking survival, then freedom; artistic nonconformists; hardworking individuals who sometimes chafed against the strait-laced society that they had transplanted to California. This tidal wave of settlement surged first over the Mother Lode, where Jenny Wimmer once sewed shirts for the natives. Indigenous peoples died or were displaced, and the Indian woman's basket became a carefully preserved artifact rather than a utilitarian mining tool.

Women were forced into economic adaptation, as men, specifically Yankees from the eastern states, increasingly monopolized the gold. They ventured various strategies, partly using transplanted tactics, partly through innovation. Increasing numbers of respectable Yankee women stratified and hardened California's once-fluid society based on their own religious and ethical standards, yet many changes could never be reversed. Throughout these events, women acted upon and responded to the Gold Rush in varied, subtle, and significant ways. Weaving women's diversity, adversity, and opportunity into gold-rush California enriches our history even more than did Aunty Jenny's gold.

NOTES

1. Mary P. Winslow, "Mrs. Wimmer's Narrative of the First Piece of Gold Discovered in California, Dec., 1847 [*sic*], From the San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin,* December 19, 1874," quoted in Rodman W. Paul, *The California Gold Discovery* (Georgetown, Calif.: The Talisman Press, 1967), 174–76; hereinafter *Discovery.* In Hubert Howe Bancroft, *California Pioneer Register, 1542–1848* (Baltimore: Regional Publishing Company, 1964) 386, Wimmer's full name is noted.

2. Paul, *Discovery,* 177, 46.

3. Ibid., 174.

4. The term "Yankee" is being used throughout this essay in preference to "Anglo" to refer to those who came from the eastern United States.

5. "Marshall's Narrative," in Paul, *Discovery,* 199.

6. "Discovery of Gold at Coloma," San Francisco *Daily Herald,* December 31, 1855, quoted in Paul, *Discovery,* 134.

7. Quoted in Paul, *Discovery,* 73.

8. Walter Colton, *Three Years in California* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1949), 277.

9. Michelle Jolly, "Inventing the City: Gender and the Politics of Everyday Life in Gold-Rush San Francisco, 1848–1869" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, San Diego, 1998), 59–62.

10. A very good discussion of these attitudes, based on the works of Alexis de Tocqueville, is found in G. J. Barker-Benfield, *The Horrors of the Half-Known Life: Male Attitudes Toward Women and Sexuality in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), especially 3–57. A historical male view is found in Hubert Howe Bancroft, *California Inter Pocula* (San Francisco: The History Company, 1888), 305–14; hereinafter *California Inter Pocula.*

11. Horace Snow, *"Dear Charlie" Letters* (Mariposa, Calif.: Mariposa Historical Society, 1979), 84.

12. Eliza Woodson Farnham, *California, In-doors and Out* (New York: Dix, Edwards & Co., 1856), 275.

13. Bancroft, *California Inter Pocula,* 312.

14. Mrs. Lee Whipple-Haslam, "Turbulence and evil of every description," in *So Much to Be Done: Women Settlers on the Mining and Ranching Frontier,* ed. Ruth B. Moynihan, Susan Armitage, and Christiane Fischer Dichamp (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 29.

15. Sherburne F. Cook, "The Destruction of the California Indian," in *Minorities in California History,* ed. George E. Frakes and Curtis B. Solberg (New York: Random House, 1971), 46.

16. "Dame Shirley" (Louise Amelia Knapp Smith Clappe), *The Shirley Letters: Being Letters Written in 1851–1852 from the California Mines,* introduced by Richard E. Oglesby (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, 1992), 13, 12; italics in original.

17. Quoted in Delilah Beasley, *The Negro Trailblazers of California* (Los Angeles, 1919), 68.

18. George H. Tinkham, *Men and Events* (Stockton: Record Publishing Company, 1915), 158; Martha Menchaca, *The Mexican Outsiders* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), 10.

19. Albert L. Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier, 1820–1860* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 179, quoting E. A. Stevenson to Thomas J. Henley, December 31, 1853.

20. See Hurtado, *Indian Survival,* 180–92.

21. Quoted in Hurtado, *Indian Survival,* 176. Hurtado stresses the power of the antisouthern invective, but misses the overtones of racial miscegenation then associated with "degraded" southern society.

22. Frank F. Latta, *Tailholt Tales* (Santa Cruz: Bear State Books, 1976), 93–94.

23. Richard Henry Dana, *Two Years Before the Mast* (New York: Washington Square Press, 1968), 73.

24. Robert W. Johannsen, *To the Halls of the Montezumas: The Mexican War in the American Imagination* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 175–91.

25. Genaro Padilla, "'Yo Sola Aprendi': Mexican Women's Personal Narratives from Nineteenth-Century California," in *Writing the Range: Race, Class, and Culture in the Women's West,* ed. Elizabeth Jameson and Susan Armitage (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 194–95.

26. William Downie, *Hunting for Gold* (Palo Alto: American West Publishing Company, 1971), 147–53.

27. See Albert L. Hurtado, *Intimate Frontiers: Sex, Gender, and Culture in Old California* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), 134–36, for a discussion of the publicity and the event's interpretation by historian Hubert Howe Bancroft.

28. Mary Ball, "The Journal of Mary Ball, A California Gold Rush Woman," transcribed and annotated by Norma B. Morris (M.A. thesis, Sonoma State University, 1993), 184.

29. William H. Ellison, ed., "'Recollections of Historical Events in California, 1843–1878' of William A. Streeter," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 18 (March, June, and September 1939): 273, quoted in Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 18.

30. Quoted in Michelle E. Morton, "Excavating Mexican American Voice in California History: The California Testimonials" (M.A. thesis, University of New Mexico, 1996), 85.

31. On the Bear Flaggers, see the views of Vallejo de Leese in Morton, "Excavating Mexican American Voice," 83–84, 87–88; on fertility, see quotations from Dorotea Valdez and Isidora Filomena de Solano, quoted in ibid., 91, 96.

32. Ord manuscript, 143, quoted in Morton, "Excavating Mexican American Voice," 99.

33. See Padilla, "Yo Sola Aprendi," 198. Revised translation is by the author.

34. Ball, "Journal," 217.

35. Leonard Pitt, *Decline of the Californios: Social History of the Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846–1890* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 267–68.

36. Colton, *Three Years in California,* 252–53.

37. Ibid., 292.

38. Ibid., 276.

39. Sally Zanjani, *A Mine of Her Own: Women Prospectors in the American West, 1850–1950* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 25.

40. Malcolm J. Rohrbough, *Days of Gold: The California Gold Rush and the American Nation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 181.

41. Zanjani, *Mine of Her Own,* 25–26.

42. Ibid.

43. Ball, "Journal," 273.

44. The most comprehensive book on women at home is Linda Peavy and Ursula Smith, *Women in Waiting in the Westward Movement: Life on the Home Frontier* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994). Nancy Coffey Heffernan and Ann Page Stecker, in *Sisters of Fortune* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1993), write of a single family.

45. Clappe, *Shirley Letters,* 184.

46. Ibid., 185.

47. Ibid., 74.

48. Mary B. Ballou, *"I Hear the Hogs in My Kitchen"* (New Haven: Yale University Presses, Beinecke, 1962), 11.

49. William Perkins, "Journal," Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, quoted in Elisabeth Margo, *Women of the Gold Rush* (New York: Indian Head Books, 1992; originally published as *Taming the Forty-Niner,* 1955, by Elisabeth Margo Freidel), 50–51.

50. Frank Marryat, *Mountains and Molehills* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1952), 235.

51. Ibid., 238.

52. Julie Roy Jeffrey, *Frontier Women: The Trans-Mississippi West, 1840–1880* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1979), 131.

53. Judy Yung, *Chinese Women of America* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986), 14.

54. Carl T. Smith, "The Gillespie Brothers—Early Links Between Hong Kong and California," *Chung Chi Hsiao Kan* (*Chung Chi Bulletin*) 47 (1969): 28.

55. Judy Yung, *Unbound Feet: A Social History of Chinese Women in San Francisco* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 37–39.

56. The possibility of sexual assault dogged female servants of all races. See Hurtado, *Intimate Frontiers,* especially 115–28.

57. Yung, *Unbound Feet,* 38–39.

58. Herbert Asbury, *The Barbary Coast: An Informal History of the San Francisco Underground* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1933), 180–81.

59. Quoted in Yung, *Unbound Feet,* 33. Italics in the original.

60. JoAnn Levy, *They Saw the Elephant* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), 167. See also JoAnn Levy's novel based on the life of Ah Toy: *Daughter of Joy* (New York: Tom Doherty Associates, 1998).

61. Yung, *Unbound Feet,* 33; Levy, *They Saw the Elephant,* 166.

62. Benson Tong, *Unsubmissive Women: Chinese Prostitutes in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 6–8.

63. Albert Benard de Russailh, quoted in Yung, *Unbound Feet,* 33.

64. Tong, *Unsubmissive Women,* 14.

65. Ibid., 11–12.

66. Robert Glass Cleland, ed., *Apron Full of Gold: The Letters of Mary Jane Megquier from San Francisco, 1849–1856* (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1949), 80.

67. Janet R. Fireman, "Beautiful Deceiver: The Absolutely Divine Lola Montez," in *By Grit and Grace: Eleven Women Who Shaped the West,* ed. Glenda Riley and Richard W. Etulain (Golden, Colo.: Fulcrum Publishing, 1997), 45–61.

68. Ibid., 62.

69. Jane Kathleen Curry, *Nineteenth-Century American Women Theatre Managers* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1994), 46–48; Delores J. Cabezut-Ortiz, *Merced County* (Northridge, N.C.: Windsor Publications, 1987), 73–75, 78.

70. Curry, *Nineteenth-Century American Women Theatre Managers,* 36–41.

71. Ibid., 45, 51–76.

72. Ball, "Journal," 162, 163.

73. Sarah Royce, *A Frontier Lady* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1932), 113–14.

74. Frank Soulé, John H. Gihon, and James Nisbet, *The Annals of San Francisco* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1854), 690.

75. Ibid., 692–95. Sarah Gillespie shifted her allegiance from the Presbyterians to the Episcopalians as a result of her husband's Episcopal faith, which led to her confirmation, previously recounted. See Smith, "Gillespie Brothers," 28.

76. Beasley, *Negro Trailblazers,* 121.

77. Ibid., 697.

78. [Timothy Dwight Hunt], "Haste to Be Rich," *Pacific* 1, no. 1 (August 1, 1851), quoted in Laurie F. Maffly-Kipp, *Religion and Society in Frontier California* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 153.

79. Rudolf Glanz, *The Jews of California, From the Discovery of Gold until 1880* (New York: Walson Press, 1960), 112.

80. Glanz, *Jews of California,* 37.

81. Ibid., 35.

82. Ibid., 41.

83. Daniel Levy, "Letters About the Jews of California . . . 1855–1858," trans. Marlene Rainman, *Western States Jewish Historical Quarterly* 3, no. 2 (January 1971): 111.

84. Maffly-Kipp, *Religion and Society,* 160.

85. Glanz, *Jews of California,* 51.

86. Ballou, "I Hear the Hogs in my Kitchen," 11.

87. Ibid., 6.

88. Ibid.

89. Royce, *Frontier Lady,* 83.

90. Cleland, *Apron Full of Gold,* 46.

91. Ibid., 46–47.

92. Ibid., 69.

93. Ball, "Journal," 202.

94. Ibid., 180.

95. Ibid., 181.

96. Beasley, *Negro Trailblazers,* 120.

97. Ibid., 121.

98. Asbury, *Barbary Coast,* 11, quoted in Lynn M. Hudson, "A New Look, or 'I'm Not Mammy to Everybody in California': Mary Ellen Pleasant, Black Entrepreneur," *Journal of the West* 32 (July 1993): 36.

99. Hudson, "A New Look," 36.

100. Beasley, *Negro Trailblazers,* 91–92.

101. Ibid., 91.

102. Ibid., 90–91, 109. See also Joan M. Jensen and Gloria Ricci Lothrop, *California Women: A History* (San Francisco: Boyd and Fraser, 1987), 32.

103. Glenda Riley, *Divorce: An American Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 90; Robert L. Griswold, *Family and Divorce in California, 1850–1890: Victorian Illusions and Everyday Realities* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1982), 23–28.

104. Ralph R. Mendershausen, *Treasures of the South Fork* (Fresno: Panorama West Books, 1983), 35–36, 57–70.

7

"As jolly as a clam at high water"

The Rise of Art in Gold Rush California

Anthony Kirk

With a breeze at his back and opportunity before him, William Redmond Ryan rowed out into San Francisco harbor in late April 1849 and, pulling from ship to ship, managed to procure what he had been unable to find anywhere in the raw bustling gold-rush town that was springing up on Yerba Buena Cove: pigments for mixing paints and two or three brushes. The latter, he wrote, were "indifferently adapted for the use I intended to put them to; but in the absence of better, welcome makeshifts." Returning to his lodgings at the Buckland House—a rude, hastily constructed tavern that creaked and groaned with every gust of wind, "as if in the agony of ague"—Ryan hung out a sign emblazoned with a bust of Apollo and symbols of his craft: easel, palette, and brushes. Upstairs, in a corner of the large common room where some twenty men slumbered fitfully at night on the hard, wooden floor, he had fashioned a primitive studio using only his two sea chests, one of them serving as an easel, the other as both seat and table. Here, amid the clutter and confusion—his fellow lodgers occupying themselves with mending clothes, writing letters, repairing saddles, stitching leather pokes—he waited for patrons.[1]

Most of the gold seekers who excitedly coursed the crowded streets below Ryan's studio were young men who intended to make their fortune and then return home to the joyous welcome of family and friends. They and the tens of thousands of Argonauts who followed in their wake were not sturdy pioneers and sagacious empire builders, as local annalists would later proudly proclaim. They had no interest in establishing homesteads, in building communities, in making a better life for themselves on the broad, fertile plains of America's new possession. Their hopes and designs were much simpler, as suggested by a lusty chorus that a century and a half ago boomed through the still night air of the "diggins" outside Nevada City:

On Selby Flat we live in style
Will stay right here till we make our pile.
We're sure to do it after a while,
Then good-bye to Californy.

Though celebrated in song, the miners' naked avarice aroused concern among Californians who held a different vision of this golden land. "Not more than one in a hundred of this immigration," a San Francisco newspaper dourly observed in 1850, "have, on leaving home, had the remotest idea of becoming permanently established in the country, as fixed citizens of the State." The absence of local "domestic relations and attachments" among the Argonauts, it warned, "cannot be regarded with indifference by men who have the real well-being and advancement of the State at heart."[2]

Young and transient, sojourners rather than settlers, with a measure of feckless husbands, smooth confidence men, and genuine desperadoes among them, the Forty-niners would seem unlikely patrons of the arts. They, nonetheless, bought drawings, paintings, and daguerreotypes from the moment of their arrival, revealing through their actions the power of human sentiment and the pervasive sense of history in the making. Countless Argonauts commissioned portraits of themselves to send home to family and loved ones, as they sought to ease the loneliness of months of separation. Many also purchased images of mining camps or other scenes of life in the new El Dorado, commemorating their participation in one of the most thrilling events of all time. Their needs, together with the larger pictorial requirements of a rapidly developing society, stimulated a flowering of art in gold-rush California without precedent on any frontier.

Like the men who thronged the muddy streets outside his San Francisco studio in the spring of '49, William Redmond Ryan was an adventurer. A year prior to the gold discovery, when the drums of war boomed across the land, Ryan had been caught up in the spirit of Manifest Destiny despite British citizenship and filled with romantic notions of life "amidst the wilds and mountains of California," he had come west with Colonel Jonathan D. Stevenson's New York Volunteers to fight the Mexicans. Following his discharge in October 1848, Ryan mined on the Stanislaus River and then wintered in Monterey, where he made an unsuccessful stab at supporting himself as a sign painter before heading up to San Francisco. A portraitist by profession, having "attained some proficiency by years of study and practice," he soon took up his old craft. Not long after hanging a sign outside his studio—probably the first in the mad jumble of tents and flimsy, frame boardinghouses, shops, and saloons destined to emerge as the cultural center of the American West—he was delighted to find himself earning an ounce of gold a day with his brush, as much as a miner might make in twelve hours of hard labor with shovel and pan. His patronage increased so rapidly that he took on a partner, and despite his new friend's love of drink and gaming, the pair prospered beyond expectations. At the onset of summer, Ryan formed a new partnership with a former acquaintance from Stevenson's Regiment, who had "acquired some knowledge of painting" and who proposed they "do business upon a large scale." The two of them constructed a large tent-studio near the waterfront, and they soon, wrote Ryan, "had every reason to rejoice at the success which attended our efforts."[3]

Over the months the pair practiced their craft in a succession of locations. When they could no longer endure the high afternoon winds that violently shook their tent and filled it with swirling clouds of sand and dust, they fitted up a studio in a wooden cottage. The flow of Forty-niners from "the States" and Europe increased week after week that gilded summer, and the press of orders ultimately led the two artists to employ several assistants, as they pursued their art in the exuberant entrepreneurial spirit characteristic of gold-rush California.

Ryan's sole rival in the early months was another British subject, John Prendergast, who had sailed for California from Honolulu when word of the epic discovery circulated through the Sandwich Islands. Prendergast presumably spent time in the diggings, but by the spring of '49 he was busy making drawings and watercolors of San Francisco. Daniel Wadsworth Coit, a representative of the Mexican banking house of Drusina & Co. and a skilled amateur artist, observed Prendergast at work that April and in a letter to his wife expressed amazement that "he gets $25 for his *pencil* sketches which may occupy him a day or two at most." Though Coit dismissed Prendergast's drawings as "neither truthful nor executed with artistic skill," they were, in fact, deftly executed and filled with accurate detail. In some he portrayed a single busy thoroughfare choked with pedestrians and horse-drawn wagons, catching the wonderful vitality of life in frontier San Francisco (figure 1), while in others he showed the magnificent sweep of the city, recording, over the course of several years, the remarkable growth of the city.[4]

Ryan and Prendergast had the field to themselves but briefly. By summer, several of the first artists who had joined in the wild dash from the States were busy with their craft, and at year's end a couple of dozen—including wood engravers and lithographers, as well as painters—could be counted among the residents of San Francisco, Sacramento, and the countless camps scattered through the diggings. By 1853, when placer mining entered into decline, another thirty or more had come west, further enriching the cultural life that had taken root in the Golden State. Like their fellow fortune hunters, they were for the most part young men, in their twenties and thirties, and had traveled from the four quarters of the world. Perhaps half were Americans, nearly all of whom hailed from New England or the Middle Atlantic states, but there were also French, Italian, Cuban, Swiss, and Hungarian nationals among them, reflecting the cosmopolitan character of the great rush. Some lacked training or even much skill as draftsmen, while others enjoyed the benefits of solid

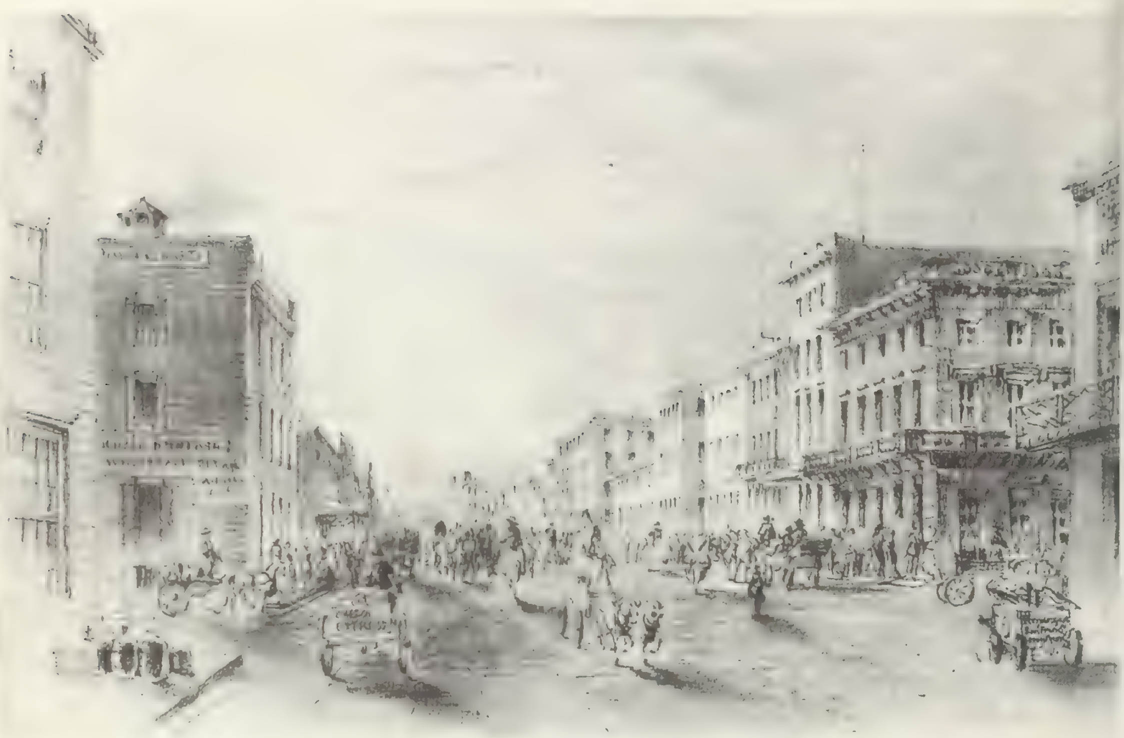


Figure 1. John Prendergast, *Montgomery Street, San Francisco,* 1851. Charcoal and graphite on paper, 7 ⅛ x 11 in. *California Historical Society; CHS purchase with contributions from Stephen Taber and Alice Whitson, FN-30867.*

academic education and had achieved significant recognition for their work. But regardless of age or nationality, of talent or reputation, they had not come to the land of gold to practice their profession. They were here "to see the elephant."

Such was the case with Samuel S. Osgood, a successful New York portrait painter and a member of the National Academy of Design. In February 1849, two months after President James K. Polk thrilled the nation by confirming tales of an "El Dorado of the Pacific," Osgood kissed his wife a fond farewell and, with snow swirling through the frigid air, boarded the *Crescent City,* the first large steamer filled with fortune hunters to clear for Panama. By April the artist was striding along the road from Sacramento to Coloma, where a year earlier the carpenter James Marshall had caught the gleam of gold flashing in the cold, swift waters of a newly dug tailrace on the American River and, stooping to pluck up several of the dazzling flakes, changed the course of history. Osgood's path across the Central Valley was strewn with wildflowers, "filling the air with delicious fragrance," and he and his companions gathered handfuls of the blossoms and wreathed them 'round their hats, "intoxicated with delight."[5]

Somewhat older than most of the Argonauts, having turned forty the previous year, Osgood held no illusions as to what lay ahead. Even before leaving the comforts of home he had known that to gather the golden harvest he would have to "labor hard—hard as the Irishman who carries the hod or the paver who paves the street." He located a claim on the Middle Fork of the American River, where he mined with a pan and then with a rocker of his own manufacture. At first he suffered in every muscle of his body, but he soon toughened and grew strong, enjoying long nights of deep sleep such as he had not known for years. Through hard work and good luck he frequently washed twenty or thirty dollars of gold a day, and after three months he left the diggings, having made his "pile" and, unlike many miners, not lost it at monte or faro or in drunken dissipation.[6]

Although Osgood enjoyed rare good fortune as a gold hunter, the brevity of his stay in the diggings was typical. Mining was hard, dangerous, and often unrewarding work. To stand in the cold rushing waters of a mountain stream, bent at the waist and endlessly swirling a pan heavy with sand and gravel, or to dig deep into a rocky river bar, shoveling pay dirt into a cradle or long tom hour after hour, as the ascending sun burned ever hotter, required strength and endurance. Frequently a day's labor yielded no more than a dollar or two in dust, and then the weary miner retired to a rude cabin or a tattered tent for an evening meal of salt pork, bread, and coffee before collapsing, exhausted, into bed. Unaccustomed to endless toil and rough conditions, artists rarely mined for more than a single season, concluding, like countless other disappointed fortune hunters, that the practice of their profession was both more congenial and more profitable. Having failed to find the riches that had brought them to California, many headed home to pick up the threads of their old lives. But others lingered on month after month, and some remained to grow up with the country, sojourners become settlers.

Samuel Osgood, for example, found such opportunities for his brush in San Francisco that, despite success in the diggings, he delayed his departure for nearly half a year, finally taking ship for New York on New Year's Day 1850. He charged "California prices" for his portraits, he boasted in a letter home, and by the end of summer he had more than two thousand dollars in commissions awaiting his attention. Bayard Taylor, the chief gold-rush correspondent for the *New York Tribune,* wrote of coming upon him that August "in a studio about eight feet square, with a head of Captain Sutter on his easel." Osgood had first met the lord of New Helvetia on his way to the mines and had been struck by his aristocratic bearing and gracious manner, as had the artist's companions. Sutter was now on his way to the state constitutional convention in Monterey, and though his fortunes were in sad decline, he nonetheless cut a commanding figure. Over the course of several months Osgood made four portraits of him from life, of which the painting reproduced here (plate 1) is especially fine. It exhibits the "ease and strength" contemporaries admired in Osgood's work; and executed on ticking rather than on artist's canvas, it testifies to the curiously congenial companionship of raw conditions and high culture—of Shakespeare performed in rain-soaked tents, of fine champagnes poured in coarse makeshift saloons—that distinguished life in El Dorado. It shows Sutter as a slender, handsome man of forty-five, elegantly dressed in black broadcloth and gleaming linen, his gaze steady and confident—very much "the lion of California," as Osgood called him.[7]

J. D. Borthwick also responded to the rich opportunities to practice art in El Dorado despite good fortune as a gold hunter. But the young Scots, who had succumbed to California fever in the spring of 1850 while living in New York, was single and footloose, a wanderer at heart, and he remained far longer than Osgood, as the seasons passed and turned into years. Borthwick located his first claim a few miles from Placerville, the legendary Hangtown of gold-rush days, and after working it for a spell moved on to try his luck at Coon Hollow and then Weaver Creek, where he mined successfully for a several months. Borthwick was given to drawing in his leisure hours, and his work proved popular with the other miners, who besieged him with requests, particularly on Sundays, the traditional day of rest in the diggings. "Every man," he wrote, "wanted a sketch of his claim, or his cabin, or some spot with which he identified himself; and as they all offered to pay very handsomely, I was satisfied that I could make paper and pencil more profitable tools to work with than pick and shovel."[8]

Over the next two years Borthwick roamed the mining country, from Sonora to Downieville, earning his living as an artist while gratifying his desire to see "all the various kinds of diggings, and the strange specimens of human nature to be found in them." He later described his travels in *Three Years in California* (1857), one of the most insightful and entertaining of all the narratives to emerge from this grand adventure. Among the illustrations from Borthwick's hand that enliven the volume is *A Ball in the Mires* (figure 2), a splendid, vital image that suggests why the artist's sketches were sought after in the diggings. It portrays a dance Borthwick attended one evening at Angels Camp, where, as was usually the case, no women were present. "It was a strange sight," he wrote "to see a party of long-bearded men, in heavy boots and flannel shirts, going through all the steps and figures of the dance with so much spirit, and often with a great deal of grace, hearty enjoyment depicted on their dried-up sunburned faces, and revolvers and bowie-knives glancing in their belts; while a crowd of the same rough-looking customers stood around, cheering them on to greater efforts, and occasionally dancing a step or two quietly on their own account."[9]

Like Borthwick and Osgood, most artists spent a couple of months at hard labor with pick and shovel and pan, and, then, shaking the dust from their clothes, moved on to other pursuits. Some, however, tired of mining in a week or two, and a few never made it to the diggings, precipitously changing their plans in response to the unexpected opportunities for making money that abounded in the land of gold.

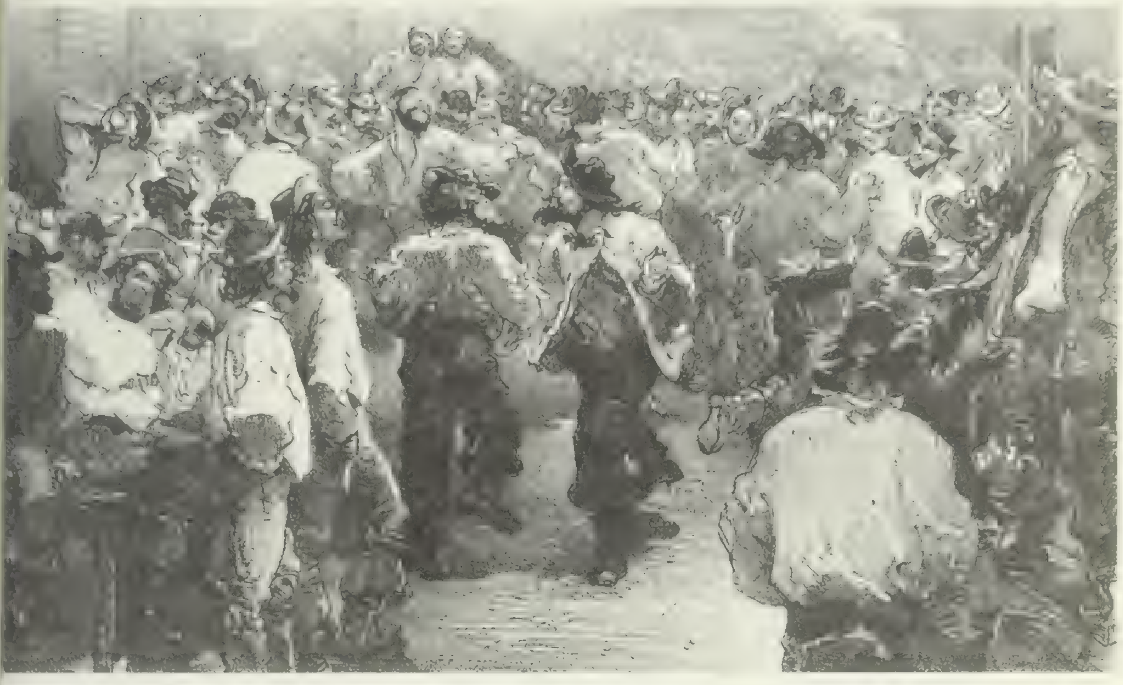


Figure 2. John D. Borthwick, *A Ball in the Mines.* Lithograph, from J. D. Borthwick, *Three Years in California,* 1857. *California Historical Society.*

William S. Jewett, a talented New York artist and, like Osgood, a member of the National Academy of Design, arrived in San Francisco in December 1849, and almost at once he was painting portraits and buying real estate. Setting up his easel in "a little room not larger than the one I kep my coal in in N.Y.," he soon had orders from the former commander of the New York Volunteers, Colonel Jonathan D. Stevenson, the prefect of the district, Horace Hawes, and several prominent San Francisco merchants. "I am painting and I am as jolly among them as a clam at high water," he wrote in January 1850 of his popularity among the emerging elite of California society. "I charge from hundred and fifty to eight hundred dollars—shall paint two or three per week if they come fast enough."[10]

A shrewd investor, Jewett speculated in San Francisco real estate when not occupied with portraiture, purchasing one lot for $200 and selling half of it three days later for $250, a transaction typical of those heady days. "I consider this place the greatest field for a good business mind the world affords," he wrote home, "and the worst for an indifferent one." Jewett was not an indifferent businessman, and in February he boasted, "no one who is *any body* thinks of being painted by anyone but W. Jewett," adding that "if Osgood were here now he could stand but little chance with me as I can far excel him on anything." Among the visitors to the artist's studio in 1850 was

Lieutenant Washington A. Bartlett of the United States Navy, who had taken part in the occupation of Yerba Buena during the Mexican War and who subsequently served as the first American alcalde of the sleepy village, which in January 1847 he renamed San Francisco. The elegant portrait that emerged from the sitting (plate 2) shows both Jewett and Bartlett at their best, displaying the artist's strong, expressive brushwork and evoking the lieutenant's serious, high-minded character. The conventional iconography of the work—the lieutenant's dress and pose, the imaginary setting of Doric column, richly upholstered chair, and leaded-glass casement window—reveals, moreover, how quickly the forms and customs, the symbols and imagery traditionally associated with genteel and cultivated society appeared in El Dorado.[11]

Although most of the artists who established themselves in California took up residence in San Francisco, several settled in Sacramento and a few worked in the larger gold camps such as Columbia. Leonardo Barbieri, a well-trained and talented portrait painter, initially followed this pattern, fitting up a studio in San Francisco in December 1849. But early the following year he was off for San Diego, where he executed a charming likeness of Rosario Estudillo Aguirre, the lovely young wife of the wealthy trader and rancher José Antonio Aguirre. Until his departure for Mexico in 1853, Barbieri continued to work chiefly in the Hispanic communities of the state, finding his patrons among the *dons* and *doñas* of old California, who were enjoying the prosperity that flowed from the boom in the cattle industry, brought on by the miners' enormous appetite for beef. Born in the Duchy of Savoy during the brief era of French domination, Barbieri was widely traveled and fluent in Spanish, having spent four years in South America before heading north. By reasons of culture and language and, quite likely, sympathies, he found himself welcome in the homes of the Castros, the Carrillos, the Amestis, the Pachecos, and other prominent Californios, who, with their natural dignity and love of rich display, responded warmly to the artist's elegant style of portraiture. In 1850 Barbieri spent three months in Santa Barbara, producing, among other paintings, a powerful likeness of José Antonio de la Guerra (plate 3). Born in Spain, the son of two distinguished families, de la Guerra had come to Alta California in 1801, fathered nine children, laid claim to several sprawling ranchos, served as commander of the presidio that guarded the district, and made his house a celebrated social center of Santa Barbara. When the grand patriarch donned his finest suit of clothes and velvet house cap to sit for Barbieri, he was in his seventy-first year, a figure seemingly out of an ancient Spanish romance, beloved and respected through the far reaches of southern California, where the traditional seignorial pattern of Hispanic life yet endured.[12]

Not all the artists who joined in the mad rush to El Dorado had the skills of Barbieri or Osgood or Jewett. Some had little or no formal instruction, and their work was, at best, simple and direct, with a rude strength springing from color and de-n and subject matter. Such is the case with Thomas Moore's painting *E. W. cIlhany, 49er* (plate 4), a flat, linear likeness executed in 1850 at the gold camp of nion Valley, located high on a tributary of the Middle Fork of the Feather River. ttle is known about the artist other than he was a veteran of the Mexican War ho in early 1849 set out from his native Virginia with the Charleston Mining ompany and on the Fourth of July, filled with patriotism and whiskey, stood on a ge tree stump by the banks of the Green River and delivered a stirring address, riodically firing a small cannon when moved by the sentiments of his oration. Although presumably untrained, Moore imitated an old artistic custom of incorpoting an element of his sitter's occupation in the portrait. Behind McIlhany, who d established a store in Onion Valley and ran a packing operation that carried ods to Rich Bar and other remote camps, a train of heavily loaded mules deends a precipitous mountain trail.[13]

Like McIlhany, most of the Argonauts who commissioned drawings or paintings ere not as interested in obtaining a work of art as in securing a pictorial record of eir California days, either for themselves or for friends and loved ones back home. n the spring of 1850 the Forty-niner Alonzo Delano was able to earn a living as an rtist in Marysville, though he possessed only "a little skill in drawing," as he cheerlly admitted himself. Delano, who later established a reputation for his delightfully umorous tales of the Gold Rush written under the pseudonym "Old Block," turned o art after high water on the Feather River brought an end to his company's minng operations, and he found himself "*strapped.*" "For three weeks," he wrote, "I plied ny pencil in copying the outre phiz and forms of the long-bearded miners, at an unce a head, when I found myself the wealthy recipient of four hundred dollars."[14]

Delano's success is not surprising given a story related by J. D. Borthwick, which eveals how easily some of the miners could be pleased. Setting off from Grass Valey House to Foster's Bar one morning, Borthwick was approached by several men who, having seen him drawing the previous evening, asked if he would take their likenesses. Borthwick agreed, and another Argonaut, watching him improve on the looks of the last sitter, "was seized with a violent desire to have his sweet countenance 'pictur'd off' likewise, to send to his wife." Borthwick obligingly began the portrait, amusing himself by making the miner, who was singularly unattractive, "about fifty percent uglier than he really was." To compensate for the cruel caricature, the artist transformed the man's rough clothing into "a very spicy black coat, black satin waistcoat, and very stiff stand-up collars." "The fidelity of the likeness he never doubted," Borthwick wrote, "being so lost in admiration of his dress, that he seemed to think the face a matter of minor importance altogether."[15]

"Gold mining," wrote the wise and witty Dame Shirley to her sister in 1852 from Indian Bar, "is Nature's great lottery scheme." And to a degree the same could be said of the practice of art on the California frontier. Despite the grand success of many artists, fortune failed to smile on others who were equally skilled. In January 1850, in the midst of boasting of the wonderful reception accorded him upon setting up his easel in San Francisco, William Jewett observed, "there are other artists here and doing comparably nothing," modestly adding that he was unsure if his own good luck was deserved or not. Charles Nahl, who opened a studio in San Francisco two years later, also made a splash upon his arrival and was soon deluged with commissions. But he, too, noticed that others lacked patronage and wrote home "that an American, an English, and a French painter had left this town . . . as they found not enough to do."[16]

For most, failure as an artist was no worse than failure as a miner, a common experience for countless Argonauts. For the young Buckeye E. Hall Martin, however, failure twined with dashed hopes and disillusionment to precede a sad, untimely death, far from family and friends. Martin, who began his career in Cincinnati, was working in New York City when gold fever seized him, and taking passage on the schooner *Panama,* he was among the earliest waves of Forty-niners to set out for California. A fellow voyager long remembered an Argonaut on the vessel who in all likelihood was Martin, recounting that he was "an Artist and a Bohemian, a *bon-vivant,* whose sea-chest was filled with choice cigars and liquors, which rendered the neighborhood of our berth a favorite resort for the 'good fellows' on board." It is unknown if Martin went to the diggings, and if so, if he was successful as a miner, but by late 1849 he was in San Francisco. Establishing a studio in the Haley House, he informed the public that he would "be happy to paint portraits, make sketches in oil of a local character, paint landscapes and sea views, or anything else in the line of his vocation."[17]

But neither in San Francisco nor in Sacramento, where he settled in the summer of 1850, did fortune favor Martin. Though he had exhibited work at both the American Academy of the Fine Arts and the American Art-Union in New York, and though his paintings invariably received favorable comment in California newspapers, he had trouble securing patronage. Gradually sinking into poverty, he fell behind in his rent and occasionally went without meals. He was, as well, often ill and frequently tormented by melancholia. One bleak day, facing eviction from his rooms and overcome by despair, he wrote out his will and penned a scathing farewell to "The Fine Arts and their Sacramento Patrons." A friend came to his aid, paying his rent and rallying his spirits. But in the autumn of 1851, while on a sketching trip through the Northern Mines, Martin succumbed to disease and discouragement, leaving behind a sad estate of unrealized hopes, unpaid bills, and unsold pictures, many of them held as security by creditors.

Among the paintings was *Mountain Jack and a Wandering Miner* (plate 5), a large elliptical canvas, measuring more than three feet by six feet in size. Although the iner's cradle, pick, and other equipment are curiously small and out of scale, the icture is a handsome, luminous work of art, at once decorative and symbolic of the ieaning of the Gold Rush in American life. Mountain Jack, described in the press s "the wild mountaineer of California," sits near the edge of a rocky precipice in the ierra Nevada and confidently points to the valley far below. The miner—archetypal ith his heavy beard, red shirt, and rough boots—rests on his rifle and gazes at the rospect spread beneath him, dreaming, like Martin and thousands of other Argoauts who had rushed west, of the infinite riches, the success, the happiness that El orado promised.[18]

Vith its large dimensions and self-evident symbolism, *Mountain Jack and a Wanering Miner* eloquently testifies that from the outset Californians recognized the istoric significance of the Gold Rush and sought to celebrate it on a scale comiensurate with its importance in the unfolding pageant of the national experience. he picture's size also suggests it was painted to hang in a public room, and, in fact, t the time of the artist's death it was on display in the chamber of the Sacramento ity council. Although the city fathers did not purchase Martin's work, local govrnments, as well as the state, did occasionally encourage the growth of art by comnissioning or buying pictures. Official tastes inevitably ran to portraits of pioneers enerated as empire builders, such as the heroic canvas of John Sutter by William S. ewett, which in 1855 the state of California acquired for $2,500 by act of legislature. or the most part, however, it was not the concerns of high-minded government fficials that led to the decoration of public spaces with art but rather the pursuit of rofits by enterprising entrepreneurs. As the former Argonaut Benjamin Avery oberved in 1868 in one of the earliest histories of California art, "the first introduction f fine pictures had a purely commercial motive." With few exceptions, he lamented, hey were purchased "to lend another attraction to the vicious 'saloons' wherein forunes were won or lost on the turn of a card or the toss of a die."[19]

William Johnston, who crossed the continent with the first gold-rush wagon rain to reach California, noticed on a visit to Sacramento in September 1849 that the gaming house called the Plains "had its walls frescoed with scenes familiar to overland emigrants, as 'Independence Rock,' 'Devil's Gate,' passes in the Rocky Mountains, and in the Sierra Nevada, etc." Johnston expressed surprise that in Sacramento "the finest and best buildings were those occupied by the black-leg gentry," but as all Argonauts attested, the largest, most elegantly furnished edifices in every town were invariably the gambling halls and saloons (figure 3). Frank Marryat, who acquainted himself with the temptations of San Francisco in the summer of 1850, wrote that upon entering one of the lavishly decorated palaces of masculine pleasure surrounding Portsmouth Square, "the eye is dazzled almost by the brilliancy of chandeliers and mirrors. The roof, rich with gilt-work, is supported

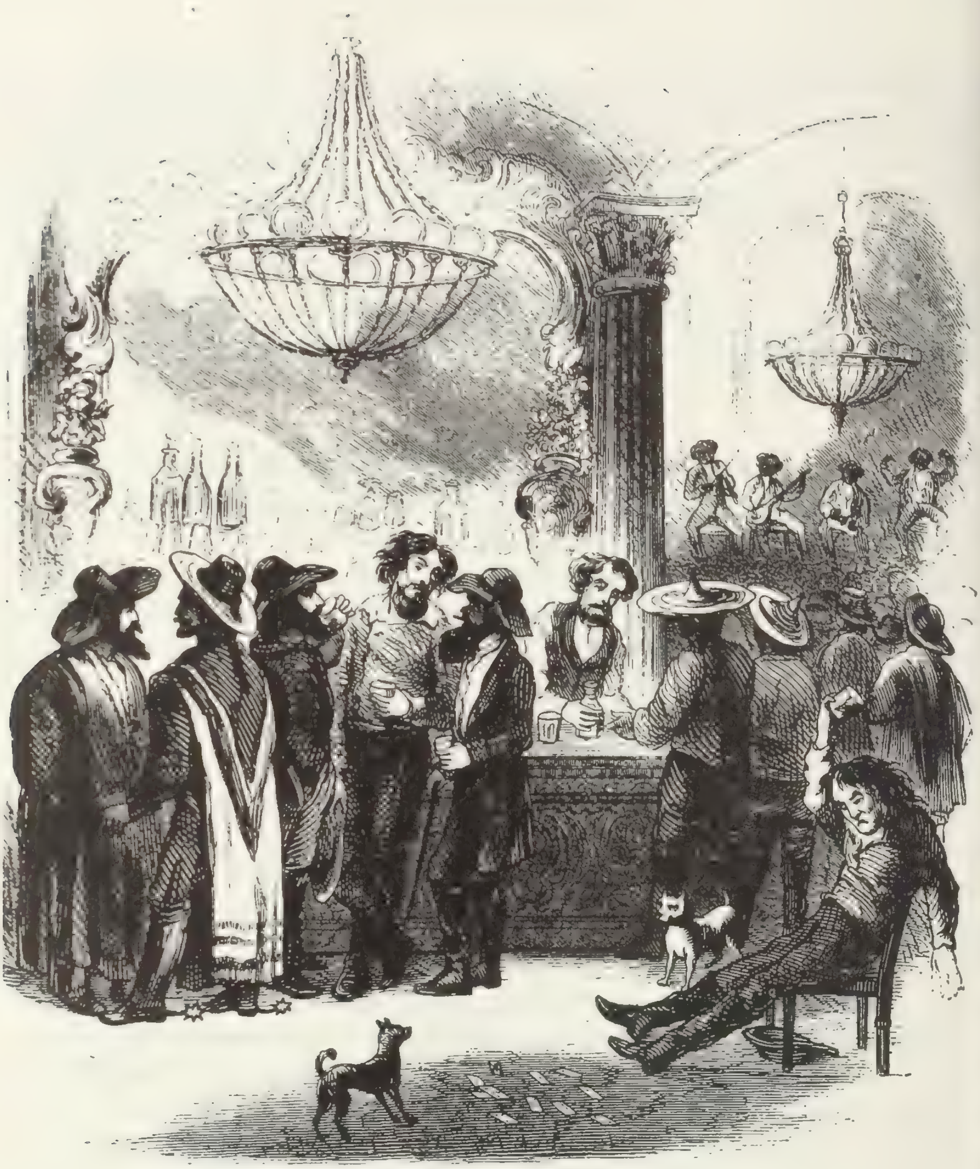


Figure 3. Miners take their pleasure in one of the richly furnished saloons that sprang up in San Francisco during the Gold Rush in an illustration by Frank Marryat that appeared in his *Mountains and Molehills* (1855). Marryat wrote that the walls of the palaces of masculine recreation he visited in San Francisco were invariably hung with paintings "of which female nudity forms alone the subject." Other Argonauts observed that public art throughout California invariably celebrated the female figure. *California Historical Society.*

by pillars of glass; and the walls are hung with French paintings of great merit, but of which female nudity forms alone the subject." If most miners lacked Marryat's confident connoisseurship and failed to distinguish between the European and American canvases staring down at them over bottles of sparkling liquors and boxes of choice cigars, they, nonetheless, responded warmly to the universality of their themes—which Friedrich Gerstäcker nicely summed up, in describing the paintings hanging in the El Dorado in San Francisco, as "calculated to arouse the instincts." Gerstäcker, it should be noted, was somewhat of a student of the pictorial riches of California's "gambling hells," and he informed his readers that as one traveled inland from San Francisco, "the more indecent these pictures became, becoming in the mines the most obscene points."[20]

Whatever the truth of Gerstäcker's assertion, there is little doubt that notwithstanding the landscapes William Johnston admired in the Plains, most public art in California celebrated the female figure. A San Francisco correspondent of the *Alta California* wrote in March 1850 that a striking view of the city of Canton and a fine engraving of the Battle of Chapultepec hung in the Bella Union on Portsmouth Square, but admitted that the images "that most attracted my attention and admiration were the pictures of Cleopatra, the Greek Slave, the Bacchanals and Venus." Six months later, when the saloon of the newly completed Union Hotel opened on the east side of the square, it was reported with some surprise that it was adorned with landscape and marine paintings. "Not the least pleasing feature of the whole arrangement," declared the *Picayune,* in commenting on the room's beauty and elegance, "is the absence of all lascivious pictures, such as decorate the walls of almost every saloon in the city."[21]

At this date, most of the pictures that hung in saloons and gambling halls, as well as in hotels, restaurants, and private residences, were from the East or Europe or Asia, part of the astounding array of luxury goods that came flooding into the port of San Francisco, along with countless crates and barrels of picks and pans, blankets and boots, flour and cheese, coffee and pork. In the spring of 1849 Andrew Jackson Grayson offered a "great variety" of oils and watercolors for sale at his general merchandise store in the City Hotel, and in September a "splendid collection" of more than three hundred Chinese paintings carried to California on the ship *Rhone* was auctioned off at Osborn & Brannan's new salesroom on Montgomery Street. Early the next year "lovers of the fine arts" were encouraged to visit Delmonico's dining saloon on Portsmouth Square, where "several magnificent paintings on copper, by some of the most celebrated German artists," could be purchased. Merchants handled sculptures as well as pictures, and in August 1850 Everett & Co. advertised the sale of "a number of beautiful Parisian statuettes and figurines," all of which were said to be "suitable for public saloons."[22]

Although Benjamin Avery scorned the "commercial" impulses that led to the importation of painting and sculpture, he acknowledged that among the innumerable artworks shipped to California were pieces of real distinction. The first important collection to appear in San Francisco, he asserted, comprised some "thirty or forty old European pictures of merit" that S. J. Gower put up for bid in the winter of 1850 at his auction house on Montgomery Street. Not long afterwards Joseph C. Duncan, whom Avery characterized as one of the first Californians "to introduce and encourage Art in a liberal and critical spirit," began to deal in paintings, importing them both for sale and for his own collection, which at one time was the largest in the state. In the spring of 1854 Duncan returned from a trip to Europe with a huge collection of pictures—including a "magnificent painting of the *Descent from the Cross* after Rubens," a "superb tableau of *Psyche and Amour*," and original works by Teniers, Greuze, and Van Dyck—that he sold, together with bronzes, jewelry, crystal, silver, porcelain, and "the largest diamond in the United States," through a lottery called the California Art Union. In a scheme perfectly suited to the reckless, gambling, go-ahead spirit of the Gold Rush, Californians purchased 100,000 tickets at a dollar each, which in mid-November were drawn from a wheel of fortune at the Metropolitan Theater. Over the course of two days, in a grand spectacle that provided entertainment and promoted culture, some six thousand "superb articles" were distributed to the crush of excited Californians who jammed the theater.[23]

If there was something of the huckster in Duncan, he nevertheless was successful in bringing good examples of European art to California. The scholarly John S. Hittell, a Forty-niner who was sensitive to the shaping power of painting and sculpture on society, mentioned several of these works in 1863 in the first survey of art in San Francisco. Like Avery, who echoed his judgment, Hittell praised an oil of *Prometheus* attributed to Andrea del Sarto that was still in Duncan's own collection and a "magnificent" painting of *Diana Starting for the Chase* by Nicholaes Maes. The best picture in California, and one of the best in the country, he declared, was a huge canvas by Jacobs of Dresden, *The Taking of Samson by the Philistines.* Ironically, though, as a consequence of the triumph of gentility over the raw masculine impulses of gold-rush days, the painting was "condemned to serve as an attraction to the liquor saloon known as the Bank Exchange," because, lamented Hittell, "the squeamishness of American society makes ladies afraid to look at human figures partly nude, even though the general idea be chaste."[24]

The single Argonaut capable of executing the large figural compositions admired by Hittell and Avery on the one hand and by saloon owners and miners on the other was Charles Nahl (figure 4), who indisputably stands as the foremost artist of the Gold Rush. Born in 1818 in the German town of Kassel, Nahl was the son of an engraver and etcher, the scion of several generations of painters, sculptors, and

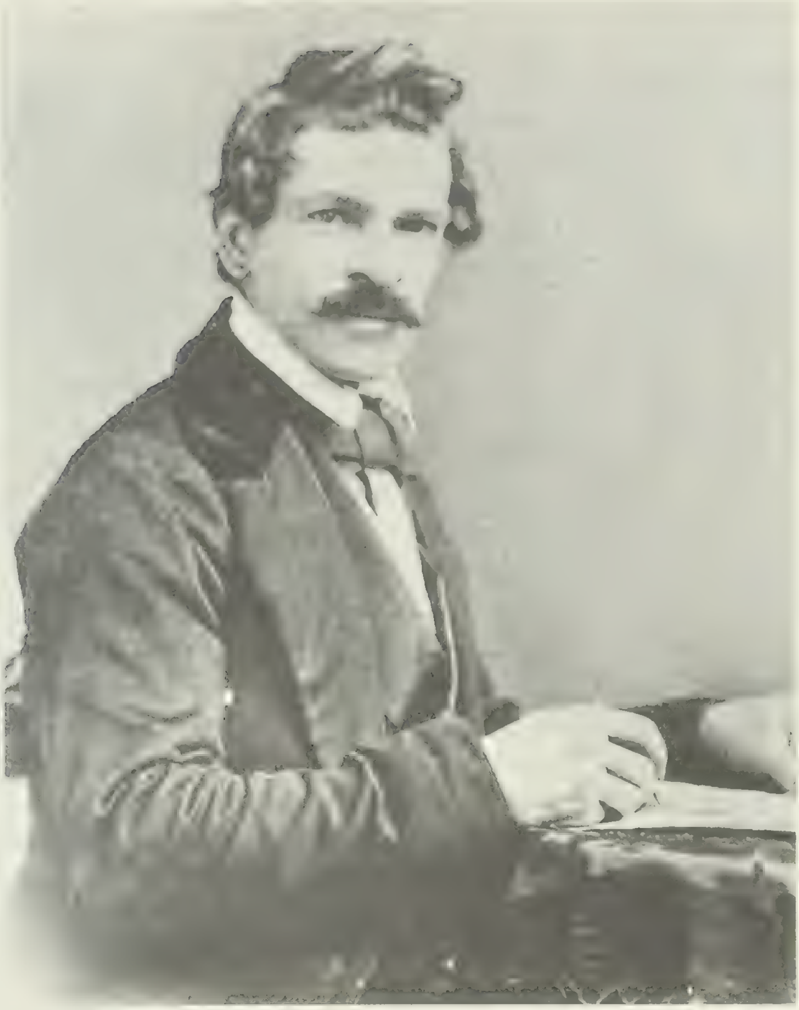


Figure 4. When William Shew photographed Charles Nahl in the mid-1870s, the celebrated gold-rush artist was near the end of his life and would die a few years later. Like countless other Argonauts, he had come west to gather the golden harvest and then return home. But instead he stayed on, and for a quarter of a century his career perfectly reflected the evolving social and cultural conditions of the Golden State. An accomplished portrait, genre, and history painter, he also created innumerable designs for wood engravings that helped shape the popular image of life in El Dorado. *Courtesy Oakland Museum of California; gift of Robert Neuhaus.*

craftsmen. As a youth he attended the local art academy and gradually acquired the strong draftsmanship and the marvelous ability to reproduce surface textures with a stunning verisimilitude that came to distinguish his finest work. Moving to Stuttgart he achieved his first great success when the King of Württemberg purchased and placed in the state collection a huge canvas from his hand that portrayed a scene from one of Friedrich von Schiller's famed historical dramas of the Thirty Years War. At the age of twenty-eight Nahl went to Paris, where he came under the influence of the immensely popular Horace Vernet, though there is no evidence that he actually studied with him. In 1849 he took ship to New York and two years later came down with gold fever.[25]

Traveling by way of Panama with a small entourage that included his mother and several half-brothers and half-sisters, Nahl arrived at the diggings that spring. In the search for fortune, the family not only endured hardships common to all miners but also had the bad luck to purchase a salted claim that yielded them but nine dollars in gold. By the autumn of 1851, both Charles and his younger brother Arthur having suffered a debilitating attack of malaria—the storied "fever and ague" of the frontier—the Nahls took up residence in Sacramento. A year later, following a conflagration that consumed much of the town, they moved to San Francisco, where for a quarter-century Charles Nahl was a leading figure in the artistic life of the city.

Despite his great gifts as a painter of history and genre, his solid record of achievement in Europe and the East, Nahl undertook a remarkable variety of commissions in California. The range of his endeavors reflected both his own hard-driving ambition to succeed financially and the imperatives of gold-rush society—a society in which the entrepreneurial skills necessary to respond to the demands of a rapidly evolving frontier proved more valuable than the academic training required to create elegant pictures of subjects associated with a cultivated outlook, good taste, and social position. Although Nahl had exhibited at the Paris Salon, he was not above painting a banner of the Mexican War hero and presidential candidate, Winfield Scott, for the Whigs to carry in a parade, or one of George Washington for the Free Masons to wave. More than once he mixed his oils to satisfy the vanity of a patron whose eyes had been blackened in a brawl, carefully coloring the bruised and swollen flesh with perfectly matched tones. He frequently collaborated on projects with his brother Arthur or with August Wenderoth, a family friend who had traveled from Paris with them, and on one occasion all three labored on a moving panorama with scenes of California, the Sandwich Islands, Tahiti, and Australia. Not surprisingly, Charles executed a number of huge canvases for saloons and hotels, often working with incredible speed. In 1854, for example, he wrote of completing two coastal scenes, both seven by five feet, in five days and an even larger picture of a Turkish bath in two days.[26]

The enormous demand for pictures in California, together with his astounding versatility and restless energy, led Nahl to work in a wide range of media. He operated a daguerreotype gallery, developed a method for engraving glass photographic negatives called the Nahlotype, and drew on the lithographic stone, producing not only the archetypal *A Miner Prospecting* (1852) but several notable certificates of membership, including that of the Society of California Pioneers (1859). It was in his designs for wood engravings, though, that Nahl was most prolific. He began to draw on the block in 1852, and over the years he created countless illustrations of local life and color, his work brightening the pages of such newspapers and periodicals as the *Sacramento Pictorial Union, Wide West,* and *Hutchings' California Magazine.* Many of his pictures of the mines were also published as pictorial letter sheets, the popular illustrated stationery that Argonauts often favored for correspondence with friends and loved ones back home. His designs, moreover, appeared in numerous books, among them the widely read moralistic poem attributed to William Bausman, *The Idle and Industrious Miner* (1854), and Alonzo Delano's *Old Block's Sketch-Book* (1856), in which the artist was accurately described as "the Cruickshank of California." Nahl was not only highly successful as an illustrator but tremendously influential as well. His engravings—a half-dozen or so examples of which enliven the present volume—helped to shape the popular conception of life in gold-rush California years before Bret Harte first mined the rich lode of local color, and even today the image of that fabled era as a romantic, rollicking, Dickensian saga is to no small degree a consequence of the wonderful skill and imagination of Charles Nahl.

In addition to commercial work, Nahl produced a marvelous variety of easel paintings, including landscapes, still lifes, animal portraits, and religious compositions, as well as works of genre and history. In 1851 or 1852 he and August Wenderoth turned out a large, evocative picture of four Argonauts washing gold with a long tom, *Miners in the Sierras* (National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution), and in 1856 he collaborated with Arthur on the superb *Fire in San Francisco Bay* (plate 6), one of the first historical paintings on a local theme produced in California. An elegant, luminous picture, filled with authentic detail, it dramatically depicts a blaze that had broken out three years earlier on the *Canonicus* and the *Manco,* two abandoned vessels converted into storeships. As great sheets of flame blossom from the *Manco,* threatening to ignite powder kegs kept in the hold and endangering the city itself, the brigade captain stands at the stern of the ship and oversees the fearless attack of his red-shirted volunteers, who direct streams of water from hoses ferried by rowboats from the Sacramento Street wharf.

For all of his strengths as an artist, most of the paintings Charles Nahl produced in the new El Dorado were portraits. He undertook his first commissions while recovering from malaria in the diggings, producing drawings of the miners at twelve dollars a head, and after settling in Sacramento he and August Wenderoth shared a studio where their work brought them praise on two counts. "Their likenesses," it was reported, "are strikingly correct and possess that important recommendation as to price, which places a domestic luxury within reach of the most moderate means." In San Francisco, Nahl sprang to prominence when an influential businessman asked him to make a portrait of his deceased partner—"who was still fresh in everyone's memory"—from a dark, poorly exposed daguerreotype. "I succeeded beyond expectations," he wrote home, "and soon I had orders to paint rich attorneys, bankers, as well as merchants and court personnel."[27]

Many of these images survive today. For the most part they testify to Nahl's accomplishments as a portraitist and to the genteel aspirations of his sitters, who, staring across a century and a half at us, radiate pride and propriety and who, in dress and appearance, are indistinguishable from Americans of that day who sat to artists in New York, in Boston, in Philadelphia, in Charleston. By contrast, Nahl occasionally produced portraits that were distinctively regional, rooted in the immediacy of the western experience, of which *Peter Quivey and the Mountain Lion* (plate 7) is particularly fine. A striking image of life on the California frontier, it depicts the fearsome "catamount" of the American wilderness lying dead at the feet of the self-assured hunter, a pioneer of 1846, and reveals the artist's considerable talents as an animal painter, as well as his remarkable skill in rendering the "feel" of fur and leather and other surface textures.

The rapid rise of portraiture that helped to assure Nahl's success was not accompanied by significant support for other branches of painting in California. Although the Forty-niners and those who followed in their path were often eager to acquire a picture of mining life, an urban scene, or a scenic view, they rarely showed an interest in owning paintings of the same subjects. Like the Californios and the pioneer families, they purchased portraits and little else, confirming the assertion of Henry Inman, a founder of the National Academy of Design and in the late 1830s reputedly the highest paid painter in the nation, that people always prefer pictures of themselves "in the infancy of the Fine Arts in all countries." In 1857, at the first fair held by the Mechanics' Institute of San Francisco, professional artists overwhelmingly contributed portraits to the fine arts display. The judges, observing that the walls were hung with more paintings of local worthies than of local scenery, remarked in awarding a diploma to the amateur Mrs. A. T. Oakes for her landscapes in oil, "There are but few of this class of picture on exhibition. The luxuries of painting can only follow the introduction of wealth-creating improvements, and it cannot be expected that at this epoch of the development of arts in California, the talents of artists in this class will be duly encouraged."[28]

The same theme was echoed by others who saw the cultural evolution of the Golden State within the larger context of the national experience. Beginning with the

Massachusetts Bay Colony in the seventeenth century and continuing on over successive frontiers, Americans had not turned their attention to the fine arts until they had conquered the wilderness and achieved a modest prosperity. Their first paintings were invariably portraits, stiff likenesses of family members that for generations stared down from parlor walls. Later, with the rise of a broad class of merchants and physicians and lawyers, with the growth of wealth and leisure, the arts blossomed and painters received commissions for a variety of pictures, particularly landscapes. Such was the strength of the pattern that in 1859 a San Francisco newspaper asserted, "California is too young yet to have given birth to any artists; she is almost too young to patronise those who have come hither from abroad. So long as a country is engaged in providing itself with the first necessaries of life, building its homes and fencing its fields, it can scarcely be expected to spend much for the fine arts."[29]

But contrary to precedent and perception, the full flowering of art on the Pacific Slope awaited developments other than settlers securing "the first necessaries of life." For in the sphere of culture, as in so many others realms, California was indeed "the great exception." The Gold Rush created a frontier unlike any other in American history, a frontier where wealth was common at the outset and where the economic and institutional growth of decades was compressed into a few years. But if the material foundation for the support of art was established early, the motives that sent the Argonauts hurtling west delayed the emergence of a society in which painting could flourish. Although many of the miners appreciated pictures and other possessions associated with culture and financial success, they were rarely inclined "to accumulate art objects," as Benjamin Avery observed, "as few of them expected to remain and build homes here." In 1855, for example, well after Charles Nahl had solidly established himself in San Francisco, his mother wrote of the family's unremitting labors and real estate investments, "Every penny that is saved gets us closer to our wish to leave this place." Three years later, in a letter to his uncle, Arthur made it clear that the Nahls had still not come to think of themselves as Californians. "Is this a grand country?" he asked rhetorically. "No, Sir, be sure that he who does not have to stay here, will not stay here."[30]

The Nahls did remain, as did other Argonauts, and as they and newer immigrants worked to suppress the worst legacies of the Gold Rush—the greed and waste, the coarseness and vulgarity, the crime and brutality—the patterns of life associated with long-established communities appeared. The evolution of a reckless, transient population into an increasingly mature and stable society continued through the 1850s and into the 1860s. And though the more spectacular manifestations of the search for order, such as the Vigilance Committees of 1851 and 1856, have traditionally attracted the most attention, the growth of the fine arts speaks more persuasively of sojourners becoming settlers, of their emerging commitment to California and her future.

Despite a lack of substantial encouragement, artists produced a wide range of paintings, particularly landscapes, in the age of gold. Some of these canvases were the work of amateurs, such as the ship chandler Charles D. Shed and the elusive Mrs. A. T. Oakes, about whom little is known, but most came from the studios of painters who earned their living with the brush. In addition to the versatile Charles Nahl, William Jewett executed a variety of pictures, including genre scenes and at least one canvas on a religious theme, but he was best known, apart from portraiture, for his landscapes. As early as the spring of 1850 he received a commission from the enterprising Coloma merchant and hotel owner John T. Little to paint the charming foothill valley celebrated as the site of the gold discovery, and the following year he produced the first of two nearly identical views of the Sutter Buttes from the Feather River.[31]

Jewett, in fact, achieved his greatest prominence for *The Promised Land* (plate 8), a large, handsome composition in which the Sierra Nevada and the Sacramento Valley figure symbolically in the inner meaning of California and the westward movement. In 1846 a St. Louis merchant, Andrew Jackson Grayson, had responded to the call of destiny and, with his wife and infant son, followed the path of empire across plains and mountains to the edge of the American continent. Four years later, having grown wealthy through mining and land speculation, Grayson asked Jewett to commemorate the moment of golden memory when the family broke through the forests of the Sierra Nevada and gazed upon the broad, fertile valley of the Sacramento. Ferdinand Ewer, editor of the literary monthly *The Pioneer*, who saw the painting hanging in the hall of the Society of California Pioneers in 1854, was moved by the beauty of the landscape—the "grandeur" of the mountains, the "magnificent" sweep of the distant plain—and praised the work highly, calling it "truly and exclusively a California picture." Later writers concurred but came to see something more in the canvas, including, as one critic put it, "the high idea of the progress of civilization westward." Benjamin Avery, who composed his history of California art when many a Forty-niner was recasting the meaning of the Gold Rush, perceived that Jewett had portrayed a geography of hope as well as a geography of place, and he drew upon Samuel Johnson's eighteenth-century romance of the Prince of Abyssinia to make the analogy of a Pacific paradise. "This," he declared of the grand vista spread before the Graysons, "is the Rasselas Valley of sober fact."[32]

In giving pictorial form to the California landscape, in *The Promised Land* and in all his other works, Jewett relied less on direct observation than on the conventions of the Hudson River School, the prevailing American tradition of nature painting, which he had mastered as a young artist in New York, where he had come to know the first leader of the school, Thomas Cole. As a consequence Jewett invariably failed to faithfully portray the distinctive character—the light, the color, the atmosphere, and even the flora—of the Golden State. Other artist-Argonauts similarly drew heavily upon the aesthetic of the native movement, or correlative European

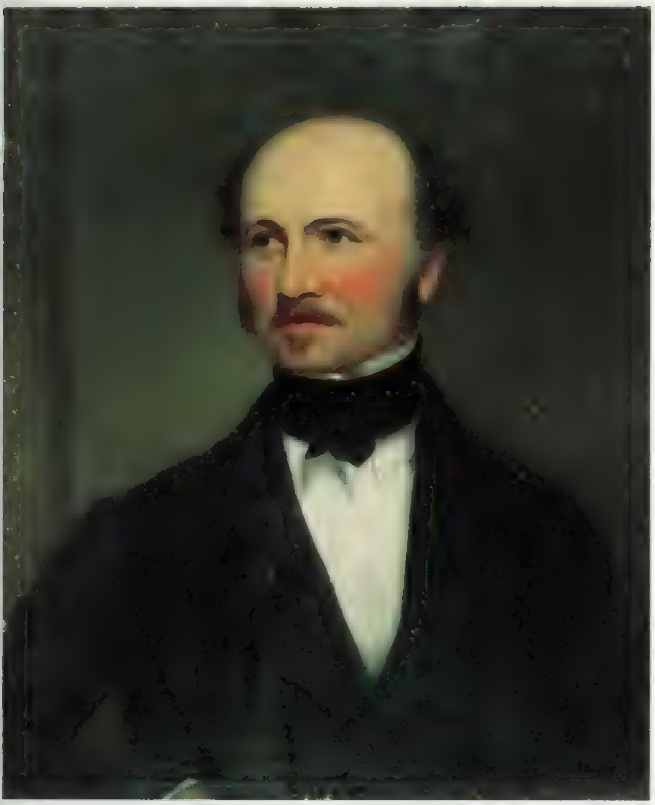


Plate 1.
Samuel S. Osgood,
General John A. Sutter, 1849.
Oil on ticking, 29 ⅛ x 23 ¾
in. *Fine Arts Museums
of San Francisco; Museum
purchase,* DY54768.

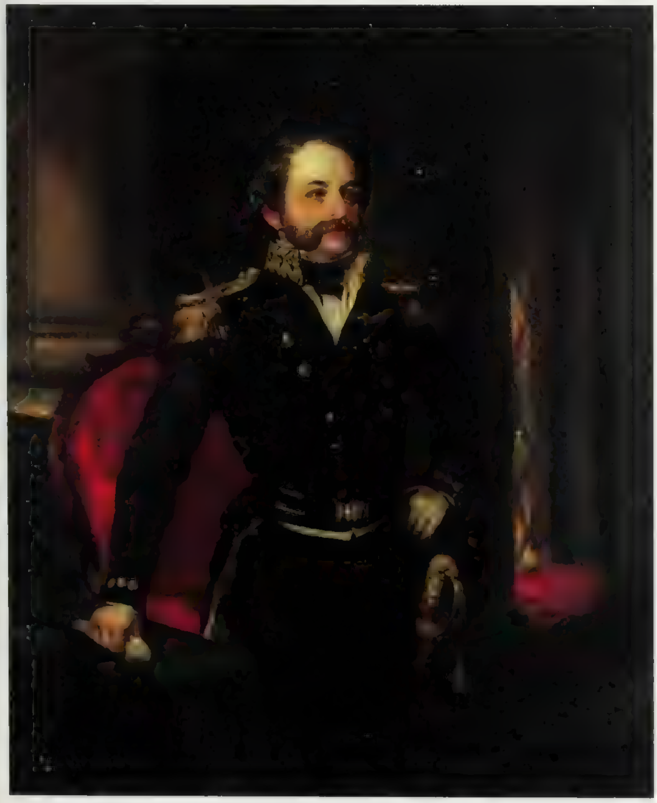


Plate 2.
William S. Jewett,
*Lieutenant
Washington A. Bartlett,
U.S.N.,* 1850. Oil on
canvas, 22 x 18 in. *California Historical Society;
Fine Arts Purchase Fund.*

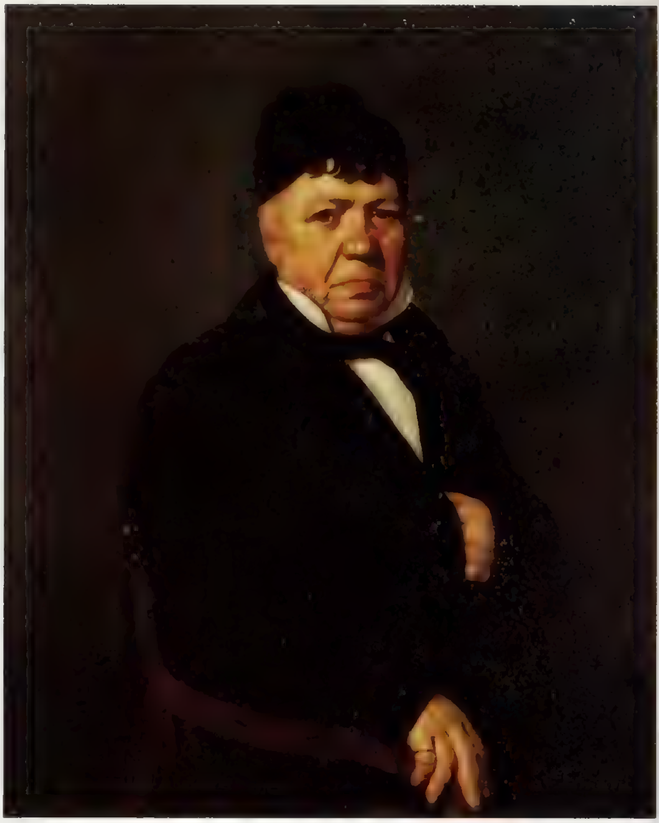


Plate 3.
Leonardo Barbieri,
José de la Guerra y Noriega,
1850. Oil on canvas, 35 x 28 in.
Collection of Santa Barbara Historical Society.

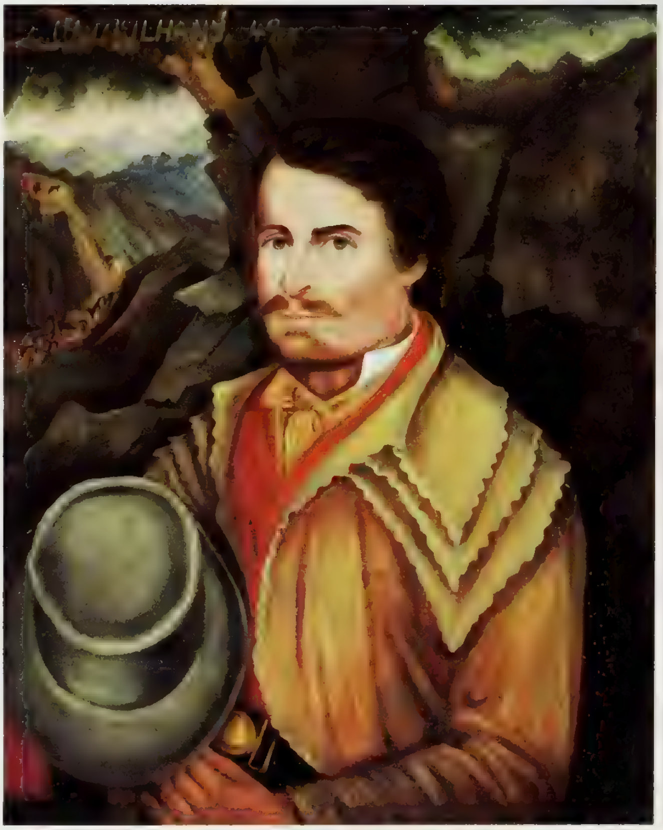


Plate 4. Thomas Moore,
E. W. McIlhany, 49er,
1850. Oil on canvas,
28 ½ x 23 ½ in. *Oakland Museum of California, Museum Donors Acquisition Fund.*

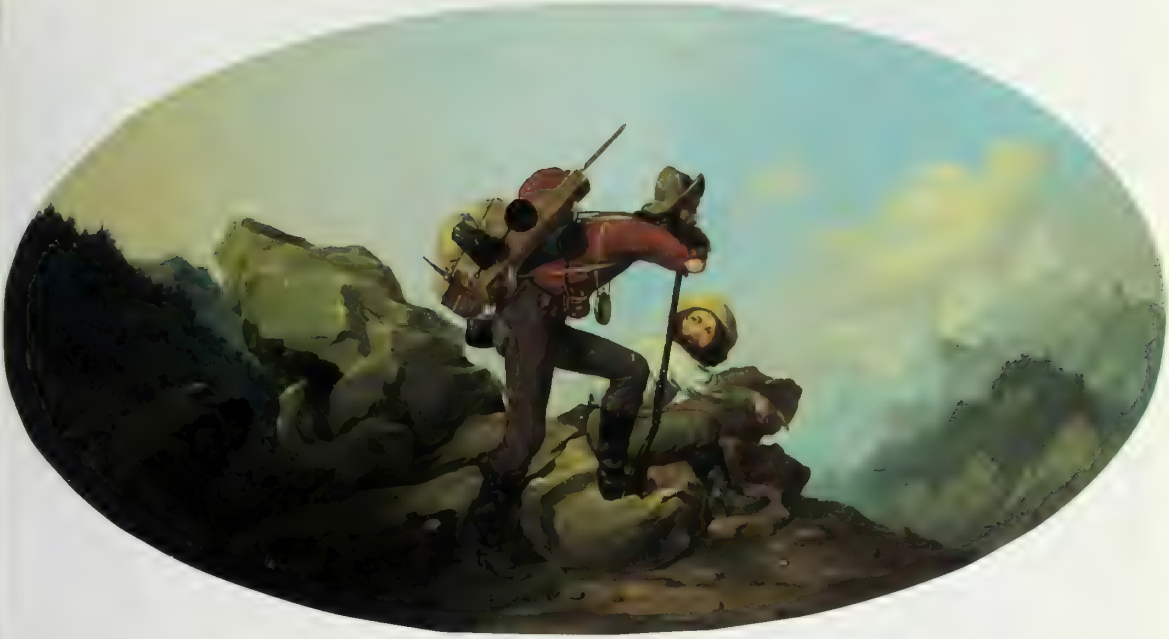


Plate 5. E. Hall Martin, *Mountain Jack and a Wandering Miner,* 1850. Oil on canvas, 39 ½ x 72 in. *Oakland Museum of California, gift of Concours d'Antiques, Art Guild.*

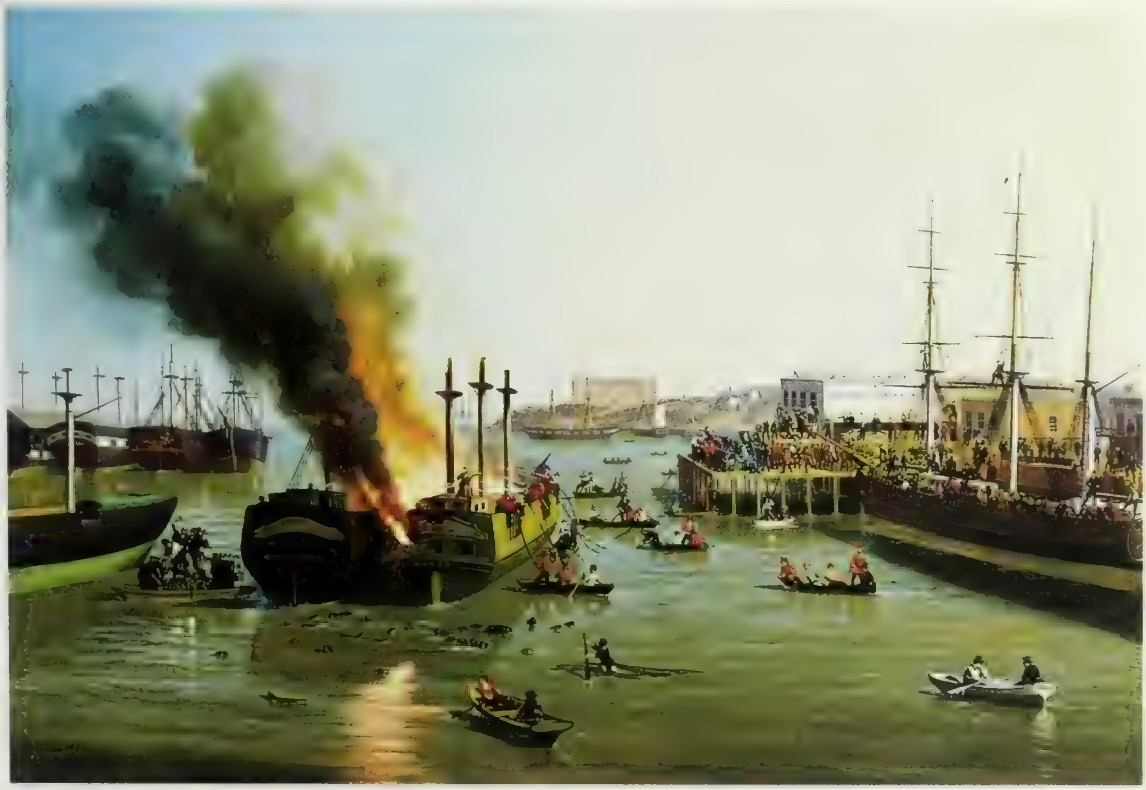


Plate 6. Charles C. Nahl and Arthur Nahl, *Fire in San Francisco Bay,* 1856. Oil on canvas, 26 x 40 in. *Private collection. Photograph courtesy Montgomery Gallery, San Francisco.*

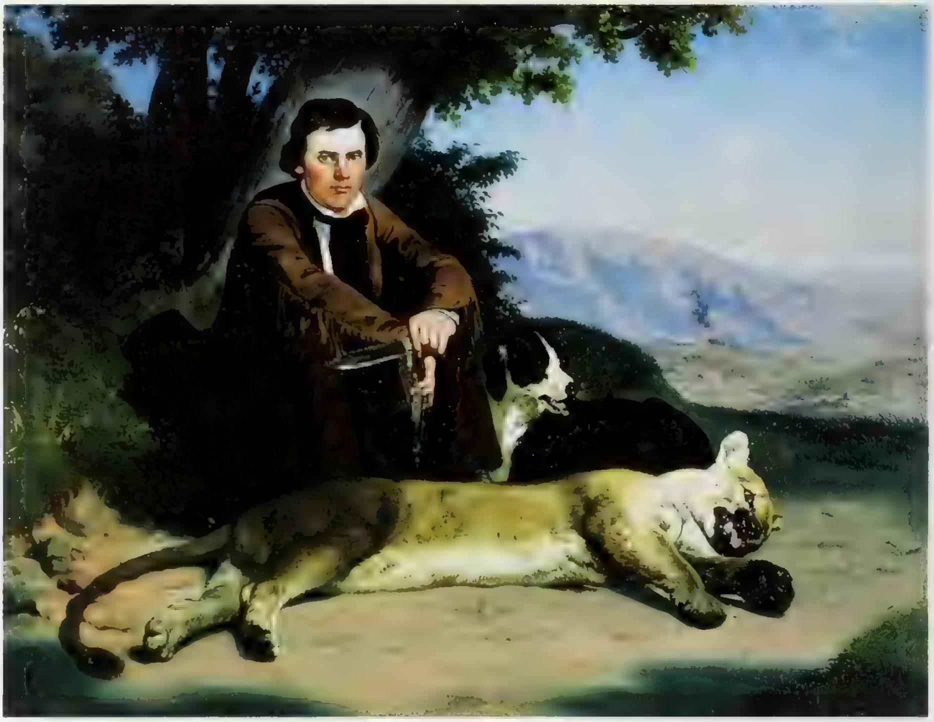


Plate 7. Charles C. Nahl, *Peter Quivey and the Mountain Lion,* 1857. Oil on canvas, 26 x 34 in. *Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, Museum purchase, James E. Harrold, Jr. Bequest Fund and gift of Carol W. Casey, 1998.32.*

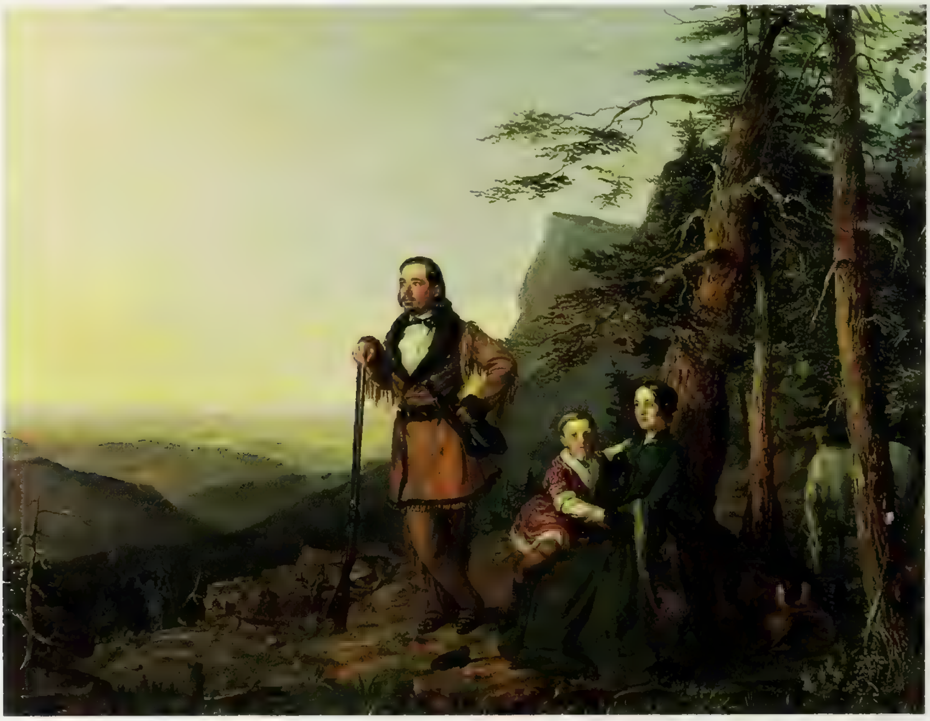


Plate 8. William S. Jewett, *The Promised Land—The Grayson Family,* 1850. Oil on canvas, 50 ¾ x 64 in. *Daniel J. Terra Collection, 5.1994, Terra Museum of American Art, Chicago.*

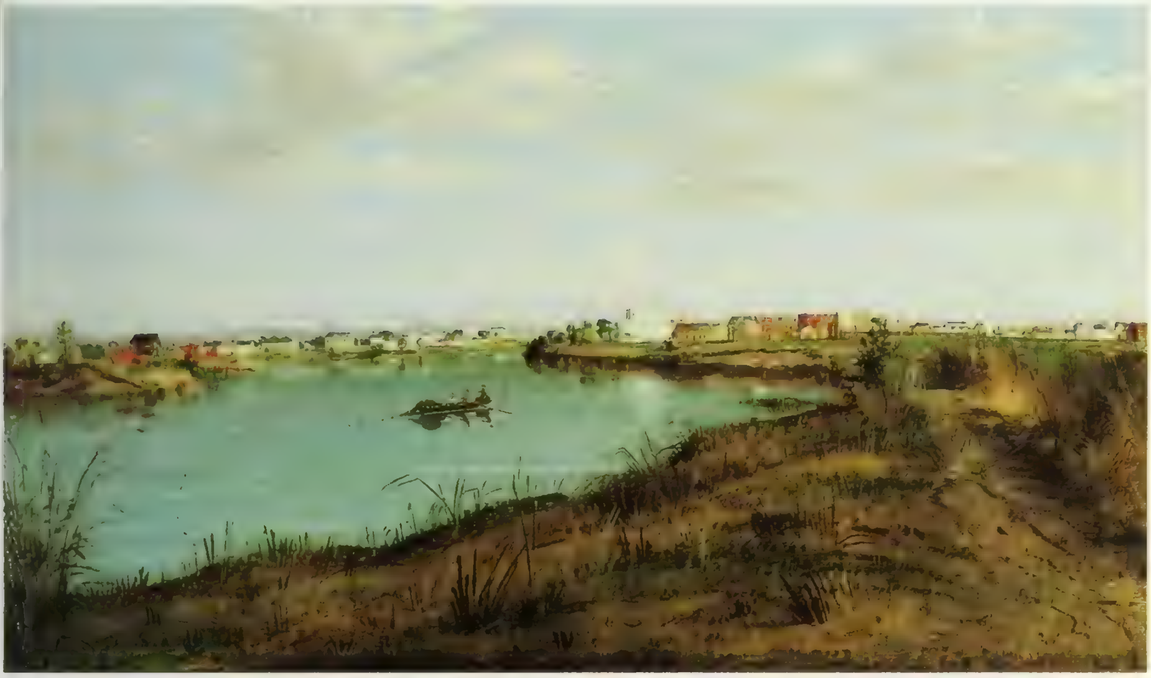


Plate 9. Alburtus D. O. Browere, *View of Stockton,* 1854. Oil on canvas, 16 x 28 in. *Oakland Museum of California, Kahn Collection.*

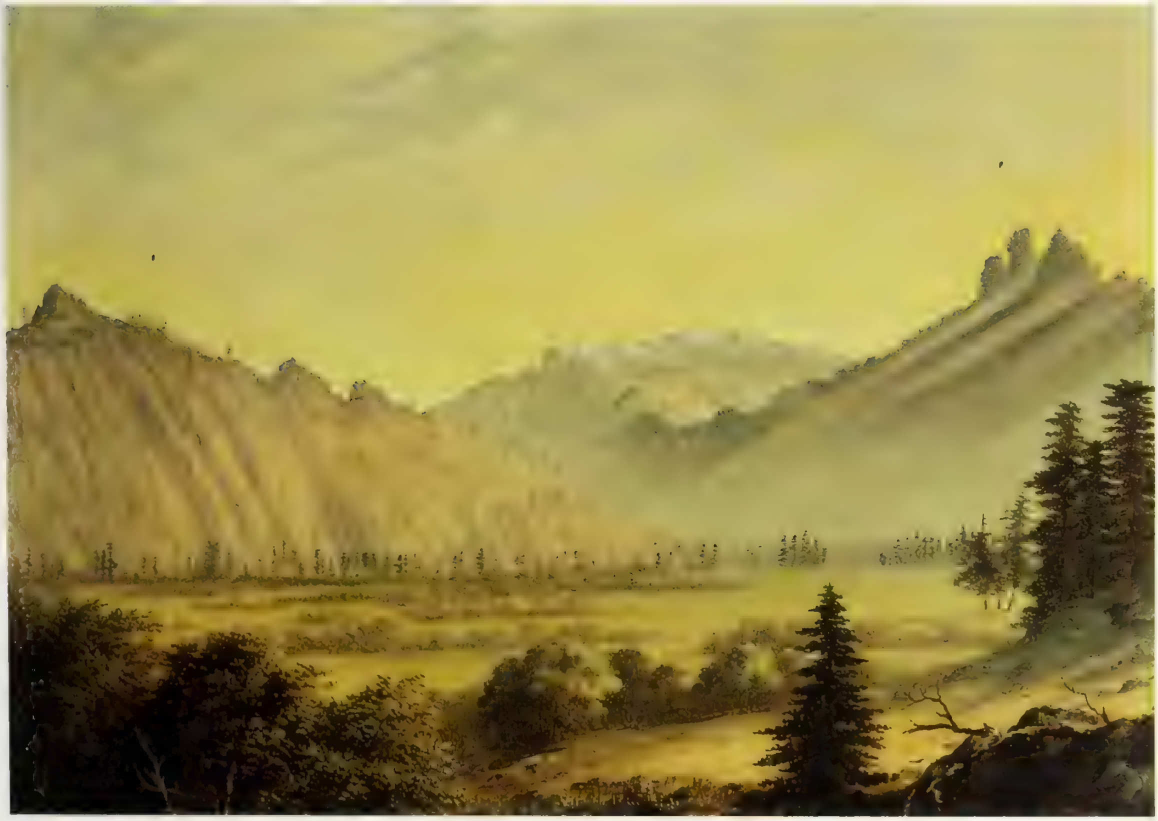


Plate 10. Thomas A. Ayres, *Relief Valley,* ca. 1856–1858. Oil on canvas, 14¼ x 20¼ in. *Jane and Thomas McLaughlin Collection. Photograph courtesy North Point Gallery, San Francisco.*

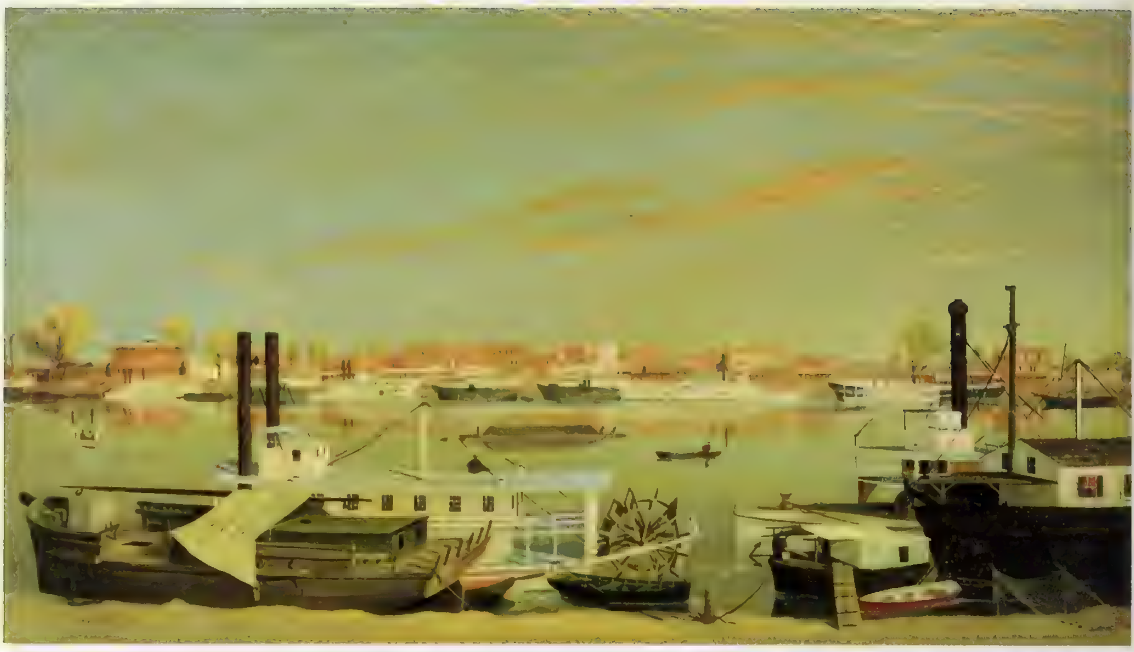


Plate 11. George Tirrell, *View of Sacramento, California, from across the Sacramento River,* undated. Oil on canvas, 27 x 47 ¾ in. *Gift of Maxim Karolik for the M. and M. Karolik Collection of American Paintings, 1815–1865, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.*

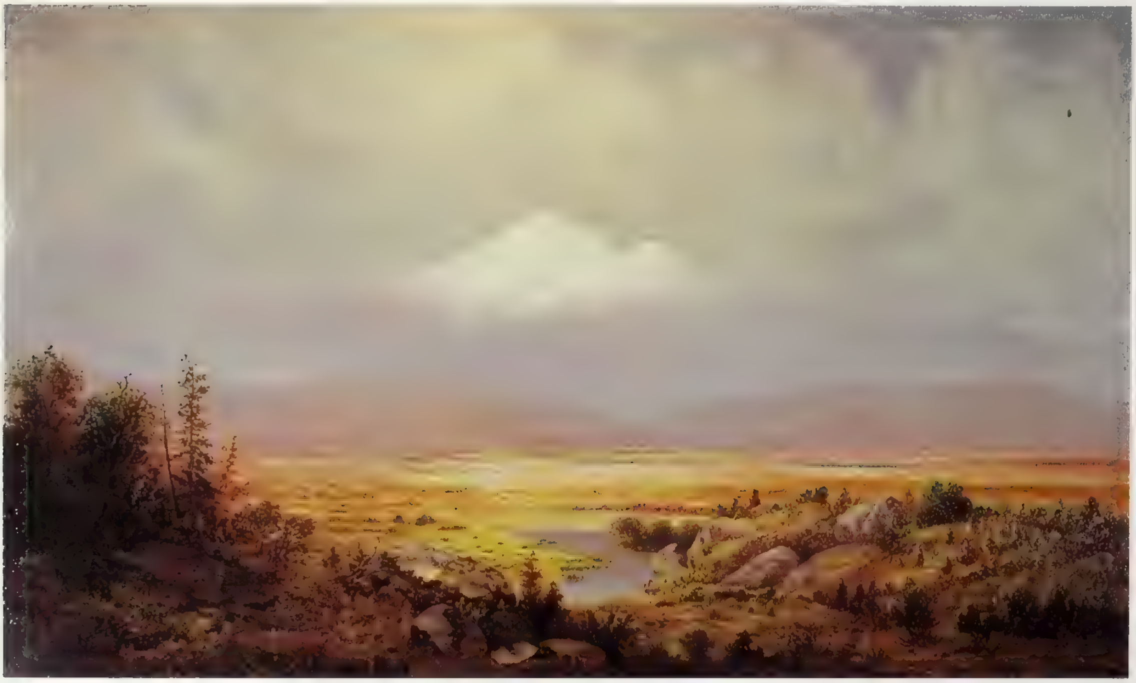


Plate 12. Frederick A. Butman, *Mt. Shasta and Shastina,* ca. 1862–1871. Oil on canvas, 26 x 43 in. *Bancroft Library.*

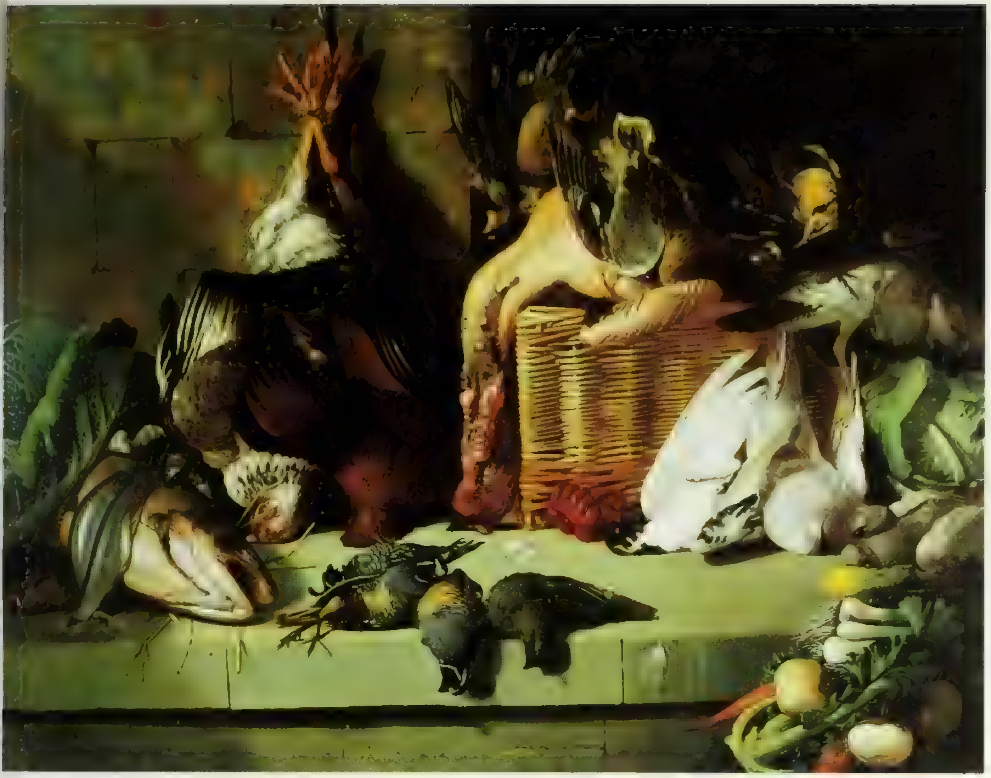


Plate 13. Samuel M. Brookes, *Still Life,* 1862. Oil on canvas, 34 x 44 in. *Crocker Art Museum, Sacramento, Calif.: E. B. Crocker Collection.*

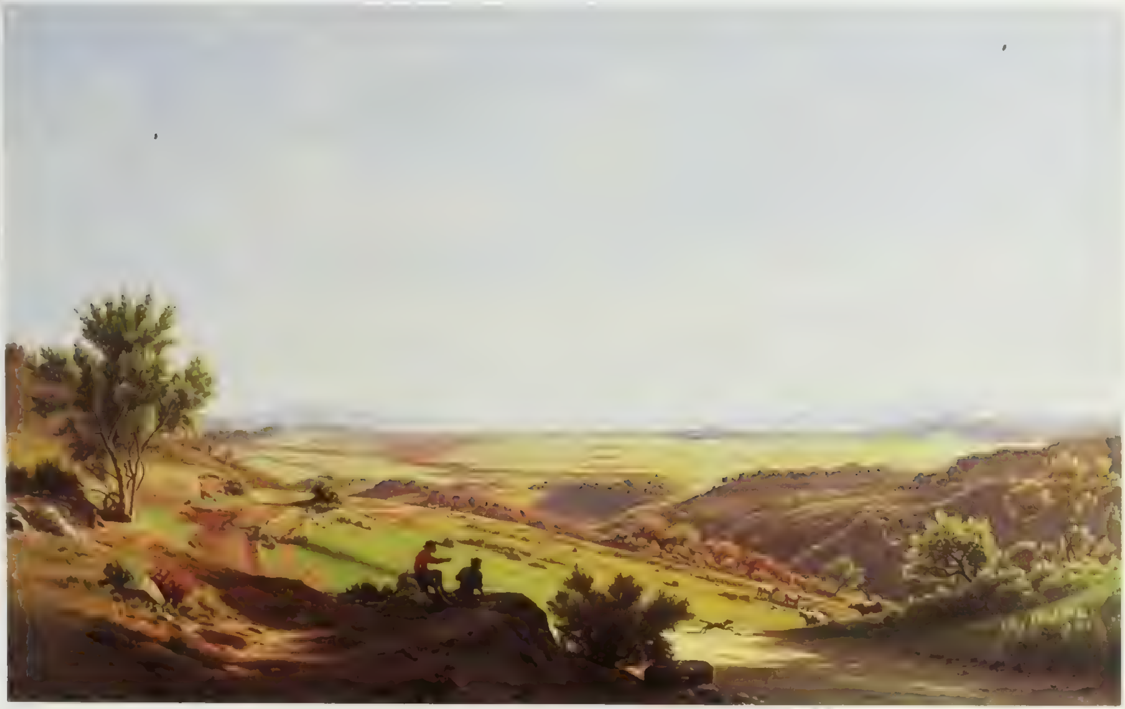


Plate 14. Virgil Williams, *View South from Sonoma Hills toward San Pablo Bay and Mount Tamalpais,* 1864. Oil on canvas, 30¼ x 48 in. *Private collection. Photograph courtesy Montgomery Gallery, San Francisco.*

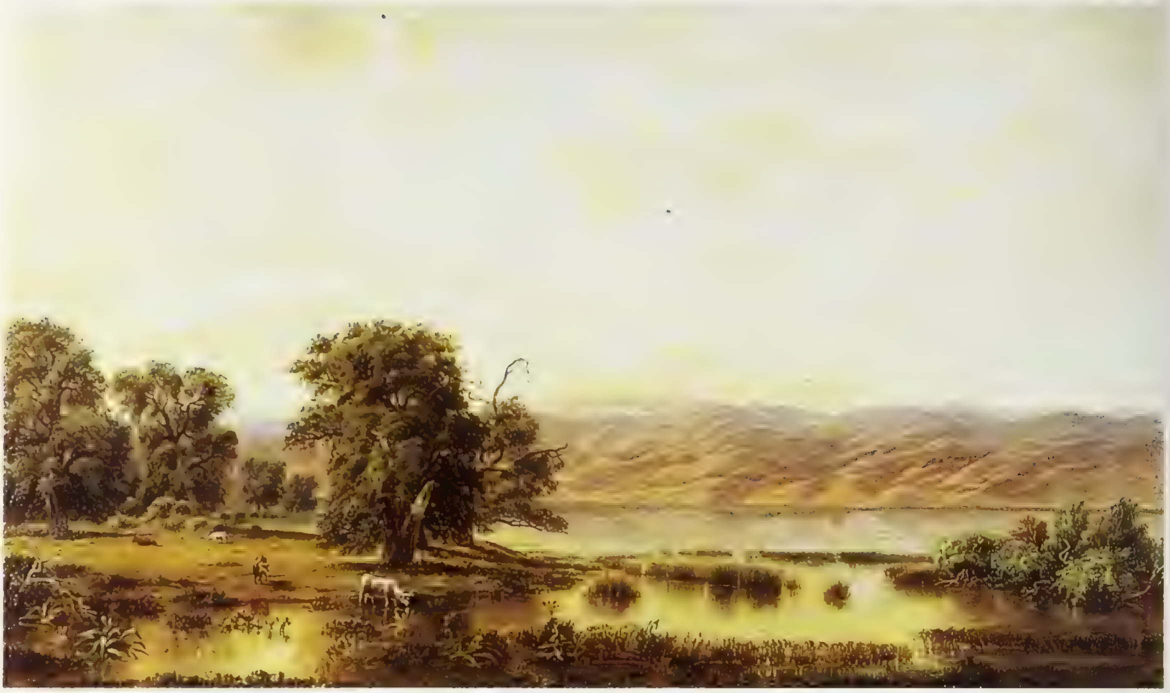


Plate 15. William Marple, *View of Clear Lake,* 1867. Oil on canvas, 18 x 30 in. *Private collection. Photograph courtesy Montgomery Gallery, San Francisco.*

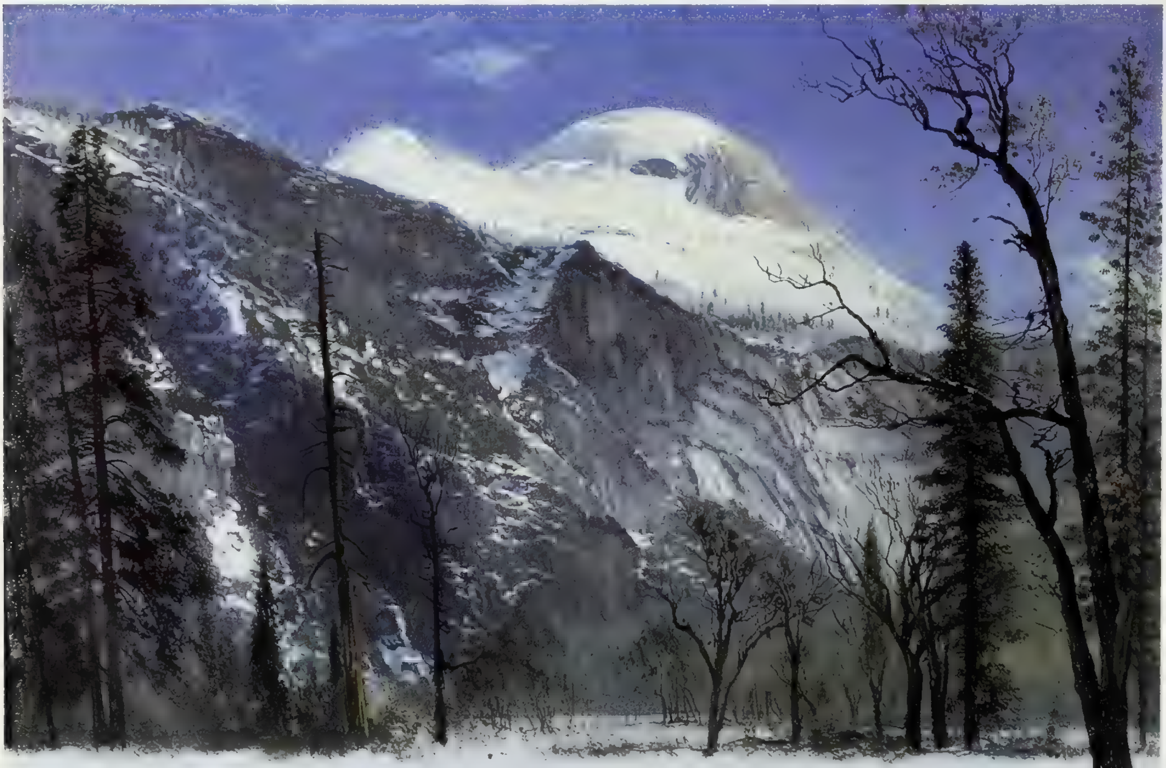


Plate 16. Albert Bierstadt, *Winter in Yosemite Valley,* 1872. Oil on paper, 14 ¼ x 19 ⅛ in. *Garzoli Gallery, San Rafael, Calif.*

approaches to romantic realism, and their paintings also usually testified as much to the shaping power of established pictorial practices as to the wild beauty of California. In the complex interplay of landscape art and landscape experience, painters gradually responded more creatively to local conditions. But as late as 1868 Benjamin Avery felt compelled to counsel that artistic success would come only to those "who, while painting Californian scenery, grasp not its outlines merely, filling them with the color, tone and details of another clime, or with merely conventional strokes but catch its own atmosphere and sentiment, absorb and reproduce its distinctive individuality."[33]

More active than Jewett in exploring the pictorial possibilities of the California landscape were the artist-Argonauts Thomas Ayres and Alburtus D. O. Browere. Browere, born in Tarrytown, New York, was of Dutch ancestry, sturdy and self-reliant, and in 1852 he made the first of two lengthy trips to California. Though he lacked the astounding technical gifts of Nahl, he possessed a resourceful versatility of his own, proclaiming in an advertisement that he not only painted portraits "in the finest style of art," but was prepared to execute "landscapes, scenes from nature, views of mining claims and operations, farms, and pictures of every kind," as well as "ornamental and decorative painting" and "plain and fancy signs, saloon and house painting." Among his many extant pictures, which include portraits, landscapes, and a series of vigorous genre scenes, is *View of Stockton* (plate 9), a charming, luminous painting distinguished by subtle effects of light and atmosphere. Executed in 1854, it shows a prosperous city of brick and wood buildings bordering a channel of the San Joaquin River, and, beyond, glistening in the warm light of the afternoon sun, the snowy peaks of the Sierra Nevada.[34]

Thomas A. Ayres, a native of New Jersey and a fellow passenger of the ill-starred E. Hall Martin on the ship *Panama*, turned his full attention to the California landscape within a year of his arrival in 1849. He traveled widely through the state and made drawings of characteristic scenery from Mount Shasta to the sparkling shores of the San Diego littoral, which he planned to use in the creation of oil paintings. He was the first artist to enter the Yosemite Valley, a member of the pioneer tourist party assembled in the spring of 1855 by the English-born Forty-niner James M. Hutchings, who the following year published several engravings after drawings by Ayres in the first issue of his literary periodical, *Hutchings' California Magazine.* Enthralled by the glories of the Yosemite, the artist returned the following year and spent some two weeks exploring the valley. While thousands of miners toiled in the dusty foothills far below, he delighted in the sublime beauty of grand vistas and towering granite ramparts and in the silvery song of swift-flowing rivers. On one of his excursions he came upon Illilouette Fall and wrote that the water spilled over the cliff "like a gust of living light from heaven." Though Ayres occupied himself endlessly with drawing from nature, he seems never to have opened a studio in California, and he had executed no more than a score of paintings when in 1858, at the age of thirty, he tragically went down with the schooner *Laura Bevan* off Point Dume in a fierce nor'wester. Among his few extant oils is a picture of *Relief Valley* (plate 10), located some thirty miles northeast of Yosemite, along the old emigrant trail, near the headwaters of the Stanislaus River.[35]

In 1854 Ayres collaborated with Thomas H. Smith to produce a panorama titled *California on Canvas*, comprising a series of forty-six scenes that mixed images of urban life with scenes of natural wonder and curiosity. Ayres provided the drawings, which Smith rendered in oil on a long strip of canvas that could be unrolled to reveal the sights one by one. The panorama opened with a view of the Golden Gate and continued on to show Sacramento, the principal towns of the gold fields, and such marvels as Mount Shasta, the summit of the Sierra Nevada, and the Big Trees, and concluded with a dramatic depiction of the San Joaquin River illuminated by moonlight and the fierce blaze of the surrounding tules on fire. Exhibited in August at the Musical Hall in San Francisco, *California on Canvas* proved an enormous success, the audience repeatedly breaking out in applause as the splendid scenery of the state passed before their eyes.[36]

Panoramas, which combined art with entertainment and, potentially, huge profits for artists and promoters, had been popular in the United States since the 1830s, and, not surprisingly, Ayres and Smith's production was but one of a host of works inspired by the discovery of gold and the ensuing fascination with the new El Dorado. As early as September 1849 a *Grand Nautical Panorama* of a voyage around Cape Horn to California opened at Stoppani Hall in New York City. Based on the drawings of William Meyers, a naval gunner and amateur artist, the panorama was said to be particularly popular with women "whose husbands, brothers, lovers, etc. have gone to California." It was swiftly followed by Emmert and Penfield's *Original Panorama of the Gold Mines*, Beale and Craven's *Voyage to California and Return*, and James F. Wilkins's *Moving Mirror of the Overland Trail*. Wilkins first exhibited his grand work in September 1850 to a packed house in Peoria. As the canvas moved across the stage, "a stillness deep as the tomb" overcame the audience, it was reported, "and with open mouths and stretching necks," they watched as prairies gave way to deserts and mountains, until "anyone with a little imagination would actually believe that he was on the way to California."[37]

The first panorama shown in California was the work of Paul Emmert, a Swiss-born artist who was living in New York City when word of gold sent him speeding west. Said to be nearly a mile in length, Emmert's moving canvas featured representative scenic views and images of the mining districts, as well as a dramatic depiction of the city of Sacramento inundated by the muddy waters of one of the terrible floods that periodically swept the Central Valley. Exhibited in the spring of 1852 at the Theatre of Varieties in San Francisco, it enjoyed a run of several weeks, confirming that Californians—who for the most part were strangers in a strange land—were as curious as other Americans about the wonders of the Golden State. Emmert's panorama was followed by others, of which the most celebrated was the work of the Boston-born Forty-niner George Tirrell. Although scenic artists were typically limited to broad effects, Tirrell was capable of strong drawing and sensitive, luminous effects of light and color, as can be seen in his *View of Sacramento* (plate 11), which illustrates, as well, the enormous importance of California's great river as a major artery of western travel and commerce. Tirrell first unrolled his huge panorama in the spring of 1860 at Tucker's Academy of Music on Montgomery Street in San Francisco. One critic declared it "a beautiful work of art, and worthy the attention of *connoiseurs.*" Among the many Californians who came to see it over the course of several weeks was the governor of the state, John Downey; and, even today, reading a description of the panorama's many scenes—"varied by constantly changing natural effects of sunrise, noonday, sunset, moonlight, firelight, rain, snow, etc., and enlivened by upwards of 3,000 characteristic figures"—suggests an enjoyable evening's entertainment.[38]

The first Californian to earn his living as a landscape painter was Frederick Butman. A self-taught artist, he struck out from his native Maine in 1857 and began his career in San Francisco inauspiciously, putting in scenic backgrounds for the portraitist James Wise. Two years later, he sprang to prominence when several of his paintings of Yosemite Valley were exhibited in a shop window on Montgomery Street and received highly favorable notice in the local press. Enterprising and energetic, Butman traveled through the state and up into the Pacific Northwest, making open-air studies in color of Lake Tahoe, the snowy peaks of the Sierra Nevada, Monterey Bay, the Golden Gate, Mount Hood, and other picturesque scenery, which he used in the execution of his studio paintings. Among his best work is *Mt. Shasta and Shastina* (plate 12), a dramatic depiction of the "King of the Mountains," in which a dark rocky foreground contrasts with the golden tones of the upland plain and leads the eye to the glistening glaciers of the majestic peak itself. Butman's paintings appealed strongly to Californians and until the end of the Civil War "gave him a greater share of popularity and success than was enjoyed by any other painter." His pictures graced the walls of grand houses and fashionable hotels, and he was said to have been paid as much as $8,000 for one of his canvases.[39]

Butman's success as a landscape painter stemmed not only from his skill and enterprise but from the "rapid, monstrous maturity" of California, which had undergone enormous changes since the first flush days of gold. At the date of his arrival, the population of the state stood at 300,000, of whom one out of six lived in San Francisco. Many were Argonauts who had stayed on after their dreams of riches died, but most were like Butman, part of the great migration—from the East, from

Europe, from Asia—that continued on year after year. Although a third of Californians still labored in the mines, the state's economy had grown and diversified with commerce, agriculture, and industry all contributing to the wealth of the Golden State. In 1859, the year Butman established his reputation, the Irish prospectors McLaughlin and O'Riley made their fabulous strike in the wastes of western Nevada, and over the following two decades the Comstock Lode yielded four hundred million dollars in silver and gold, much of it flowing to San Francisco, which supplied the men, machinery, and capital for the hardrock mines.

Although San Francisco had been a dusty village of some sixty adobe and frame buildings on the eve of the Gold Rush, it had soon become a major American port, and by the time the state entered the age of silver, it had taken on the appearance of a city far older than its actual years. Substantial brick and stone edifices lined busy thoroughfares of commerce, and elegant houses graced the stylish neighborhoods of rich industrialists, financiers, and merchants—evidence of a prosperity that promised a bright future for the fine arts. "As we increase in wealth and stability," the *Alta California* sanguinely observed in late 1859, "our citizens have more time to devote to matters of taste, and life becomes less a mere scramble for dollars, while what tends to public refinement, and the cultivation of the beautiful, is patronised with increased liberality."[40]

Critical to the growth of patronage was the rise of galleries and exhibitions, which brought public attention to art and promoted sales. As early as the autumn of 1851 a collection of California landscapes was displayed at the Athenaeum on Sacramento Street in San Francisco, and a few years later Marvin & Hitchcock's Pioneer Book Store on Montgomery Street began to advertise engravings and paintings among its stock of goods. But it was not until the appearance of shops devoted to framing, gilding, and the sale of artists' materials—which, by tradition, hung pictures in their windows—that Californians could regularly see paintings by local artists displayed. Particularly prominent among these concerns was the firm of Jones, Wooll & Sutherland, carvers and gilders, established in the mid-1850s. In addition to selling frames and artists' materials, the partners handled engravings, lithographs, and paintings, and it was their exhibition of the Yosemite views of Frederick Butman in 1859 that launched the artist's career in California.[41]

On the evening of 11 January 1865, on the second floor of Jones, Wooll & Sutherland's building at 312 Montgomery Street, the newly founded California Art Union threw open the doors of the first true gallery in the American West. At the gala reception, members and their guests sipped champagne and circulated through the room, admiring the dozens of paintings, both for sale and on loan from private collections, that lined the walls. In one of the many speeches given that night, the gathering was reminded of the remarkable transformation California had undergone since the days of gold, "when nobody intended to make his permanent home

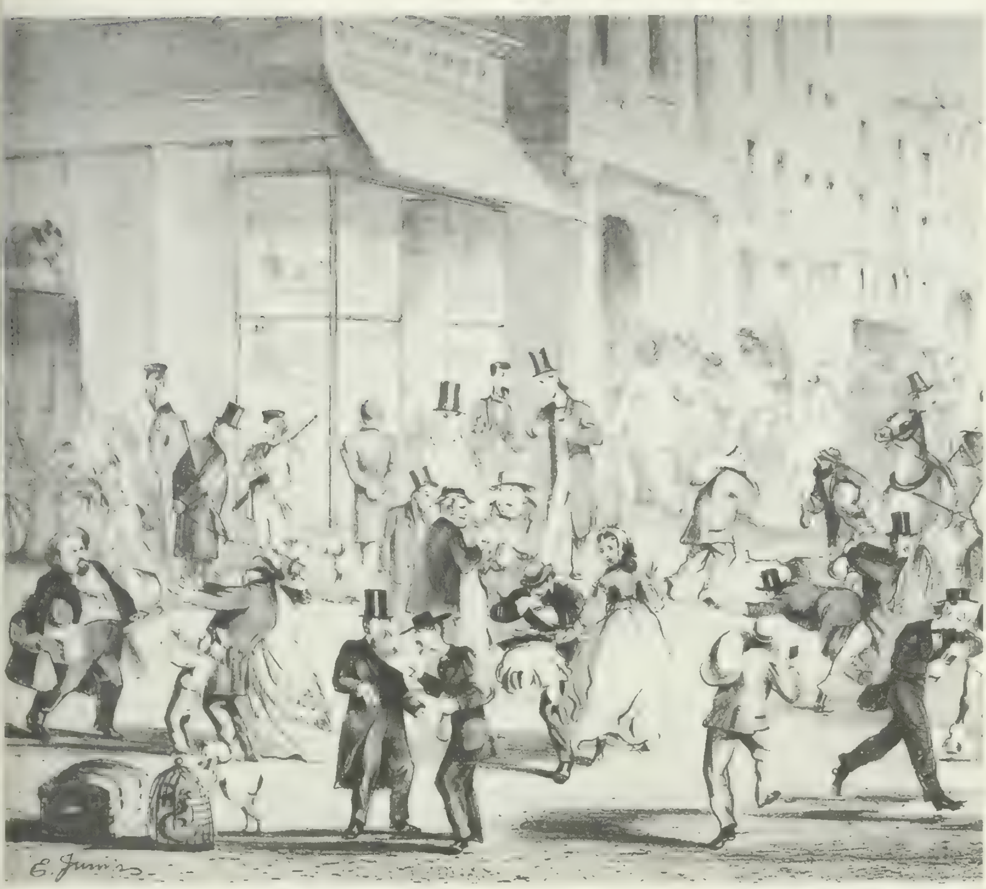


Figure 5. Amidst the hustle and bustle of Steamer Day in San Francisco, a lone passerby admires the paintings hung in the window of Snow & Roos, purveyors of artists' materials, in a broadly humorous lithograph by Edward Jump published in 1866. *California Historical Society; gift of E. G. Schmidell, FN-06083.*

here." "First came the church," declared the speaker, as he traced the rise of civilization on the far edge of the continent, "then the school, then permanent homes, and finally art."[42]

The California Art Union failed by year's end, but by that date there were a half dozen or more picture dealers in San Francisco. Particularly notable were the firms of Adrien Gensoul and Roos & Wunderlich—later Snow & Roos (figure 5)—which at the close of the decade established the first commercial gallery in the city above its shop on Kearny Street. Climbing the stairs on opening day in April 1869, San Franciscans were treated to an exhibition of more than a hundred paintings, chiefly landscapes by local artists, hung beneath an arched ceiling richly ornamented with frescoes after designs by Nahl and others. By day, sunlight streamed through a baffled skylight, washing the walls of the large airy gallery with soft, even light, and

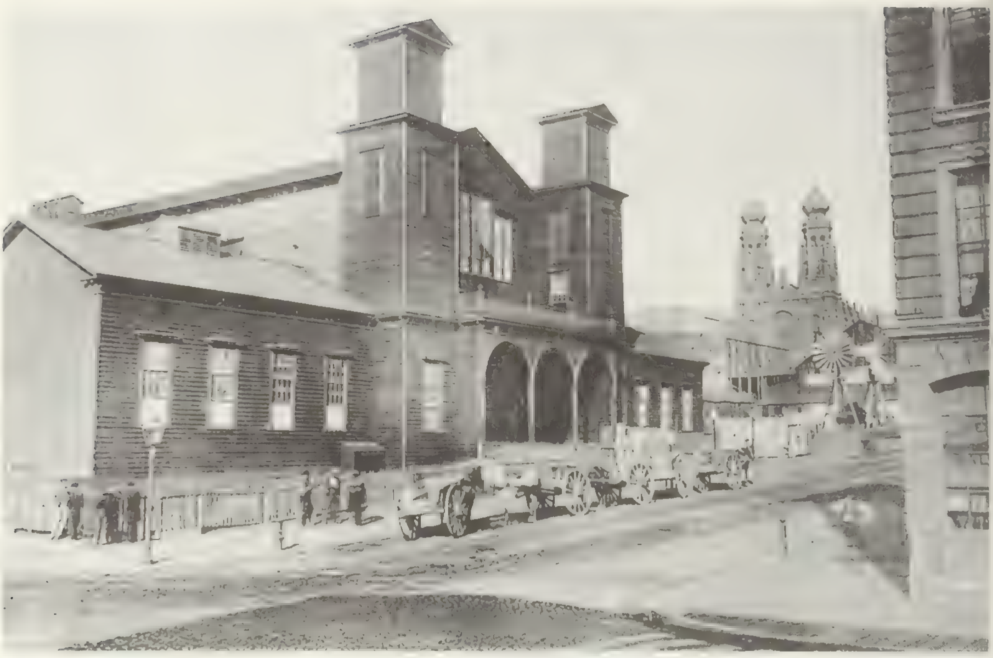


Figure 6. Pedestrians gather outside the pavilion constructed by the Mechanics' Institute in 1865 at the corner of Geary and Stockton streets in San Francisco for its fifth fair. First held in 1857, these popular exhibitions, which customarily opened with a display of fireworks, included works of art among the countless examples of the state's industries, giving Californians the opportunity to view paintings by local artists, as well as by other American and European painters. *California Historical Society, FN-27058.*

at night, gas jets illuminated the room. "There must be much taste for art in a city of 150,000 inhabitants," proudly declared the *Alta California,* "in which dealers in pictures and artists' materials find it profitable to establish a free art gallery full of fine paintings."[43]

For many years Californians had their best opportunity to see works of art, both local and foreign, in the exhibitions sponsored by the Mechanics' Institute of San Francisco (figure 6). First held in 1857, the fairs were enormously popular with Californians, who could spend days wandering the long aisles jammed with displays of mechanical, agricultural, and domestic industry, examining a model of a windmill, a plan for a quartz mill, a white silk embroidered vest. Drawings and paintings were initially hung with little care, but at the fourth fair, in 1864, a separate pavilion was constructed for the fine arts exhibit, with one of the four galleries reserved for the work of California artists. The pavilion proved a huge attraction, particularly the hall devoted to regional art. "The rooms were thronged night and day," recalled Benjamin Avery, and the display "led to the sale of many good pictures, and elicited commissions for more."[44]

Among the artists who contributed pictures to the California section were several of what was becoming the old guard, Forty-niners like the Nahl brothers and Stephen Shaw. But the exhibit's real appeal was the work of the newer men, who, in addition to prudently displaying their skill in portraiture, filled the gallery with landscape, genre, and still-life paintings. In addition to Frederick Butman, this "second generation" included Fortunato Arriola, Gideon J. Denny, E. Wood Perry, Armand Teisseire, and Thomas Hill, who had begun his career in Massachusetts ornamenting carriages but who had recently shown some of the promise that would ultimately make him one of the state's leading landscape painters. Samuel M. Brookes, an English-born artist who had been active in the Midwest before coming to California, also exhibited examples of his work, most notably a selection of still lifes. He had established his preeminence in this field shortly after his arrival in San Francisco in 1862 with the eponymously titled *Still Life* (plate 13), which later entered the huge collection of Judge E. B. Crocker of Sacramento. A large formal composition that testifies to Brookes's expert draftsmanship as well as to his close study of the seventeenth-century Dutch tradition, it portrays a sumptuous selection of fish, fowl, and vegetables from the local market, including the regional delicacies of western meadowlarks and California quail.

The most prominent artist to exhibit at the 1864 fair was Juan B. Wandesforde, who had studied in his native England with John Varley and who had enjoyed the prestige of membership in the Century Association in New York before coming west. Equally talented was the cultivated and cosmopolitan Yankee Virgil Williams, who was then working on a commission that was destined to play an important role in advancing art and shaping public taste in California. In 1862, while living in Rome, he had met Robert B. Woodward, a high-minded westerner on the Grand Tour. Woodward, who owned the well-known San Francisco temperance hotel the What Cheer House, had been "deeply impressed" by the paintings he had seen in Holland and Florence and Rome, and he was eager to establish the beginnings of a gallery of art that would "one day vie with the best collections of the eastern cities." He found an ally in Williams, who quickly assembled a group of some forty canvases, many of which were copies of masterworks from his own hand, and then accompanied Woodward to San Francisco.[45]

Taking a room at the What Cheer House, Williams settled into the rhythms of local life, painting landscapes and genre scenes and overseeing the construction of the art gallery and other attractions at Woodward's estate at Fourteenth and Mission streets. The gallery, designed by the distinguished architect John Gaynor and "frescoed after the Pompeiian manner by Poldemann," was chiefly hung with European pictures and copies of European pictures but included the work of several California artists, most notably Williams himself. A contemporary description of one of these canvases, *Napa Valley,* is highly suggestive of the picture now titled *View South* *from Sonoma Hills toward San Pablo Bay and Mount Tamalpais* (plate 14). An elegant, spacious composition, the painting is the earliest pictorial work to play upon the Mediterranean analogy first evoked by the explorer John C. Frémont, who delighted in the striking similarities of light and landscape—the earthy, radiant warmth, the bright blue skies—that California shared with Italy. The collection was first viewed by San Franciscans in November 1864 at a benefit for the United States Sanitary Commission, and two years later Woodward permanently opened the gallery (figure 7) and surrounding grounds to the public. Although much of the art was second-rate, as Williams later admitted, the collection nonetheless helped to introduce Californians to the long tradition of European painting, and for years the gallery was a popular resort for culture-conscious San Franciscans.[46]

Following the 1864 Mechanics' Institute Fair, interest in art increased rapidly in California. Decades later the landscape painter William Keith stated that an "art wave" had swept over the state. "Everything and anything in the semblance of a picture sold then," he fondly recalled. "The people had money, had more of it than they needed, so they bought art works generously." In 1866 William Marple, a Forty-niner who had been painting houses and signs in Placerville, was so encouraged by this "art wave" that he came to San Francisco and launched out as an artist. Though self-taught and far out of the artistic mainstream for much of his life, he was a talented painter, as suggested by one of his early works, *View of Clear Lake* (plate 15), and in 1868 he received a medal for the best landscape in oil exhibited at the Mechanics' Institute Fair. The rise of patronage in San Francisco similarly emboldened Harvey O. Young, who in 1867 turned from painting carriages to painting scenery, and the following year the wood engraver William Keith first advertised himself as a landscape painter, as did Norton Bush, a student in his youth of the famed Jasper Cropsey, who despite significant local recognition as an artist had spent fifteen years working at the San Francisco Gas Company.[47]

The remarkable growth of patronage culminated in the early 1870s, when San Francisco emerged as one of the leading art centers in the country. Contributing to this efflorescence was the completion in 1869 of the transcontinental railroad, which brought countless painters west, including such major figures as Martin Johnson Heade, Samuel Colman, James Hamilton, William Bradford, and the master of the "heroic style" of landscape, Albert Bierstadt. Although most were excursionists, eager to paint the storied scenery of the Golden State and then return home, some remained for months, stimulating local painters and helping to create enthusiasm for art at all levels of society. Bierstadt, who arrived in July 1871, apparently contemplated staying not much longer than he had in 1863, when on the eve of his rise to fame he camped for six or seven weeks in Yosemite Valley. But his visit ultimately stretched out to more than two years, as he wandered the state making open-air studies (plate

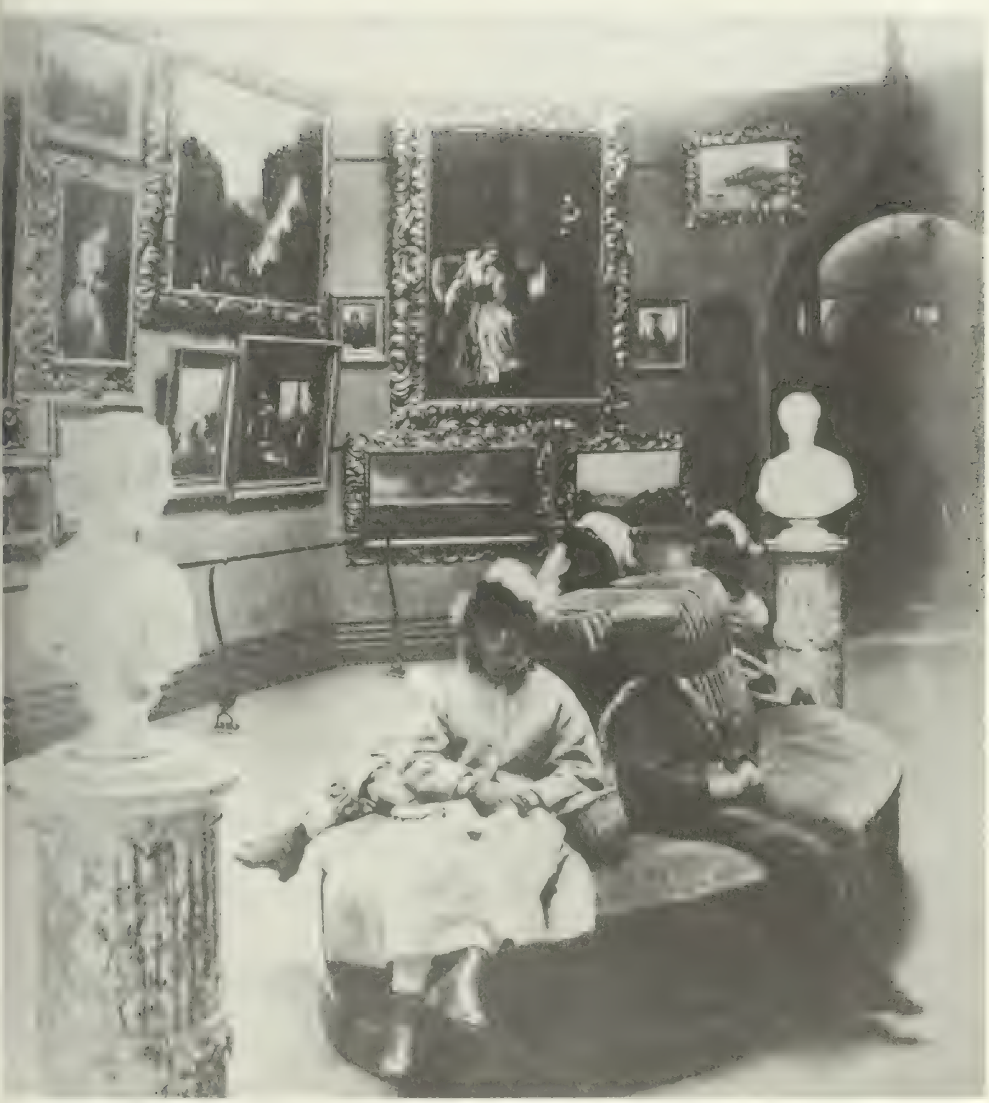


Figure 7. Youthful art lovers take in the display of paintings and sculpture at the art gallery at Woodward's Gardens in San Francisco. Opened to the public in the mid-1860s by the wealthy Robert Woodward, the gallery was largely composed of European works, and though many of the paintings were copies or of questionable merit, the collection played an important role in the advancement of culture in California. *California Historical Society, FN-00411.*

16), which he worked up into the splendid canvases that added to his already lustrous reputation in America and abroad.

Shortly after Bierstadt arrived in California, he was made an honorary member of the San Francisco Art Association. Founded that spring for "the promotion of Painting, Sculpture and Fine Arts akin thereto," the Art Association proved popular at once, and within two years more than seven hundred Californians had joined. Much of the organization's success sprang from its series of receptions, which united the aspirations of artists and society. Held at the Art Association's rooms several times a year, these festive gatherings gave members and their guests the opportunity to see the newest work of local artists, who, for their part, could meet wealthy and cultivated Californians in a congenial atmosphere of champagne and musical entertainment. By the summer of 1872 the *Overland Monthly* could credit much of "the very noticeable increase of the general interest taken in art matters" to the association's receptions, observing that they not only had "given an enlivening impulse to the *esprit de corps* of the professionals, but tended to make art popular by making it talked about and fashionable."[48]

In February 1874, less than three years after its formation, the San Francisco Art Association realized one of its principal goals, "the establishment of an Academy or School of Design." The curriculum of the school reflected the experience and values of the first director, Virgil Williams, and was modeled on traditional lines, with students beginning their studies by copying engravings and then moving on to drawing from plaster casts of classical Greek and Roman sculpture. The first art academy founded in the American West, the California School of Design affirmed that support for the fine arts had reached maturity in the distant reaches of the young nation.[49]

Not long after the first class of forty students assembled to learn the fundamentals of solid draftsmanship in the school's sunny room on Pine Street, Benjamin P. Avery sat down to compose an article on California art for the New York journal *The Aldine.* As a green youth of twenty-one, Avery had struck out in 1849 for El Dorado, and having experienced firsthand the tumultuous history of the Golden State, it was with no little pride that he wrote of the growth of refinement and taste, of "a very marked aesthetic movement," in San Francisco. In tracing the rise of art, he focused on the School of Design, declaring that nearly two centuries had passed after the first European settlement of New York before the city had an academy of fine art, and that Boston had waited even longer. "Yet San Francisco, which twenty-five years ago was a hamlet of three hundred inhabitants," he wrote, "can already boast that it has done more for art culture than either of the two older cities had done within the early memory of men whose heads are not yet gray." And, indeed, in this lively cosmopolitan city could be found an active colony of painters—some with national reputations—an art association, an art academy, fashionable galleries, and important private collections of American and European paintings. Yet only a quarter century had passed since William Redmond Ryan had pulled out into the harbor in search of the brushes and colors he was unable to find anywhere in the wind-blown, helter-skelter village teetering on the edge of history.[50]

NOTES

1. William Redmond Ryan, *Personal Adventures in Upper and Lower California, in 1848–9*, 2 vols. (London: William Shoberl, 1850), 2:230–35. The quotations are from pp. 234 and 232.

Modern inquiry into the art and artists of the age of gold began with Jeanne Van Nostrand, whose "Sights in the Gold Region and Scenes by the Way" (M.A. thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1939) formed the basis for much of her *California Pictorial: A History of Contemporary Pictures, 1769 to 1859* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948), co-authored with Edith M. Coulter and published on the centennial of the gold discovery. She subsequently continued her study of the period, incorporating her findings and those of other pioneering scholars, such as Elliot Evans, Joseph Armstrong Baird, Jr., and Moreland Stevens, in "Painting in Eldorado, 1849–1859," the longest of four chapters in her book *The First Hundred Years of Painting in California, 1775–1875* (San Francisco: John Howell Books, 1980). Together with the volume's appendix of brief biographies and references, it formed an invaluable contribution to the field, and despite numerous errors of fact, it has long served as a guide and a reference. Unfortunately, for more than a decade the studies begun by Jeanne Van Nostrand have languished, with historians of California art focusing their attention chiefly on the open-air painting of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Moreover, most discussions of gold-rush art that have appeared in broader studies of California and western art have contributed little that is new to the field, apart from interpretive readings—often highly imaginative and not rooted in historical fact—of paintings and prints. A welcome exception to this neglect is Janice T. Driesbach, Harvey L. Jones, and Katherine Church Holland, *Art of the Gold Rush* (Berkeley: University of California Press, in association with the Oakland Museum of California and the Crocker Art Museum, 1998), published on the sesquicentennial of the discovery. It reproduces both little-known images and familiar works, as well as provides new information, and will perhaps awaken new interest in the subject.

For gold-rush graphics, the standard sources have long been Harry T. Peters, *California on Stone* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran and Co., 1935), and Joseph Armstrong Baird, Jr., *California's Pictorial Letter Sheets, 1849–1869* (San Francisco: David Magee, 1967). Though in need of updating, a still useful reference for researchers is Joseph Armstrong Baird, Jr., and Ellen Schwartz, *Northern California Art: An Interpretive Bibliography to 1915* (Davis: Library Associates, University Library, University of California, 1977). For biographical information, a recent, if not entirely reliable, compendium is Edan Milton Hughes, *Artists in California, 1786–1940*, 2nd ed. (San Francisco: Hughes Publishing Co., 1989).

My own work is based largely on research among primary materials, as suggested by the notes that follow. Although I cite sources for specific biographical information relating to my narrative and occasionally draw attention to useful biographical sources or to significant errors in secondary studies, I have made no attempt to include comprehensive references for the artists discussed. For bibliographies of this sort, the reader is directed to the works previously mentioned.

2. Quoted in Robert Glass Cleland, *A History of California: The American Period* (New York: Macmillan, 1922), 273; San Francisco *Picayune*, 6 December 1850, in Kenneth M. Johnson, ed., *San Francisco as It Is: Gleanings from the* Picayune (Georgetown, Calif.: Talisman Press, 1964), 97.

3. Ryan, *Personal Adventures*, 1:v, 2:131, 239–40, 241–42. Van Nostrand, *First Hundred Years*, 28–29, 120, has biographical information on this little-known artist, though her account of his California career is inconsistent in many regards with that set forth by Ryan himself.

4. Coit to Harriet Frances Coit, 29 April 1849, in George P. Hammond, ed., *Digging for Gold Without a Shovel: The Letters of Daniel Wadsworth Coit from Mexico City, 1848–1851* (Denver: Old West Publishing Co., 1967), 70. Almost nothing is known of Prendergast. He arrived in 1848, according to Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California*, 7 vols. (San Francisco: History Co., 1884–90), 4:291, and was active in California until about 1852.

5. *New York Tribune*, 22 June 1849.

6. Ibid.

7. Bayard Taylor, *Eldorado, or, Adventures in the Path of Empire*, 2 vols. (New York: George P. Putnam, 1850), 1:61; *New York Tribune*, 20 October 1849; Henry W. French, *Art and Artists in Connecticut* (Boston: Lee & Shepard, 1879), 60.

8. J. D. Borthwick, *Three Years in California* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1857), 162. The public library of Santa Cruz, California, has a first edition of Borthwick's book, formerly owned by the Territorial Pioneers of California, in which an early reader, presumably an Argonaut, wrote in the margin of the page quoted, "One man made $18,000 drawing pictures in the mines." Although J. D., as he liked to be called, wrote that he left for California in 1851, his biographers point out that he actually arrived in September of the previous year. See R. E. Mather and F. E. Boswell, *John David Borthwick: Artist of the Gold Rush* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989), 25.

9. Borthwick, *Three Years in California*, 320–21.

10. Letter of William S. Jewett, 28 January 1850, in Elliot Evans, ed., "Some Letters of William S. Jewett, California Artist," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 23 (June 1944): 160. Jewett was not a good speller.

11. Letter of William S. Jewett, 24 February 1850, ibid., 163, 164.

12. For Barbieri, see Bruce Kamerling, "California's Leonardo: The Portraits of Signor Barbieri," *California History* 66 (December 1987): 262–77.

13. Edward Washington McIlhany, *Recollections of a '49er* (Kansas City, Mo.: Hailman Printing Co., 1908), 9–23, 44–53. Although the artist printed his name "Tom More" on the verso of the canvas, McIlhany uses the spelling Moore, as does David Morris Potter, ed., *Trail to California: The Overland Journal of Vincent Geiger and Wakeman Bryarly* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945), 11, who examined his military record.

14. A. Delano, *Life on the Plains and Among the Diggings* (Auburn, N.Y.: Miller, Orton & Mulligan, 1854), 292.

15. Borthwick, *Three Years in California*, 202–203.

16. [Louise Amelia Knapp Smith Clappe], *California in 1852: The Letters of Dame Shirley*, ed. Carl I. Wheat (San Francisco: Grabhorn Press, 1933), 36; letter of William S. Jewett, 28 January 1850, in Evans, "Some Letters," 162; Nahl to his father and stepmother, [1853], trans.

Hermann Friedlander, Charles C. Nahl Letters, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

17. George D. Dornin, *Thirty Years Ago, 1849–1879* [Berkeley, 1879], 8; *Alta California* (San Francisco), 7 and 11 January 1850; *Sacramento Union*, 23 December 1851.

18. *Sacramento Transcript*, 20 December 1850. The Forty-niner and amateur artist J. Goldsborough Bruff wrote in his diary on 6 December 1850 that he had made the acquaintance of Martin, whom he characterized as "a very clever artist." He admired several paintings Martin had in his studio, all of which he thought good, making reference to the work reproduced here. Georgia Willis Read and Ruth Gaines, eds., *Gold Rush: The Journals, Drawings, and Other Papers of J. Goldsborough Bruff*, 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944), 2:936.

19. B. P. Avery, "Art Beginnings on the Pacific," Part I, *Overland Monthly*, o.s., 1 (July 1868): 30. On 5 May 1855 Governor John Bigler signed the bill purchasing the painting *Major General John Augustus Sutter* (California Department of Parks and Recreation), which for many years hung in the State Capitol. Although the Assembly bill had been amended in the Senate, requiring Jewett to furnish a portrait of the Mexican War hero General John E. Wool without further compensation, Bigler approved the bill reluctantly, complaining that the amount appropriated exceeded "the value of the labor performed," and warning that "the financial condition of the State precludes the expenditure of large sums." California Assembly, *Journal of the Sixth Session* (Sacramento: B. B. Redding, State Printer, 1855), 853.

20. William G. Johnston, *Overland to California* (Oakland: Biobooks, 1948), 184; Frank Marryat, *Mountains and Molehills, or Recollections of a Burnt Journal* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1855), 42; Friedrich Gerstäcker, *Scenes of Life in California*, trans. George Cosgrove (San Francisco: John Howell, 1942), 72; Gerstäcker, *California Gold Mines* (Oakland: Biobooks, 1946), 68.

21. *Alta California*, 6 March 1850; San Francisco *Picayune*, 12 September 1850, in Johnson, *San Francisco as It Is*, 44.

22. *Alta California*, 22 March and 6 September 1849, 28 January and 5 August 1850.

23. Avery, "Art Beginnings on the Pacific," 30; *Alta California*, 26 June, 23 September, 16 November and 17 November 1854.

24. John S. Hittell, "Art in San Francisco," *Pacific Monthly* 10 (July 1863): 101.

25. The standard source on Nahl is Moreland L. Stevens, *Charles Christian Nahl: Artist of the Gold Rush, 1818–1878* (Sacramento: E. B. Crocker Art Gallery, 1976).

26. Charles Nahl to his father and stepmother, [1853] and [1854], trans. Hermann Friedlander, Charles C. Nahl Letters, Bancroft Library.

27. Letter of Henriette Nahl, 28 June 1855, Nahl Family Letters, Bancroft Library; *Sacramento Placer Times and Transcript*, 1 January 1852, quoted in Stevens, *Charles Christian Nahl*, 39; Nahl to his father and stepmother, [1853], trans. Hermann Friedlander, Charles C. Nahl Letters.

28. Quoted in C. Edwards Lester, *The Artists of America: A Series of Biographical Sketches of American Artists* (New York: Baker & Scribner, 1846), 43; Mechanics' Institute, *Report of the First Industrial Exhibition of the Mechanics' Institute of the City of San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1858), 97.

29. *Alta California*, 11 January 1850.

30. Avery, "Art Beginnings on the Pacific," 30; letter of Henriette Nahl, 28 June 1855, Nahl Family Letters; Arthur Nahl to uncle, 2 April 1858, Nahl Family Letters.

31. Little engaged the New York firm of Sarony & Major to lithograph Jewett's painting, which he distributed for sale in the spring of 1851 with the title *A View of Sutter's Mill & Culloma Valley*. The two landscapes of the Feather River country, both currently titled *Hock Farm* and dated, respectively, 1851 and 1852, are owned by the Oakland Museum of California and the California Department of Parks and Recreation.

32. Ferdinand C. Ewer, "Editor's Table," *The Pioneer* 2 (August 1854): 113, 112; Mechanics' Institute, *Report of the First Industrial Exhibition*, 98; Avery, "Art Beginnings on the Pacific," 31. Jewett's painting of the Grayson family—invoking, as it does, the American dream of a better life to the west—bears certain similarities to William Ranney's well-known composition of the previous year, *Boone's First View of Kentucky* (Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa), and anticipates in many ways Emanuel Leutze's more theatrical and far more famous mural in the U.S. Capitol, *Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way*.

33. B. P. Avery, "Art Beginnings on the Pacific," Part II, *Overland Monthly*, o.s., 1 (August 1868): 119.

34. *Tuolumne Courier*, 14 July 1860. Browere painted several versions of this scene, including a much larger canvas in the collections of the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco.

35. "The Yo-ham-i-te Valley," *Hutchings' California Magazine* 1 (July 1856): 2–8; Thomas A. Ayres, "A Trip to the Yosemite Valley," *Alta California*, 6 August 1856. The chief sources on Ayres are his obituary in the *Alta California* of 27 May 1858, and Jeanne Van Nostrand, "Thomas A. Ayres, Artist-Argonaut of California," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 20 (September 1941): 275–79.

36. *California! On Canvas!* broadside [San Francisco, 1854], Bancroft Library; *Alta California*, 9 August 1854.

37. *New York Tribune*, 26 September 1849; *Peoria Democratic Press*, 2 October 1850, quoted in John Francis McDermott, "Gold Rush Movies," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 33 (March 1954): 33.

38. *Alta California*, 20 May 1852, 4 May and 22 April 1860.

39. Norton Bush, "Days Gone By," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 14 July 1889; *Alta California*, 31 October 1859; Avery, "Art Beginnings on the Pacific," 33–34. The quotation is from Avery. Despite his importance to California art, surprisingly little work has been done on Butman. Although it is usually said that he was born in Gardiner, Maine, in 1820 and died there on 26 July 1871, he was probably born in 1822 or 1823 in either Dixmont or Bangor, Maine, and didn't arrive in Gardiner until 1849, when he opened an apothecary shop. He died on 22 July 1871 in Shelburne, New Hampshire, while on a fishing trip. *Gardiner Home Journal*, 26 July 1871; *Kennebec Reporter* (Gardiner), 29 July 1871; Henry Sewell Webster, ed., *Vital Records of Gardiner, Maine, to the Year 1892*, 2 vols. (Gardiner: Reporter-Journal Press, 1914), 2:233, 542.

40. *Alta California*, 11 December 1859.

41. *Alta California*, 5 October 1851, 30 and 31 October 1859; *LeCount and Strong's San Francisco Directory for the Year 1854* (San Francisco, 1854), opposite 129. The rise of firms that carried art can be traced through the classified section of the San Francisco city directories, initially under "Carvers and Gilders" and later under "Artists' Materials" and "Pictures and Engravings."

42. *Alta California*, 12 January 1865. Also see *A Classified Catalogue of the Paintings on Exhibition at the Room of the California Art Union* (San Francisco: California Art Union, 1865) and Avery, "Art Beginnings on the Pacific," 117–18.

43. Unidentified newspaper clipping, Bancroft Scraps, 21:4, Bancroft Library; *Alta California*, 11 April 1869.

44. Avery, "Art Beginnings on the Pacific," 116. The fairs were held irregularly for some years, but from 1874 until 1891 they were an annual event.

45. "The Fine Arts," *North Pacific Review* 2 (November 1862): 88. For a biography of Williams, see Ruth N. Post, "The California Years of Virgil Macey Williams," *California History* 66 (June 1987): 114–29.

46. For a full description of the paintings and other attractions at the gardens, see *Illustrated Guide and Catalogue of Woodward's Gardens* (San Francisco: Alta California Book and Job Printing House, 1875). The quotation and the description of Williams's painting *Napa Valley* are on p. 58. John S. Hittell observed in 1863 that Williams had lived for many years in Rome and that he had "brought with him a number of views taken in the Campagna, many similar in general tone, and the form of the plain and distant mountains, to the scenes in the coast valley of this State." Hittell, "Art in San Francisco," 103

47. William Keith, "Future of Art in California," *San Francisco Call*, 25 December 1895, quoted in Brother [Fidelis] Cornelius, *Keith, Old Master of California*, 2 vols. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1942; Fresno, Calif.: Academy Library Guild, 1956), 1:275. Bush exhibited at all the early Mechanics' Institute Fairs, winning several awards, and in 1863 John Hittell declared that his *Mount Diablo*, done five years earlier, was "the best picture that has ever been painted of the scenery of the coast valleys of this State." Hittell, "Art in San Francisco," 102.

48. *Constitution, By-laws, and List of Members of the San Francisco Art Association* (San Francisco: Edward Bosqui & Co., 1872), 3; *Alta California*, 1 April 1874; "Etc.," *Overland Monthly*, o.s., 9 (July 1872): 91.

49. *Constitution, By-laws, and List of Members*, 3; "Etc.," *Overland Monthly*, o.s., 9 (June 1874): 575.

50. B. P. Avery, "Art in California," *The Aldine* 7 (April 1874): 72.

8

Romancing the Gold Rush

The Literature of the California Frontier

Michael Kowalewski

California was the first region of the United States to undertake precious metal mining on a large scale, and between 1849 and 1855 some four hundred million dollars in gold was harvested by miners. Yet whatever the economic and political importance of that "harvest," it was not simply a new extractive industry that made the Gold Rush a historical phenomenon. It was the carnivalesque atmosphere of swagger and possibility, heightened expectation and boomtown hokum, that sent fortune seekers from around the world to "see the elephant" in California. Perhaps Mark Twain best captured, as he so often did, the mix of human emotions that helped propel tens of thousands of young Argonauts toward this remote maritime province so recently wrested from Mexico. In *Roughing It* (1872), Twain's narrator describes the volatile state of his feelings at hearing that his brother had just been appointed Secretary of Nevada Territory:

> I was young and ignorant, and I envied my brother. . . . He was going to travel! I never had been away from home, and that word "travel" had a seductive charm for me. Pretty soon he would be hundreds and hundreds of miles away on the great plains and deserts, and among the mountains of the Far West, and would see buffaloes and Indians, and prairie dogs, and antelopes, and have all kinds of adventures, and may be get hanged or scalped, and have ever such a fine time, and write home and tell us all about it, and be a hero. And he would see the gold mines and the silver mines, and maybe go about of an afternoon when his work was done, and pick up two or three pailfuls of shining slugs, and nuggets of gold and silver on the hillside. And by and by he would become very rich, and return home by sea, and be able to talk as calmly about San Francisco and the ocean, and "the isthmus" as if it was nothing of any consequence to have seen those marvels face to face. What I suffered in contemplating his happiness, pen cannot describe.[1]

"The beguiling attraction of California," as James D. Houston puts it, springs from the interplay of geography, social history, and imagination. Perhaps no single historical event exemplifies this attraction better than the Gold Rush. Without the human avalanche, "the noise and spectacle" of the Gold Rush, the legacy of "a few thousand pounds of gleaming metal," Houston says, would have been simply "greed . . . and bank accounts," not "a world-class legend to tickle the memory and stir the blood."[2] This is not to assert that greed—along with vigilantism, violence against "foreigners," and cultural disruption—did not also exist in the Gold Rush. Indian massacre sites, disintegrating gravestones in the Mother Lode, and the scarred hillsides and gravel piles lining rivers in Trinity, Plumas, and Calaveras counties also provide testimonials to the lasting effects of the Gold Rush. Life expectancy was short (within six months of arriving, one in every five Forty-niners was dead), medicine was often primitive, and high rates of suicide and alcoholism (or opium use among the Chinese) testified to the grim, lonely, sick-at-heart side of gold-rush life. So did the miners' recourse to prostitution and their mania for gambling—compulsive gambler's syndrome, we might call it today. Wallace Stegner once recalled seeing the headstone of a young miner inscribed *Nato a Parma 1830, morto a Morfi 1850*, an inscription as significant for its revelation of youth and nationality as for its misspelling of "Murphys," the camp where this boy died.[3]

Initial exuberance about one's golden prospects in California was often quickly tempered by the sobering realities of cholera, sickness, and bad weather, by exorbitant prices, blisters, muscle aches, sunburn, fleas, and the boredom of hard, repetitive labor. Every glowing report of wonder and riches in the Golden State was matched by dispirited letters home from impoverished or homesick miners. "The *greatness of California!* Faugh!" Alonzo Delano harrumphed in 1850. "When the sufferings of the emigrants both on the plains and after their arrival is known at home, our people will begin to see California stripped of her gaudy robes . . . and they will be content to stay at home and reap their own grain."[4] A different kind of emotional void, that created by long absence from loved ones, is revealed in the postscript Forty-niner William Swain's two-year-old daughter scrawled at the bottom of one of her mother's letters: "Poor Pa. See Pa. Love Pa. See Papa. Kiss Pa."[5]

The Gold Rush was assessed in radically divergent and contradictory terms from the moment it started, both by the miners themselves and by outside observers speculating about what it all meant. At first, for instance, Ralph Waldo Emerson, one of the most widely known and respected American intellectuals, saw only "a rush and a scramble of needy adventurers, and, in the western country, a general jail delivery of all the rowdies of the rivers." Two years later, however, he felt a witness to an emerging pattern of history: "Nature watches over all, and turns this malfeasance to good. California gets peopled and subdued, civilized in this immoral way, and on this fiction a real prosperity is rooted and grown. . . . Out of Sabine rapes,

Miners working a claim with a line of sluice boxes strike a pose of studied nonchalance. The Forty-niners and those who followed in their wake wrote voluminously of their adventures and misadventures in the land of gold, recording their experiences and observations in letters, diaries, and books, some few of which achieved the status of literature. *Courtesy George Eastman House, Rochester, N.Y.*

and out of robbers' forays, real Romes and their heroisms come in fullness of time."[6] Emerson's prickly friend Henry David Thoreau, on the other hand, was appalled by the gigantic spectacle of what he considered simple whoring after quick money: "The hog that roots his own living, and so makes manure, would be ashamed of such company. If I could command the wealth of all the worlds by lifting my finger, I would not pay such a price for it. . . . Going to California. It is only three thousand miles nearer to hell."[7]

The Gold Rush embodied America's new sense of itself as mirrored in California, whether the image reflected back was seen as a triumphal exemplification of sunburned American know-how or as a cautionary tale about monetary greed and xenophobia only seventy-five years after the Declaration of Independence. Debated and pondered at the time, the precise significance of the Gold Rush remained (and still remains) open to question. It was filled with contradiction and ambivalence, comic incongruity and tragic irony. It was, in other words, a rich, germinal ground for litrature. Seen whole, the Gold Rush has the composite intricacy and scope and the multiple, crosshatching plotlines of a Dickens novel. The writing of the time—in fiction, plays, diaries, essays, letters, song lyrics, and satiric squibs—provided a vivid, on-the-ground response to life in frontier California, one that often embodied imaginative extremes and swung from exultation to roughhewn comedy to sour disillusionment with a verve and variety that are quite distinctive. Yet, despite the continuing fascination in the popular imagination with the *idea* of the Gold Rush, much of this writing has been neglected. Or rather, it has usually been appraised in only one light: its documentary function has been emphasized without a corresponding attention to its aesthetic complexity. A reappraisal of the ingenuity and inventiveness of this work helps us appreciate the unique regional culture that sprang into being in mid-nineteenth-century California. It also helps emphasize the difficulties artists and writers still encounter when attempting to evoke and describe the landscape and multiple cultures of California.

EASTERN AESTHETICS AND "UNREAL" CALIFORNIA

In 1925, in a book entitled *South and Southwest,* the literary scholar Jay B. Hubbell claimed that "our literature has always been less American than our history."[8] This statement, while probably less provocative at the time than it may appear now, raises an interesting question. Would Hubbell have made such an assertion if he had known of the full extent and imaginative richness of gold-rush writing? Few people knew precisely how extensive and multifaceted that writing was until the publication in 1997 of Gary Kurutz's magisterial bibliography, *The California Gold Rush,* which lists over seven hundred individual works published in the five years from 1848 to 1853.[9] There are more written documents about the California Gold Rush than about any other nineteenth-century historical event except the Civil War. As linguistic historians have noted, the gold-rush migrants were "the first—and the last—frontiersmen to have the education and the inclination to describe what they saw and heard."[10] As a collective outpouring of wit, homesickness, self-promotion, and social observation, there was, as Kevin Starr says, an "epic sweep" to the first surge of gold-rush writing, though it is generally "untouched by historical imagination or dramatic art." "Anxious to strike it rich, having risked their lives to do so, miners wasted little time in asking who they were," Starr asserts. What holds the literature together is "a collective return to primary experience" and the narratives of the Forty-niners are filled with moments of stark experience—murder, death, loneliness, the comfort of new companions who could speak your language, food by a fire—that are often "recorded without self-consciousness and yet shot through with mythic power."[11]

Many of the distinctive features of this writing arose out of social and economic factors characterizing frontier California life and publishing. The delegates to the state constitutional convention in 1849 chose well when they selected the image of Minerva, with her spear and Gorgon shield, to serve as the principal figure for the state's Great Seal. The image was a formal acknowledgment of the velocity with which California had sprung, full-grown, Minerva-like, into statehood, thereby bypassing the normal territorial waiting period. The tidal wave of immigration sparked by the Gold Rush created not a typical American frontier, but what Franklin Walker called "the acme of all frontiers, the most concentrated of quickly flourishing societies."[12] The rate of social and material change was so accelerated in gold-rush California as to seem scarcely credible to observers. "The rapidity with which a ready-made house is put up and inhabited" in San Francisco, Bayard Taylor noted in 1850, "strikes the stranger . . . as little short of magic." San Francisco real estate prices set an early standard for exorbitance, and "the very air" in that city, Taylor says in *Eldorado: or Adventures in the Path of Empire,* "is pregnant with the magnetism of bold, spirited, unwearied action": "One knows not whether he is awake or in some wonderful dream. Never have I had so much difficulty in establishing, satisfactorily to my own senses, the reality of what I saw and heard."[13] The Gold Rush permanently altered the cultural adrenaline of the state, creating an electric sense of possibility and a new standard for life in the fast lane. Anything might happen in California, the feeling went, and *very* quickly.

Of signal importance in considering the nature of gold-rush writing is the fact that, as Walker reminds us, no *native* Californian wrote for publication during its frontier period. The writing of the 1850s was done by people translated from conditions of relative stability to social chaos.[14] Thus the novelty of California was largely emphasized for an audience in the East, or at least for an audience with eastern sensibilities. There were discernible social and aesthetic norms implicit in this writing, even when those norms seemed of limited usefulness in depicting western life. Writing in 1866, Bret Harte complained in a series of letters to newspapers in Springfield, Massachusetts, that California offered "quantity instead of quality," "grandeur, sublimity and picturesqueness," but not "bucolic and pastoral comfort":

> [California's] rains are deluges—her droughts are six months long. What she loses in delicacy she makes up in fibre—whether it be strawberries that look as if they had been arrested on their way to become pine-apples, or a field of wild oats, whose every stalk is a miracle of size, but whose general effect is most unpastoral and unmeadow-like. The effect on the inhabitants may be readily conceived. We have *ranchos* instead of farms, *vaqueros* for milk-maids; the "neat-handed Phillis" is apt to be a Chinaman, and our gentle shepherds are swarthy looking Mexicans.[15]

Traditional pastoral imagery was inadequate in California, Harte implied, partly because of race. Skin color and facial features, as much as abnormal farm products, defeated conventional forms of literary expression. Yet his jaunty exaggeration itself suggested less a genuine lament for the pastoral than a spirited sense of its inappropriateness in the first place.

In his letters intended for publication in the East, Harte repeatedly deplored the bragging and local puffery he found in California that demanded compliments "with the air of a footpad [robber]." He told of visiting Japanese diplomats, for instance, being "haled out of their beds" in San Francisco by local boosters and "driven frantically hither and thither, and asked to be astonished."[16] But Harte also saw such boosterism as almost inevitable given the extremes of landscape, climate, and behavior in the West. Commenting on winter in the Sierra Nevada, he intimated that comic skepticism alone proved insufficient in adequately representing this landscape:

> You have an idea that snow of ten and fifteen feet in depth represents a pretty severe winter blockade. Why, our Pacific Railroad goes through snow thirty and forty feet deep. The smoke of the locomotive as you approach the summit of the Sierras, rises between snow banks sometimes one hundred feet above the track. Looking back on the foot-hills the road seems to pass through a canal of white marble whose walls vary from fifteen to twenty feet in height. . . . Think of cabins entirely hidden, with their chimneys melting a small crater around their tops as they smoke on the roadside. . . . You will say you have read something like this in Munchausen, but these are facts. Imagine what ought to be the fiction of such a people.[17]

Harte's tone of unembarrassed wonder here suggests strongly that he understood how such out-of-scale western landscapes beggared conventional description. The most engaging gold-rush writing allowed California's new landscapes and the new behavior and idiomatic speech of its inhabitants to challenge the aesthetic and social criteria eastern readers might bring to a work. The writing of Harte, Twain, and Louise Clappe often establishes a complex bilingualism, as it were: one that attempts to include both the language of eastern convention and the expressive possibilities of western landscape and idiom.[18] Mediating between the East and the West, the narrative voice in such writing, Stephen Fender says, "has news that will surprise the East but, as an initiate to the West, it must not betray excitement about the news. . . . it may deprecate something it calls romance, but it manages to convey a sense of romance nevertheless."[19]

The compelling strangeness of contemporary life in California thus often called forth remarkable moments of description, as when Harte wrote of the adobe buildings of Mission Dolores, "with tiled roofs, like longitudinal strips of cinnamon," and the view from Telegraph Hill, from which one could see "long twinkling parallelograms" of gaslights on opera nights.[20] Some fifteen years earlier, Bayard Taylor too had searched for the proper terms with which to describe what he saw in the new city from a vantage point on San Francisco Bay:

> The appearance of San Francisco at night, from the water, is unlike anything I ever beheld. The houses are mostly of canvas, which is made transparent by the lamps within, and transforms them, in the darkness, to dwellings of solid light. Seated on the slopes of its three hills, the tents pitched among the chaparral to the very summits, it gleams like an amphitheatre of fire. . . . The picture has in it something unreal and fantastic; it impresses one like the cities of the magic lantern, which a motion of the hand can build or annihilate.[21]

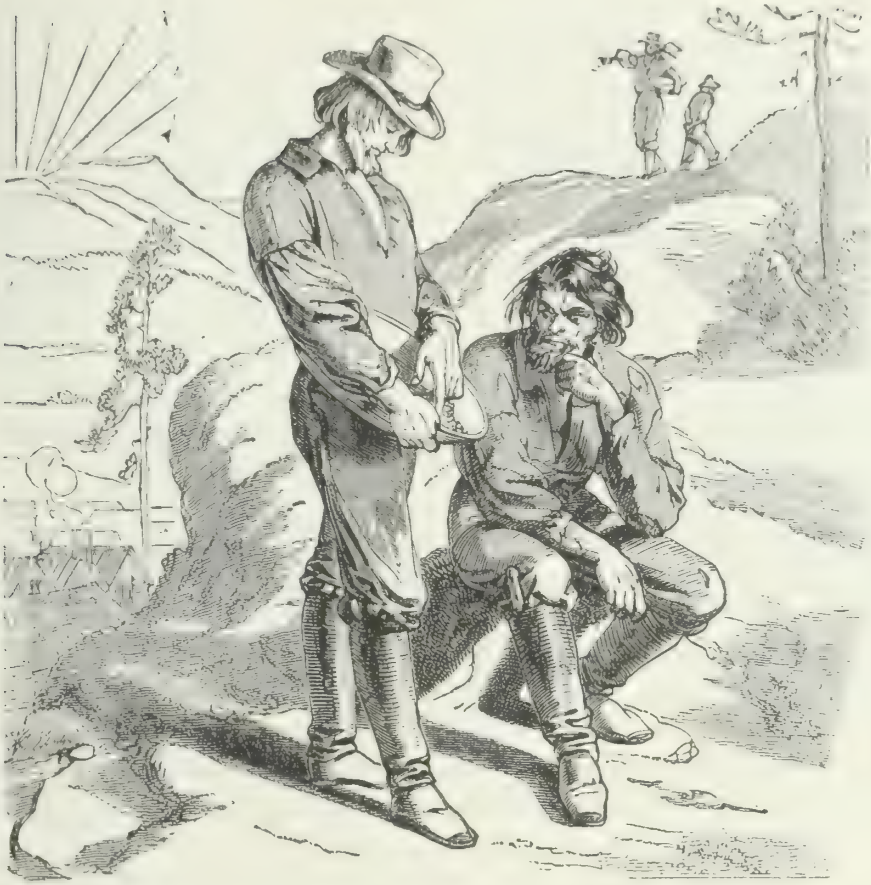
Such descriptions—sometimes extended, sometimes fleeting and parenthetical—are scattered throughout gold-rush writing and are to be appreciated not only for their artfulness. They should also be seen as experimental attempts to find a descriptive vocabulary adequate for the unprecedented experiences of gold-rush California, which could often seem "unreal and fantastic."

POETRY, FICTION, AND DRAMA

The boom-and-bust mentality of San Francisco, along with its rapid settlement and polyglot mixing of cultures, all helped sponsor an art and literature that tended to stress the novel and the picturesque. As Harte put it, "Californians, like the Arabian Prince, prefer their cream tarts with pepper."[22] Walker has pointed out that the emphasis was on lawlessness rather than law; gambling rather than the slow accrual of a fortune; the prostitute with a heart of gold rather than the pioneer mother; the abandoned orphan rather than the extended family with solicitous relatives in China, Mexico, or New Jersey. The trials of the patiently grubbing, homesick "honest miner" did not tend to captivate writers' imaginations. As Joseph Henry Jackson said, "a hero hip deep in an icy mountain torrent is a chilly hero at best; there is . . . little greatness in subsisting on moldy pork and soggy biscuit in order to get rich. A dyspeptic shaking with ague is not the stuff of which legends are built."[23]

The jostle of competitive publishing venues open to writers on the California frontier also undoubtedly contributed to the sensationalistic or melodramatic cast of much gold-rush writing. As early as 1850, some fifty printers worked in San Francisco, and the city boasted that by the mid-1850s it published more newspapers than London (many in languages other than English). Writers could see print quickly in reputable journals like *The Pioneer,* the *Golden Era,* and, after 1868, the *Overland Monthly,* as well as in ephemeral local publications with names like *Hombre, Satan's Bassoon,* or the *Wine, Women, and Song Journal.*

Poetry tended to be an undistinguished genre in early California. It was characterized by either belabored dialect poems or overly lush and self-consciously literary celebrations of the landscape by California "songsters" (the kind of poetry Mark Twain would later satirize in the figure of Emmeline Grangerford in *Huckleberry*



One of the illustrations by Charles Nahl for *The Idle and Industrious Miner,* published in 1854 and believed to be from the pen of William Bausman. Bausman's moralistic poem, inspired by William Hogarth's *The Rake's Progress,* met with wide acclaim in California. The success of the work, which first appeared in the *Sacramento Pictorial Union,* was in no small measure due to the imaginative designs of Nahl, who knew firsthand a miner's life. "Embittered at his low estate—unmindful of its cause—the sluggard mopes away his hours, indifferent to applause." *California Historical Society, FN-31551.*

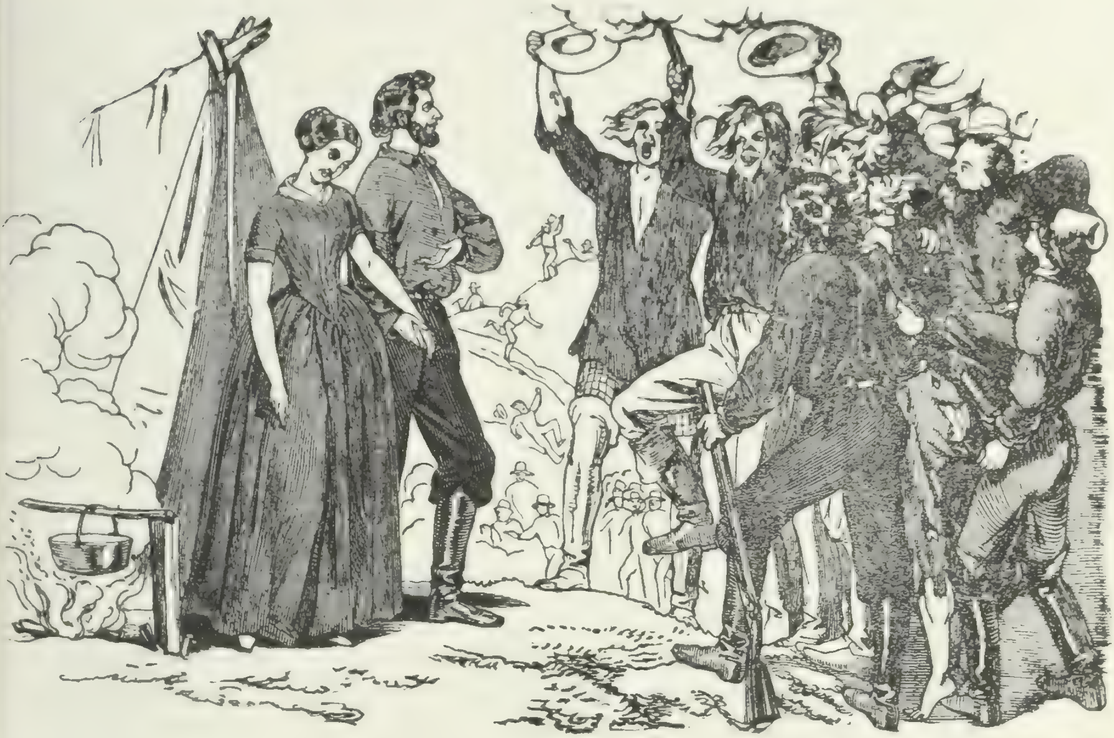
Finn). Nevertheless, the sheer abundance of such sentimental work suggests its popularity with male miners, who went heavily armed by day and night but could weep openly over the picture of a wife or child.

In fiction, the one notable work that was inspired by the mining camps was John Rollin Ridge's sensationalist romance, *The Life and Adventures of Joaquín Murieta, the Celebrated California Bandit* (1854). The first novel published by an American Indian (Ridge was half Cherokee), *Joaquín Murieta* is primarily remembered for establishing Murieta's image as what Richard Rodriguez calls "a matinee idol among bandits,"[24] an unjustly persecuted Mexican miner who is forced to become an outlaw by gold-hungry Anglos motivated by "the prejudice of color, the antipathy of races, which are always stronger and bitterer with the ignorant and the unlettered."[25] Ridge seems to have been torn between writing a moralizing indictment of Anglo imperialism and an action-filled potboiler sure to make money. Given his own biracial identity, Ridge also displays a complex ambivalence about his hero Murieta. Having himself been dispossessed of Cherokee land by the U.S. government, as Blake Allmendinger observes, "Ridge identified with Murieta as a member of a persecuted racial minority; but having relocated and invested in mainstream society, Ridge also disapproved of Murieta's repeated attacks on white frontier communities."[26]

Ridge suggests the uneasy, often indiscriminately violent interracial relations of miners on a polyglot frontier. The tensions were not only between whites and nonwhites but between minority groups as well. The California Indians are treated as subhuman by Murieta's gang and Chinese miners are repeatedly brutalized by the Mexican desperadoes, especially Murieta's sadistic sidekick, Three Fingered Jack. "I can't help it," Jack declares, "somehow or other, I love to smell the blood of a Chinaman." At one point 150 Chinese miners are left scattered "along the highways like so many sheep with their throats cut by the wolves."[27] Ridge portrayed the mining camps as rough but bustling communities where a romantic landscape of isolated arroyos and dusty canyons matched the sensationalistic plot twists of daring disguises and quick getaways—followed, ultimately, by the decapitation of the novel's hero and the public display of his severed head in a jar.[28]

Gold-rush drama embodied the love of melodrama and action displayed in *Joaquín Murieta.* The Gold Rush captured the imagination of playwrights who had never been to California, such as the Englishman J. Stirling Coyne. Coyne wrote a farce entitled *Cockneys in California* in 1849; it was joined by similar efforts on the British stage and in the eastern United States. One of the first eyewitness dramas about the Gold Rush was David G. ("Doc") Robinson's *Seeing the Elephant* in the early 1850s. The manuscripts of this and other plays by Robinson have been lost, but contemporary accounts of the play indicate that it dealt with gullible miners who head west with overblown hopes of striking it rich, only to encounter bad weather, hunger, and bandits.

Amongst the popular melodramas and farces of the day, such as *Bombastes Furioso* (many given raucous unisex performances in the predominantly male camps), a number of plays dealt with mining life in California: Warren Baer's musical satire, *The Duke of California* (1856), Alonzo Delano's sentimental melodrama, *A Live Woman in the Mines; or, Pike County Ahead* (1857), Charles E. B. Howe's romantic melodrama, *Joaquin Murieta de Castillo, the Celebrated California Bandit* (1858), and Joseph Nunes's *Fast Folks; or the Early Days of California* (1858). These were followed



Miners cheered the arrival of women in their community, as depicted in *A Live Woman in the Mines,* one of the illustrations by Charles Nahl for Alonzo Delano's delightful collection of stories of gold-rush California published in 1853 under the title *Pen-Knife Sketches.* Several years later, in 1857, Delano wrote a play titled *A Live Woman in the Mines,* which was loosely based on an assortment of characters he had known in his mining days. When the heroine of the melodrama approaches the diggings, an advance contingent of miners borrows one of her petticoats and returns with it to camp in order to prepare the boys for the appearance of a real, live woman. *California Historical Society, FN-19803.*

by later reminiscent plays about the mines, such as Bret Harte's *Two Men of Sandy Bar* (1876) and Joaquin Miller's *The Danites in the Sierras* (1877) and *'49: The Gold-Seeker of the Sierras* (1884).[29]

Often more historical curiosities than fully realized plays, many of these works nevertheless have a kind of rough-and-ready impudence that can still beguile. Delano's *A Live Woman in the Mines,* for instance, features characters with names like Sluice Box and High Betty Martin (who wears men's clothes and carries a gun: "a specimen of a back-woods western Amazonian," Delano notes, "who is indomitably persevering and brave under difficulties, but withal with woman's feelings when difficulty is over").[30] The play is insensitive in its portrayal of California Indians, but it still manages to include fresh portraits of miners yearning for feminine company or news from home. The characters speak a wild and woolly western vernacular that is indebted to the Southwest humorists, as when an express rider recounts his latest journey:

> Run the gauntlet between a pack of cayotes, three grizzlies, and a whole tribe of Digger Indians—killed two horses and jumped a ledge a hundred feet—hung myself by the heels in the bushes—turned forty somersets down a canyon—slept three nights on a snow bank—froze three legs stiff, had 'em amputated and climbed the hill next morning on crutches, and have brought lots of letters for the boys. . . . Please take the bags, and give me a glass of brandy and water without any water in it.[31]

Delano's farce focuses not only on the excitement caused by the arrival of a woman in the mines, it also comically presents the miners' starvation. When the food runs out, the men dine on rats and boots. They also tie the last piece of pork to a string; each man swallows the pork, then pulls it out and passes it on.

NONFICTIONAL PROSE

Whatever attention is due gold-rush poetry, fiction, and drama, however, the true imaginative wealth of the Gold Rush resides in its nonfictional prose: diaries, letters, journals, memoirs, government documents, and personal narratives. Gold-rush letters and diary entries often consisted of simple, unrefined, sometimes ungrammatical prose. ("The schoolmaster certainly was abroad," John Banks wryly commented about handwritten notes he saw along the California trail.)[32] The writing frequently addressed practical matters such as the price of meals or hardware, mining techniques, and claim disputes. Yet in the best works, this very emphasis on the demands of everyday life—on the mud, heat, and fleas in the camps—contributes to the roughhewn piquancy of these memoirs. Gold-rush chronicles mix pedestrian detail with a sudden sense of wonder. Listen, for instance, to William Lewis Manly's observation of what he saw on the California trail outside of Fort Laramie in *Death Valley in '49* :

> We crossed one stream where there were great drifts or piles of hail which had been brought down by a heavy storm from higher up the hills. At one place we found some rounded boulders from six to eight inches in diameter, which were partly hollow, and broken open were found to contain most beautiful crystals of quartz, clear as purest ice. . . . I have since learned that such stones are found at many points, and that they are called geodes.[33]

Weather and geology blend into one general realm of strangeness in Manly's account, as if it has been hailing geodes, "clear as purest ice." Later, after trying his hand at mining, Manly shipped out of San Francisco on a steamer headed for the eastern United States via Panama, and marveled at the marine life he observed near Acapulco. His ship "went through a hundred acres of porpoises, all going the same way. The ship plowed right through them, but none seemed to get hurt by the wheels. Perhaps they were emigrants like ourselves in search of a better place."[34]

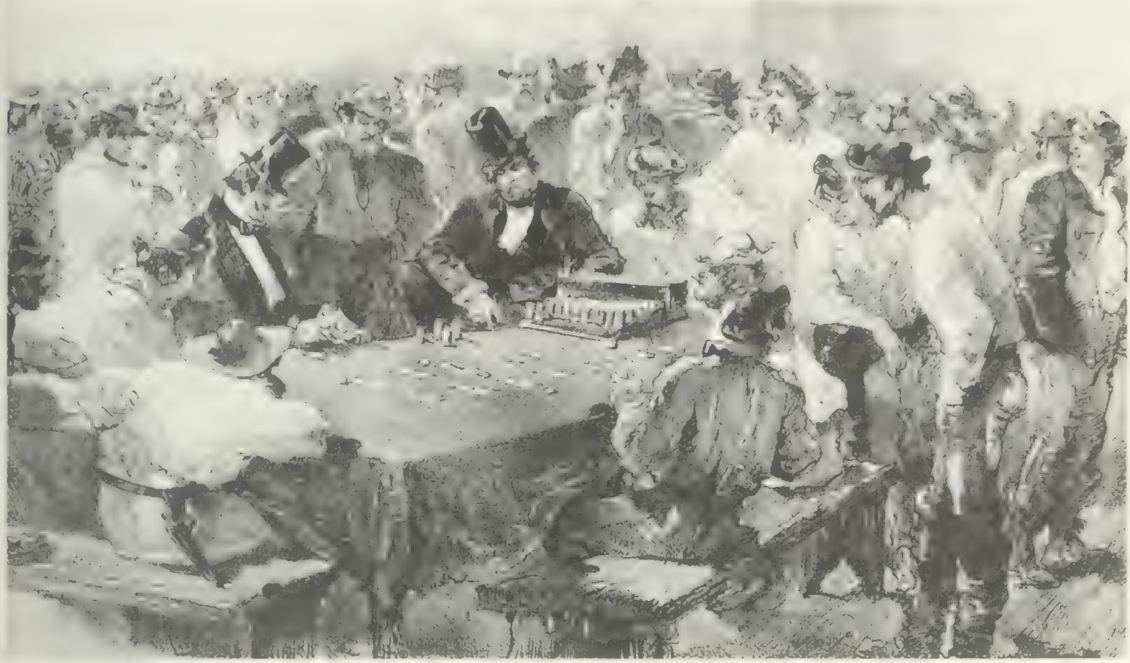
The best mining camp narratives blend satire and affection in unanticipated ways. In *The Shirley Letters,* arguably the finest firsthand account of the Gold Rush, Louise Clappe (using the *nom de plume* "Dame Shirley") wrote a series of twenty-three letters from two high-country camps in the upper reaches of the Feather River to her stay-at-home sister in Massachusetts. The primitive living conditions startled her eastern notions of decorum: "How would you like to winter in such an abode?—in a place where there are no newspapers, no churches, lectures, concerts or theaters; no fresh books, no shopping, calling nor gossiping little tea-drinkings; no parties, no balls, no picnics, no *tableaux,* no charades, no latest fashions, no daily mail (we have an express once a month), no promenades, no rides, nor drives; no vegetables but potatoes and onions, no milk, no eggs, no *nothing?*" Yet just when conditions seem most crude and unredeemable, Clappe adds a characteristic sparkle of candor and mischief. "Now I expect to be very happy here. This strange, odd life fascinates me."[35]

"Dame Shirley" remained a playful role Louise Clappe assumed in gaining distance not only on life in the camps but on her own responses to that life, which might otherwise have become too somber or too easily discouraged. "I wish that you could see *me* about these times," Clappe wrote when picturing herself as a whimsical figure of melancholia in the cold winter rains of 1852: "I am generally found seated on a cigar-box in the chimney corner, my chin in my hand, rocking backwards and forwards . . . casting a picturesquely hopeless glance about our dilapidated cabin."[36]

Clappe's tolerance for rough living conditions in the camps did not compromise her sensitivity to the social tensions of an ethnically diverse frontier. She did, like many Americans in California at the time, see the Indians she met (probably of the Maidu tribe) as degraded savages who fell disappointingly short of "the glorious forest heroes that live in the Leatherstocking Tales."[37] But she was exhilarated by the cultural heterogeneity of the mining camps. She was fascinated with the original Spanish names for rivers, towns, and mountains; she freely sympathized with the Hispanic miners, who were unjustly abused in the hot summer of 1852 by violent Yankee bigots; and she was quick to call the hanging of a Swede for an alleged theft "a piece of cruel butchery."[38] In other words, finding life in the camps to be scented with "that fine and almost imperceptible *perfume* of the ludicrous"[39] did not mean Clappe glossed over the ugliness and the prejudice she encountered. Her letters offer a unique blend of sympathetic social portraiture and literate satire. (Both Harte and Mark Twain seem to have found inspiration in Clappe's letters for some of their best known stories without acknowledging the source.) In her last letter, Clappe states that she has moved from being a "feeble and half-dying invalid" to a "perfectly healthy" woman who will miss the mines: "I *like* this wild and barbarous life; I leave it with regret."[40]

A parallel process is at work in *The Diary of a Forty-Niner* (1906), a gold-rush memoir purportedly written by one Alfred T. Jackson. Little is known about Jackson; in fact his authorship of the book cannot be authoritatively confirmed. Originally from Connecticut, he spent just over two years, from 1850 to 1852, on Rock Creek near Nevada City. His diary details his life with his friend and mentor, "Pard," and his romance with his French sweetheart, Marie. In disarmingly simple but responsive prose, Jackson chronicles his own transformation of character. He starts out as a timid, morally censorious greenhorn, homesick—"way off here out of the world"[41]—for the safety of the New England countryside, and ends up a more adventuresome and broad-minded Californian, at home in the stimulating environment of the foothill mines. Though headed out of the mines at the end of the book, Jackson is unwilling to return to Connecticut to "vegetate" on a farm.[42] He has discovered the pleasures of good friendship and of reading Byron's poetry out loud. At their farewell dinner in a Nevada City hotel with "a couple of baskets" of champagne, Marie expresses the crowd's general sentiments when she exclaims, "Oh! zey are ze good boys, and in our hearts we will nevair, no nevair, forget zem."[43]

A number of other gold-rush narratives are worthy of note. Many are by Americans: Walter Colton's *Three Years in California* (1850); Edward Gould Buffum's *Six Months in the Gold Mines* (1850); Leonard Kip's *California Sketches With Recollections of the Gold Mines* (1850); Alonzo Delano's *Life on the Plains and Among the Diggings* (1854), which was later supplemented by a collection of thirty-six letters to newspapers in *Alonzo Delano's California Correspondence* (1952); Eliza Farnham's *California In-Doors and Out* (1856); Mrs. D. B. Bates's *Incidents on Land and Water, or Four Years on the Pacific Coast* (1858); J. Ross Browne's *Crusoe's Island* (1864); Franklin A. Buck's *A Yankee Trader in the Gold Rush* (1930); *The Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth* (1856), the as-told-to autobiography of an African American fur trapper and mountain man; Sarah Royce's later reminiscences in *A Frontier Lady: Recollections of the Gold Rush and Early California* (1932); J. Goldsborough Bruff's journals and drawings in *Gold Rush* (1949); John Letts's *California Illustrated* (1852); Mary Jane Megquier's letters from 1849–1856, collected in *Apron Full of Gold* (1949); and Joaquin Miller's later autobiographical account of his time in the Shasta and Siskiyou county mines, *Life Amongst the Modocs: Unwritten History* (1873). Others are by Latin American writers like the Chilean Vicente Pérez Rosales, whose memoir, *Viaje a California: Recuerdos de 1848, 1849, 1850,* was published in 1878; the Mexican rancher Ygnacio Villegas's *Boyhood Days* (1895); and the native Californio Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo's five-volume autobiographical text, *Recuerdos históricos y personales tocante a la alta California* (1875). Still others are by Europeans: the Polish physician Felix Wierzbicki's *California as It*



Miners try their luck in a game of faro with professional gamblers, the "blacklegged gentry," in one of the charming, evocative illustrations that enliven the pages of John D. Borthwick's *Three Years in California,* published in 1857. As talented a writer as he was an artist, the young Scots adventurer arrived in El Dorado in 1850 and produced one of the classic books of the Gold Rush, a luminous, instructive, and entertaining account of a frontier society without parallel in American history. *California Historical Society, FN-31544.*

Is, and as It May Be (1849), the first English-language book published in California; the French nobleman Ernest de Massey's *A Frenchman in the Gold Rush* (1927); the English sportsman Frank Marryat's *Mountains and Molehills, or Recollections of a Burnt Journal* (1855); the Scottish artist and writer J. D. Borthwick's *Three Years in California* (1857); and the Belgian landscape gardener Jean-Nicolas Perlot's account of his experiences in the Southern Mines, collected in *Gold Seeker* (1985).

Realistic prose accounts of the Gold Rush were often less well known at the time in California than the work of frontier humorists like Alonzo Delano and George Horatio Derby. Delano published *Life on the Plains* and other works under his legal name in the East, but he presented himself as the long-nosed character Old Block in San Francisco. He wrote popular whimsical sketches, or "whittlings from his penknife," of western types like the miner and the gambler, for San Francisco's *Pacific News.* These articles were collected in two books: *Pen-Knife Sketches, or Chips from the Old Block* in 1853 and *Old Block's Sketch Book, or Tales of California Life* in 1856. Delano was a productive author who never considered writing his exclusive occupation. He moved to Grass Valley later in his life, opened a bank, invested in quartz mines, and was an enthusiastic Grass Valley promoter.

George Horatio Derby was a caricaturist and U.S. Army topographical engineer assigned to California in the early 1850s, after service in the Mexican War. He wrote under the pseudonyms John Phoenix and John P. Squibob and became famous as a wag and practical joker. His letters, squibs, and burlesques appeared in various California papers. His most notorious escapade occurred in 1853, when he was left in charge of editing the San Diego *Herald* while its editor, Derby's friend, was away. Derby changed the political alliance of the paper from Democratic to Whig and turned the weekly into a comic journal complete with mock-advertisements and mock-editorials. The audacity of the stunt gained statewide attention. It was the comic culmination of Derby's previous satires of phrenologists, land speculators, pompous politicians, and pretentious literary reviewers. His occasional prose was collected in two volumes, the popular *Phoenixiana; or Sketches and Burlesques* (1855), which went through some twenty-six printings, and the posthumous *Squibob Papers* (1865).

Striking a pose of boisterous urbanity, Derby's writing is full of a racy, irresponsible humor and comic earnestness. After writing a droll exposé of the treeless, flea-bitten town of Benicia (which served as the California state capital from 1853 to 1854), for instance, Derby expressed his mock sorrow about being "unhonored and unsung, and, what is far worse, unrecorded and untaxed" in Benicia: "How sharper than a serpent's thanks it is to have a toothless child, as Pope beautifully remarks in his *Paradise Lost.* One individual characterized my letter as a 'd . . . d burlesque.' I pity that person and forgive him."[44] Like a cross between Mrs. Malaprop and Groucho Marx, Derby's energetic burlesques of contemporary topics prompted Twain to call him "the first of the great modern humorists."

TWAIN, HARTE, AND THE *OVERLAND MONTHLY*

Full of raillery, literate satire, and vivid social comment, the writing of Derby, along with that of Delano, Ridge, Clappe, and others helped lodge the California Gold Rush in the American imagination. Their work anticipated a second generation of authors in the 1860s and 1870s—including Twain, Harte, Joaquin Miller, Charles Warren Stoddard, Ina Coolbrith, and Prentice Mulford—who transformed the Gold Rush into mythic history and eclipsed the work (except for Clappe's letters) of those who had preceded them. The central vehicle for that literary transformation was the monthly magazine the *Overland Monthly,* probably the most important literary periodical ever published in California. Founded in San Francisco in 1868 by a local bookseller and former miner named Anton Roman, the *Overland Monthly* was designed to encourage immigration to California. The magazine was made possible by the economic boom preceding the arrival of the transcontinental railroad (which would soon be carrying copies of the journal to appreciative eastern readers). Yet as Franklin Walker pointed out, the designs of the covers of *The Pioneer* magazine, which had published Clappe's letters, and the *Overland Monthly* strikingly highlighted the change in mood between the 1850s and the late 1860s. On the masthead of *The Pioneer,* exultant pioneers looked confidently westward toward the promised land on the Pacific. By contrast, the cover of the *Overland Monthly* (which had been collaboratively designed by its first editor, Bret Harte, and the artist Arthur Nahl) featured a grizzly bear turning its snarling face down a section of railroad track, as if to meet an approaching locomotive. Paradoxically dependent upon the very economies that had so drastically altered the California now eulogized within the magazine, the grizzly, Walker noted, "symbolized the last stand for independence on the part of a pioneer society. . . . Near the end of its frontier days, the West, having passed from naïveté to satire, reached the stage in which its early days became romantic."[45]

Although he never actually published in the *Overland Monthly,* Mark Twain warmed up his eastern audience to the local color of California subject matter in November of 1865, when he published his now well-known story "The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County" in *The New York Saturday Press.* A parody of a tall tale, in which a nameless confidence man outwits the con man Jim Smiley in one of the animal contests of which miners were so fond, Twain's story made literary capital out of subliterary frontier humor and established his talent for simultaneously embracing and satirizing the entertaining, misspelled western slang of the mining frontier and the characters who so inventively used it.

Although he never went as far as Twain with satire and hoax, Harte did quickly learn what Patrick Morrow has called "the power of California to 'customize,' to modify material from other eras, locations, and cultures and imprint this material with a Golden Gate stamp."[46] Harte's story "The Luck of Roaring Camp," which was published without a signature in the second issue of the *Overland Monthly,* was an overnight sensation. It "reached across the continent and startled the Academists on the Atlantic Coast," Kate Chopin later recalled, and helped make Harte the country's highest-paid author and a household name in the early 1870s.[47] More than any other writer, Harte was responsible for creating the legendary, larger-than-life image of the Gold Rush. He did so by transforming squalid mining camps like Roaring Camp, Poker Flat, and Red Gulch into mythical towns inhabited by a society that now, in the mist of memory, looked, as Walker put it, "as romantic and unusual as Camelot or Bagdad": "Harte created the land of a million Westerns, a land in which gun-play was chronic, vigilante committees met before breakfast, and death was as common as a rich strike in the diggings."[48] Stories such as "The Luck of Roaring Camp" (1868), "The Outcasts of Poker Flat" (1869), and "Tennessee's

Born in Albany, New York, Bret Harte arrived in California in 1854, when the grand adventure of placer mining was becoming a memory, and the corporate enterprises of hydraulic and quartz mining were fast gaining ascendancy. After working variously as an apothecary, an expressman, and a typesetter, he turned to writing. In 1863 he published a tale of Spanish California in the *Atlantic Monthly,* but it was the appearance five years later of "The Luck of Roaring Camp," in the pages of the *Overland Monthly,* that launched his career as a writer of local-color stories. *California Historical Society, FN-26875.*

Partner" (1869), to mention but the most familiar, are peopled, in most readers' memories, by grizzled sentimentalists (Kentuck and Stumpy), debonair gamblers (John Oakhurst and Jack Hamline), young innocents (Piney Woods and the Luck), and golden-hearted, but fallen, women (Mother Shipton and the Duchess).

The presence of such endearing characters might at first seem odd, for Harte's gold camps were also filled with violence and degradation. Little Tommy Luck's mother, Cherokee Sal, for example, was an Indian prostitute who died during childbirth. At the end of "The Outcasts," John Oakhurst committed suicide and the story ended with the images of the corpses of two frozen women. Even the ostensible forces of law and order in Harte's world were of doubtful origin. The citizens of Poker Flat were indiscriminately "after somebody" when they banished the outcasts. They were motivated only by "a spasm of virtuous reaction, quite as lawless and ungovernable as any of the acts that had provoked it."[49] Harte's pine and cedar forests were, as David Rains Wallace notes, "usually well stocked with blue jays and squirrels, [and] can have a sentimental sweetness approaching the Disney cartoon."[50] But his stories could also convey an effective sense of impending violence and isolation, as on a warm night before a lynching in "Tennessee's Partner," when a "little canyon" stood "stifling with heated, resinous odors, and the decaying driftwood on the Bar [sent] forth faint sickening exhalations."[51]

What kept Harte's stories from becoming truly terrifying or morally ambivalent was his ability, in Kevin Starr's words, to create mythic history by depicting the Gold Rush as "quaint comedy and sentimental melodrama, already possessing the charm of antiquity."[52] That "antique" charm stemmed as much from Harte's narrative voice as from his subject matter. No matter what Harte described, the voice in his fiction established a warm-hearted, civilized verbal buffer meant to absorb and detoxify the worst that human nature or natural disaster could throw at it. Even when presenting readers with ostensibly realistic details, Harte managed to keep his narrative authority intact. The town of Roaring Camp, he wrote, "numbered about a hundred men":

> One or two of these were actual fugitives from justice, some were criminal, and all were reckless. Physically they exhibited no indication of their past lives and character. The greatest scamp had a Raphael face, with a profusion of blond hair; Oakhurst, a gambler, had the melancholy air and intellectual abstraction of a Hamlet; the coolest and most courageous man was scarcely over five feet in height, with a soft voice and an embarrassed, timid manner. The term "roughs" applied to them was a distinction rather than a definition. . . . The strongest man had but three fingers on his right hand; the best shot had but one eye.[53]

The references here to Raphael and Hamlet and the narrator's curatorial care about how to use the term "roughs" might have distanced another author from his vernacular subjects. But Harte used this descriptive aside as a means of establishing his insider's knowledge of the true character of Roaring Camp. He inverted conventional notions that a scamp should look degenerate, that a courageous man should have a commanding physique, and so forth, the better to insist that tender emotions lurk unseen within his characters, ready for the moral transformations his stories enact. "The Luck of Roaring Camp," a student once aptly suggested, might well be retitled "Sixteen Men and a Baby."

LITERARY LEGACIES

Harte's image of the stout-hearted, red-shirted Forty-niner was gradually drained of its melancholy and unruliness in the late 1870s and made into the entrepreneuring pioneer of the California boosters, which partly explains why later writers who dealt with the Gold Rush would not follow his example. Josiah Royce, Clarence King, and John Muir all variously expressed reservations about the refashioning of the Argonauts as pioneer entrepreneurs basking in the glow of civic rectitude. Naturalist writers at the turn of the century like Frank Norris, Jack London, and Ambrose Bierce used mining camps (often in deserted towns with dank mine shafts) to create a spooky, surreal atmosphere for dark parables about violence and psychic collapse. Their legacy can be seen in a contemporary writer such as Roy Parvin, whose stories in *The Loneliest Road in America* (1997) use the hardscrabble mines of the Trinity Alps as the backdrop for haunting tales of violent misfits and solitary dope growers. Other writers would be drawn to the darker side of historical figures, like John Sutter, the Swiss entrepreneur upon whose land gold was first discovered. In his novel *Gold* (1925), the Swiss writer Blaise Cendrars painted an unforgettable portrait of an elderly and destitute Sutter in Washington, D.C., a loner, down-at-the-heel, flecked with dandruff, and petitioning Congress to be reimbursed for his loss of property and wealth in California.

Contemporary writers concerned with nature and ecology such as David Rains Wallace and Gary Snyder have followed the lead of earlier writers such as John Muir and Mary Austin in studying both the human and natural history of California mining. The paucity of firsthand accounts of the Gold Rush (at least translated into English) by Native Americans, Asians, and Latinos has also inspired rich revisionist imaginings of what it must have been like for marginalized groups to participate in the Gold Rush. Literary attempts to resurrect the lost lives of, say, a widowed Maidu mother surrounded by her dying children in Janice Gould's poem "History Lesson" (1990), or a young Chinese woman unexpectedly forced into prostitution, in Ruthanne Lum McCunn's *Thousand Pieces of Gold* (1981), have added a fresh, challenging complexity to our understanding of the California frontier.

The fact that the Gold Rush continues to fascinate contemporary writers should come as no surprise. As Stephen Birmingham asserts, this epic event created a new version of California élan: "a special doughtiness, a certain daring, a refusal to be fazed or put off by bad luck or circumstances, an unwillingness to give up."[54] Of course, it is sometimes a fine line between daring and derangement, open-spiritedness and short-sightedness, risk-taking and irresponsibility. But the Gold Rush ensured that Californians would henceforth be willing to walk that line. The variety of opinions about the meaning and desirability of the Gold Rush has been rich and contradictory since the moment it began and has helped make western mining an irresistible literary subject for a century and a half. The sheer profusion of gold-rush literature powerfully reminds us—in its roughhewn panoply of various forms—that, as with any complex phenomenon, the composite truth of this historical event cannot be found in any single story, new or old. Like many of the literary works that take it as their subject, the Gold Rush continues—as all engaging literature and history does—to enlighten, entertain, and inform us, and to surprise us out of our own responses.

NOTES

A portion of this chapter appeared first in *Gold Rush: A Literary Exploration* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1997).

1. Mark Twain, *Roughing It* (1872; New York: Penguin, 1985), 49–50.

2. James D. Houston, "From El Dorado to the Pacific Rim: The Place Called California," *California History* 68 (Winter 1989/90): 174.

3. Wallace Stegner, *Where the Bluebird Sings to the Lemonade Springs: Living and Writing in the West* (New York: Random House, 1992), 58.

4. Alonzo Delano, Letter, 20 October 1850, in *Gold Rush: A Literary Exploration,* ed. Michael Kowalewski (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1997), 173.

5. Quoted in J. S. Holliday, *The World Rushed In: The California Gold Rush Experience* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1981), 387.

6. Ralph Waldo Emerson, *The Conduct of Life* (1860), in Kowalewski, *Gold Rush,* 299.

7. Henry David Thoreau, Journal Entry, 1 February 1852, in Kowalewski, *Gold Rush,* 297–98.

8. Jay B. Hubbell, *South and Southwest: Literary Essays and Reminiscences* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1965), 273.

9. Gary F. Kurutz, *The California Gold Rush: A Descriptive Bibliography of Books and Pamphlets Covering the Years 1848–1853* (San Francisco: The Book Club of California, 1997). For additional listings of primary (and secondary) sources, see Robert LeRoy Santos, *The Gold Rush of California: A Bibliography of Periodical Articles* (Denair, Calif.: Alley-Cass Publications, for California State University, Stanislaus, University Archives, 1998).

10. Robert McCrum et al., *The Story of English* (New York: Penguin, 1987), 252.

11. Kevin Starr, *Americans and the California Dream, 1850–1915* (New York: Oxford, 1973), 50–52; Starr compares the Gold Rush, as an "epic experience," to both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey,* 52–68.

12. Franklin Walker, *San Francisco's Literary Frontier* (1939; New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1943), 14.

13. Bayard Taylor, *Eldorado: Or Adventures in the Path of Empire* (1850; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988), 84, 88, 44.

14. Walker, *San Francisco's Literary Frontier,* 27.

15. Bret Harte, 28 April 1866 Letter to *Christian Register,* in *Bret Harte's California: Letters to the "Springfield Republican" and "Christian Register," 1866–67,* ed. Gary Scharnhorst (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990), 26–27.

16. Ibid., 116.

17. Ibid., 122.

18. See my essay, "Quoting the Wicked Wit of the West: Frontier Reportage and Western Vernacular," in *Reading the West: New Essays on the Literature of the American West,* ed. Michael Kowalewski (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 82–98.

19. Stephen Fender, "'The Prodigal in a Far Country Chawing of Husks': Mark Twain's Search for a Style in the West," *Modern Language Review* 71 (October 1976): 741. Also see Fender's *Plotting the Golden West: American Literature and the Rhetoric of the California Trail* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

20. Harte, *Bret Harte's California,* 33, 74.

21. Taylor, *Eldorado,* 90.

22. Harte, *Bret Harte's California,* 140.

23. Joseph Henry Jackson, Introduction to John Rollin Ridge, *The Life and Adventures of Joaquín Murieta, the Celebrated California Bandit* (1854; Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986), xix–xxx.

24. Richard Rodriguez, "The Head of Joaquín Murrieta," in his *Days of Obligation* (New York: Penguin, 1992), 133.

25. Ridge, *Joaquín Murieta,* 9–10.

26. Blake Allmendinger, *Ten Most Wanted: The New Western Literature* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 48.

27. Ridge, *Joaquín Murieta,* 64, 97.

28. Rodriguez tells of seeing what may be this severed head in contemporary Santa Rosa, in "The Head of Joaquín Murrieta," 133–48.

29. For an excellent overview of the early history of the performing arts in San Francisco, see Misha Berson, *The San Francisco Stage: From Gold Rush to Golden Spike, 1849–1869* (San Francisco: San Francisco Performing Arts Library and Museum Journal, 1989).

30. Alonzo Delano, *A Live Woman in the Mines, or Pike County Ahead* (1857), in *California Gold-Rush Plays,* ed. Glenn Loney (New York: Performing Arts Journal Publications, 1983), 66.

31. Ibid., 90.

32. John Banks, *Two Buckeye Rovers in the Gold Rush,* ed. Howard L. Scamehorn (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1965), 72.

33. William Lewis Manly, *Death Valley in '49* (1894; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1966), 69.

34. Ibid., 416.

35. Louise Amelia Knapp Smith Clappe, *The Shirley Letters: From the California Mines, 1851–1852,* ed. Marlene Smith-Baranzini (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1998), 50.

36. Ibid., 175.

37. Ibid., 12.

38. Ibid., 80.

39. Ibid., 54.

40. Ibid., 178.

41. Chauncey L. Canfield, *The Diary of a Forty-Niner* (1906; New York: Turtle Point Press, 1992), 3. Some historians suspect that Canfield may himself have invented Jackson's narrative, but the evidence is not conclusive.

42. Ibid., 173.

43. Ibid., 183.

44. George Horatio Derby, "Squibob in Sonoma" (October 21, 1850), in *Squibob: An Early California Humorist,* ed. Richard Derby Reynolds (San Francisco: Squibob Press, 1990), 32.

45. Walker, *San Francisco's Literary Frontier,* 256, 261.

46. Patrick D. Morrow, "Harte, Twain, and the San Francisco Circle," in *A Literary History of the American West,* ed. J. Golden Taylor et al. (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1987), 349.

47. Kate Chopin, *St. Louis Republic,* 9 December 1900, quoted in *Selected Letters of Bret Harte,* ed. Gary Scharnhorst (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 6.

48. Walker, *San Francisco's Literary Frontier,* 264.

49. Bret Harte, "The Outcasts of Poker Flat," in *The Outcasts of Poker Flat and Other Tales,* ed. Wallace Stegner (New York: New American Library, 1961), 112.

50. David Rains Wallace and Morley Baer, *The Wilder Shore* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1984), 98.

51. Harte, "Tennessee's Partner," in *The Outcasts of Poker Flat,* 126.

52. Starr, *Americans and the California Dream,* 49.

53. Harte, "The Luck of Roaring Camp," in *The Outcasts of Poker Flat,* 102.

54. Stephen Birmingham, *California Rich* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1980), 29.

9

From Indifference to Imperative Duty

Educating Children in Early California

Irving G. Hendrick

Thinking about formalized schooling in gold-rush California requires immediately at least three important—if obvious—caveats. The first is that there was formal schooling taking place in California before the American period under Spanish and Mexican rule. The second is that the American common school had already experienced some important, if brief, success in eastern and midwestern states before American political and educational leaders attempted to adapt it to California soil. Finally, there is always in history the issue of whose history is to be told. Given the racial history of mid-nineteenth-century America and California, most stories are not completely balanced according to racial, ethnic, and religious considerations.[1] These issues, particularly the racial one, are not ignored here, but the central focus is on the adoption and extension of the American public school system to California soil.

The demands of a self-governing republic practically required that universal education eventually would be necessary. The federal ordinances of 1785 and 1787 provided that public land for the support of schooling would accompany the development of the West. This is not to suggest that the forces of localism, provincialism, parochialism, and private endeavor did not dominate formal schooling during the early years of California statehood. Indeed, they did. Yet because major early battles for free, publicly supported schooling were fought—and won—in states well east of California, the national model of public schools was established before 1848 and would eventually apply to California as well.

For most of the first half of the nineteenth century, leaders promoting state-supported schooling had to persuade a doubting citizenry of at least three major principles: (1) that public schools needed to be free and available to all children, (2) that states rather than local communities needed to guarantee the quality of the education provided, and (3) that the public schools needed to be separated from sectarian religious control.[2] By the time California's earliest leaders in the American period assumed office, much progress in winning national adherence to those ideals had been achieved. Still, the issues and disagreements continued to be active. Thus, the rise of a California public school system is explained by earlier similar successes in other states, by referring to provisions for school support in the California Constitution of 1849, by early legislation, and by the sheer leadership of powerful educational and government officials.

For the most part, state officials and state legislation had little to do with either the presence or absence of schools during the 1850s. The California of the gold-rush era was a very different place—in the literal geographic sense—from California today. Persons thinking of public education during the late twentieth century likely think first of the educational challenges facing students, parents, and educators in Los Angeles, San Diego, San Jose, San Francisco, other large urban centers, the suburbs, and the great Central Valley. During gold-rush days, Los Angeles hardly deserves mention. Los Angeles County was not to be found among the ten most populous counties in California. During the 1850s the most populated counties included El Dorado, San Francisco, Yuba, Nevada, Calaveras, Tuolumne, Sacramento, Placer, Mariposa, and Butte. Of these, San Francisco was in a class by itself in trade, commerce, finance, culture, and education, albeit early in the decade its population had not yet exceeded that of El Dorado County.

One can imagine that a rush to acquire nearly instant wealth by persons new to the state, most of them single men, did not provide the best social and economic environment for attending to the building of institutions, including schools. Yet, the American patterns were present and not that difficult to take advantage of by the men who participated in framing the first state constitution. The provisions for education were a case in point. While education was not one of the more powerful immediate concerns, it did receive enough attention to establish an adequate basis for the state's assuming subsequent financial responsibility for operating schools and for future enabling legislation. Five sections of Article IX of the 1849 Constitution established the office of superintendent of public instruction, provided a basis for founding a state university, and established a system of common schools partially supported by a general school fund derived from the sale or rental of the state's public land.[3] Previously, only four states, including Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, and Vermont, had provided for an elected chief school officer through the constitutional process.

The school fund issue was somewhat controversial, but all attempts to add a limiting proviso on its size were defeated.[4] Gold was at the heart of the controversy. While the tradition of federal land sales in other states had established a clear example for the framers of the state constitution to follow, Sacramento attorney Winfield S. Sherwood argued that some of the acres might be located on gold

Students apply themselves to their studies at Saint Vincent's Orphan Asylum, San Rafael, in a photograph by the famed California photographer Eadweard Muybridge. Established in 1855 by the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, and for a period administered by the Christian Brothers, it is now St. Vincent's School for Boys. *California Historical Society, FN-31530.*

mines, thus becoming too rich a source to be devoted to education. Happily, the Sherwood proviso was defeated by a vote of 18 to 17.[5]

Constitutional provision for schooling notwithstanding, the legislature gave only slow and grudging support to providing a state tax levy and assuring a minimum length to the school term. Indeed, the first state legislation pertaining to education provided only for the election of a state superintendent of public instruction. Leadership from governors and most members of the legislature was conspicuously absent in the 1850s, although all of the early state superintendents of public instruction did advocate for a publicly supported school system. When the first state superintendent, Judge John Gage Marvin, came to the capital at San Jose in December 1850 to assume his post, there literally was no job to perform.[6] He could do nothing about schooling until he had some legislative direction, and that was slow in coming. While the first and second legislatures were lethargic in regard to school legislation, the popular press was generally supportive and critical of the political leaders for their inaction. To be sure, certain members of the legislature were supportive of public schools. Early in the first session, Senator Elcan Heydenfeldt of San Francisco attempted to translate the constitutional plan for common schools into a functioning law. His and a few other futile efforts notwithstanding, the dominant attitude of the earliest governors and legislators was to wait. Governor Peter Burnett's attitude was stated as follows:

> Under existing circumstances, before any of the public lands to which the State will be entitled have been assigned to her, and while we have so few families in the State, and our population is so unsettled, it may not be practicable to establish any general system of free schools, or endow any university. But the time must soon arrive when we shall have both the families and the means to adopt and carry out such a system. In the meantime, it might be made the duty of the Superintendent to collect useful statistical information to be reported annually to this body.[7]

Private subscription, not tax support, constituted the means of furthering schooling during the 1850s. Legislation approved in 1851 and 1852 helped the schools very slightly in that it provided that funds obtained from the sale of school lands and the apportionment of interest collected from the state school fund be distributed among private, religious, and sectarian schools on the basis of attendance. The provision of state funds for private religious schools produced a good deal of criticism. Notwithstanding the vigorous—and largely successful—national efforts to separate church from state as part of the public school fight, California's early history with the apportionment of state school funds gave a pro rata share of those funds to religious and sectarian schools. Catholic schools especially benefited.

Initially, as implied in Governor Burnett's recommendation, the state superintendent's role was largely to gather statistics concerning the extent of schooling in the state. The results did not yield an admirable picture, particularly from the mining districts. From Calaveras County came the report: one hundred children, no school. From San Luis Obispo County, two hundred children were reported, along with the news that "a school was kept open last summer by a Spanish teacher, but was so grossly neglected that it was abolished." The report from San Juan in Monterey County was only slightly more hopeful. The postmaster there reported that 179 children were present, including 44 "English or American," and 135 "Native Californians." His report continued that "Morality and society are in desperate condition. I have built a house 20 x 32, a half mile from the mission, which I offer free of rent for a school house, but they appear to be very indifferent about the education of their children."[8]

In the larger towns, the picture was more hopeful, although not uniformly so. From Sacramento came a report from one James A. Rogers that there were about four hundred children in the county, but that there were no schools outside Sacramento City, which maintained two primary schools and one academy. "This city has never spent a cent for elementary instruction," he added. "There have been three attempts to get up a school, which have failed after two or three month's trial. . . . My sympathies are with the Common or Free Public School System. In their absence I started a private school."[9] Catholic schools maintained by the Sisters of Charity and other religious orders were operated at Monterey, San Rafael, and San Jose. The cities of Napa, Santa Cruz, Sacramento, and Stockton each had schools supported by tuition ranging from four to eight dollars a month. Outside of San Francisco, only Benicia maintained a school at public expense, and even there tuition was charged.

Although state leadership and action lagged, the record of school support was decidedly better in San Francisco. City legislation immediately influenced the establishment of schools in that growing city, and eventually in the state. In September 1851, a Free School Ordinance was enacted by the city council for the creation of a school board and the establishment, regulation, and support of free common schools. The population of children and youth was growing rapidly and action was demanded. Earlier, during 1849 and 1850, a semipublic operation was initiated by the council, thanks to the leadership of John C. Pelton.[10] Pelton was enraptured by the appeal of California, though not necessarily its gold. In 1849 he left his position as principal of the Phillips' Free School at Andover, Massachusetts, and soon found himself to be the most influential schoolmaster in San Francisco.[11]

By 1851 there were already four schools serving four districts of the city. Each enrolled from about 60 to 160 students.[12] Many features of that San Francisco ordinance are still recognizable today. Then as now, the board was given authority to appoint a superintendent of schools, purchase property, build schools, prescribe a course of study, and hire teachers. The last task was particularly challenging in the absence of any form of state standards. Pelton, more than State Superintendent

LINCOLN GRAMMAR - 1864 Fifth near MRKT.

Students and teachers gather outside Lincoln Grammar School on Fifth Street in San Francisco for a photograph by Carleton Watkins. Strong support for public education arose early in San Francisco, and by 1859 more than six thousand students were enrolled in the city's seventeen public schools, including a separate school for Chinese and one for blacks. Despite the importance laid on academic studies, especially mathematics, physical exercise was also part of the curriculum. According to *Hutchings' California Magazine,* exercise gave "boys strong muscles to fight their way in the world," and girls "erect forms, well developed chests, grace of movement, and ease of carriage." *California Historical Society, FN-31675.*

Marvin, was the most visible early public school leader in California. As author of an official report, "The First Public School in San Francisco," he was widely quoted in the press. It was for this reason that Marvin was urged to consult with Pelton about state legislation, which he did.

Appraising the quality of schools during gold-rush California must be done with an eye on contemporary values. Even mindful of that, it is hard to speak well of the earliest efforts of the legislatures and governors. At first blush, the grassroot communities appeared to be doing quite well. By the start of 1854, Californians were supporting forty-seven common schools, enrolling 4,052 students who were attending class at least three months a year.[13] The discrepancy in perception is important. The history of early nineteenth-century America included a powerful tradition of individual responsibility, family responsibility, and church responsibility. Notwithstanding the significant public school precedents that had already been established in New England and the Midwest, the notion that taxation should be enacted on land for the support of public schooling was still controversial. Repeated admonitions to the legislature for public school support by early state superintendents of public instruction had little effect. To the credit of those men, they did speak out. State Superintendent Paul Hubbs, the second person to hold that office, complained bitterly in 1855 about the legislature's inactivity and asserted that "no government is worthy of the name of civilization that refuses to educate, and to educate properly, the children of the state."[14] Hubbs claimed that three-fourths of California children were growing up unable to read and write.

In 1856 Andrew J. Moulder, a southern Democrat, was elected state superintendent of public instruction. In 1859 he was reelected overwhelmingly. Perhaps it is in the career accomplishments and racist views and deeds of Andrew Moulder that contemporary students of California's educational history can appreciate the complexity of interpreting California's past. More than any of his predecessors, Moulder brought experience, training, and leadership to the office. More than any of his predecessors, he helped to establish a viable system of public schooling for children of the state, as well as normal schools to prepare teachers for the public schools. After leaving his state office in 1863, he went on to serve as a member of the University of California's first Board of Regents and even at the time of his death in 1895 he served as superintendent of schools in San Francisco. Fifty years ago, educators might have celebrated Moulder's high achievements without comment concerning his racial and segregationist views. Not today; such is the complexity of the human experience and the evolving perceptions of democracy and equality under the law.

Moulder advocated strongly for the financial support of public schools each year he was in office and, after two years of failure, experienced modest success in 1858. The school law of that year provided only the most minimal amount of state support and then only conditionally. A school district could levy a district tax for maintaining a school or for building a schoolhouse with the approval of the district's voters, but only if it had maintained a school for at least four months during a year, and had insufficient funds to defray one-half the cost of continuing that school for another term. Moulder was incensed that fewer than 21,000 students had attended school in 1857–58, and slightly more than 29,000 had received no schooling at all. The latter he described as "neglected" children who well could grow up to become "benighted men and women." He continued:

> Damning as the record is, it is yet lamentably true, that during the last five years the State of California has paid $754,193.80 for the support of criminals, and but $284,183.69 for the education of the young. In other words, she has paid nearly three

> times as much for the support of an average of 400 criminals as for the training and culture of thirty thousand children. To make the point more forcible, the figures show that she has expended $1,885 on every criminal, and $9 on every child![15]

As the election of Lincoln and the Civil War approached, California was in serious jeopardy of splitting almost as the nation was splitting. A significant faction of southern sympathizers populated California's southern section, but with Moulder serving as state superintendent, this was not particularly disadvantageous to the cause of public schooling. Moulder was at the peak of his influence, having been elected overwhelmingly in 1859 on the Democratic ticket. The 1860 legislature was he last to be controlled by the Lecomptonite, or pro-slavery wing, of the Democratic Party. It had no difficulty supporting Moulder's call for cutting off state funds to any public school daring to admit blacks, Asians, or Indians. Yet the body reacted positively to Moulder's recommendations that the county school tax be raised from ten cents to twenty-five cents, that the state superintendent be authorized to appoint an examining board to issue teaching certificates, that school funds must be used during the same school year in which they were appropriated, and that the state board of education be authorized to select a series of textbooks for compulsory adoption by all districts. All of this had not yet led to a full legislative commitment in favor of free public education, but that day appeared to be getting closer.[16]

Moulder had help during his last term as superintendent, likely the result of the match that existed between his political orientation and that of the legislature. Perhaps the most notable contributor to his success was Assemblyman John Conness, who later became a United States senator from California. Conness led the fight against sharing state school funds with parochial schools, mainly Catholic schools. By 1855, opposition to parochial education, particularly public assistance to Catholic schools, resulted in a repeal of the Religious Aid Bill of 1853 and produced a virtual ending of financial assistance for private and religious schools.[17] On the public school front, legislation introduced by Conness in 1861 permitted implementation of the federal ordinances of the 1780s by providing that the proceeds from the sale of the sixteenth and thirty-sixth sections of each township's public lands could be designated for the state school fund. By 1861, nearly 200,000 acres of federal land had been sold and the monies placed in that fund.[18]

Perhaps the greatest of Superintendent Moulder's legacies was the establishment in 1862, his last year in office, of a state normal school for the preparation of teachers. Interestingly, a decade-long delay in establishing a normal school did not seem particularly inappropriate. The supply of teachers in California exceeded the demand during the 1850s, and while the good teachers were concentrated in San Francisco and were not distributed well throughout the state, that city was also the first to recognize the need for a normal school. The actual school was established under city

The old schoolhouse at Murphys, Calaveras County, constructed in 1860. Built by volunteer labor in the Greek Revival style, it has served the community as an educational institution for nearly a century and a half. During the age of gold, one-room schools sprouted up throughout the mining districts, which composed the most populous counties in the state. *Photograph by Anthony Kirk.*

authority five years prior to its designation as a state-supported institution. Moulder had pleaded for the school at his teachers' institutes and at other educational meetings and had helped to organize educator support for it. Notwithstanding the differences in their political parties, Governor Leland Stanford approved the legislation on May 23, 1862, and on July 3, 1862, the new state normal school in San Francisco commenced work with five students in attendance. This humble beginning established the early small roots for additional normal schools and, eventually, state teachers' colleges, state colleges, and ultimately the largest comprehensive university system in the world, the California State University.

When Moulder left office after the 1862 election, he did so with some notable achievements, led by the ones that have been identified above. That said, a critical interpretation of his work from a human rights perspective presents a less generous story of his legacy. Moulder was not above attempting to advance the cause of public education by playing on the racial fears of legislators. Attitudes and policies of racial discrimination in California may be explained in large measure by the legacy of slavery in America, although by midcentury the northern experience in that regard was already much different from the southern experience. Efforts by black people in the northern states during the early national period to interpret equality and freedom quite literally according to the language of the Declaration of Independence had met with some success. Yet, progress in that regard had been painfully slow, as white intellectual and government leaders continued through the first half of the nineteenth century to proclaim one set of principles and act on a different set.

Perhaps Moulder's most outrageous recommendation to the legislature in regard to race was the one contained in an 1858 bill to prohibit local school districts from admitting persons of "inferior races," especially blacks, to schools attended by whites. In his annual report to the legislature that same year he lashed out against the "Negrophilist school of mock philanthropists" who had found their way to California and were attempting to "introduce children of Negroes into our public schools on an equality with whites." Moulder feared amalgamation, and described his worry as follows:

> Until our people are prepared for practical amalgamation, which will probably not be before the millennium, they will rather forego the benefits of our schools than permit their daughters—fifteen, sixteen, and seventeen years of age plus—to affiliate with the sons of Negroes. It is practically reduced to this, then, that our schools must be maintained exclusively for whites, or they will soon become tenanted by blacks alone.[19]

In the same report Moulder urged legislators to withhold funds from any district "that permits the admission of the inferior races into their schools." The affected races he defined as African, Mongolian, and Indian. He denied prejudice, maintaining that he had no prejudice "against a respectable Negro in his place."

Moulder and his successor, the much heralded and respected John Swett, shared a common commitment to free, publicly supported, nonsectarian schooling for the children of California. The one crucial difference, of course, was that Moulder was a committed segregationist. Although Republicans were only slightly more the advocates of racial equality than were Democrats, there were significant differences between the two parties, all of which added up during the Civil War to some improved treatment of blacks under a Republican governor, legislature, and state superintendent of public instruction. For other nonwhites, particularly the Chinese, there was little perceptible difference between the parties.

As secession by southern states began, California Democrats had control of the governor's chair, the legislature, and all four seats in Congress. The Democratic split between pro- and antislavery forces, combined with a dominant loyalist sentiment in the state, assured success for the fledgling Republican Party and the carrying of California by Abraham Lincoln in the presidential election of 1860. Success continued with the election of Republican gubernatorial candidate Leland Stanford in

1861 and with the easy election in 1862 of John Swett as state superintendent of public instruction. In 1863 Republicans gained control of the California legislature for the first time.

Although they lacked political and social equality during gold-rush days, the black leadership of California, ardently committed to education and cultural advancement of their people, campaigned vigorously for equal treatment under the law. They had some slight encouragement from Republicans, nearly none from Democrats. Republicans did give overwhelming support to approving the Thirteenth Amendment to the national constitution on ending slavery in 1865, and in 1867 favored granting blacks all civil rights under the Fourteenth Amendment. It was Republican State Senator Robert F. Perkins of San Francisco who in 1863 successfully steered through the legislature a bill giving blacks the right to testify in court. Success on that front had been the number one priority of blacks throughout the 1850s. For their part, politically active blacks experienced no difficulty perceiving where their support was coming from and backed Republicans virtually without a blink of an eye until the 1880s.

If the right to testify in court and gaining the franchise to vote were the first two political aspirations of blacks, a desire for improved educational opportunities followed closely. On numerous occasions during the 1860s and 1870s, black spokesmen called attention to inequalities within the segregated public school system. During the early part of that period their focus was on achieving public education on terms of approximate equality with whites. All legal impediments to realizing this goal were objected to. At the State Convention of Colored Citizens of California held in 1865, attention was directed toward a section of the school law that permitted, but did not require, local school commissioners to establish schools for blacks even if fewer than ten black children resided in the area. Of the twenty-four resolutions approved at the 1865 convention, two had to do with education. One recommended "our brethren to aim at the same high order of education developed among the white race, and to make such persistent claims on the public educational provisions, and to establish such institutions, where necessary and practicable, as will insure to us and our children that desirable condition." The second resolution was aimed at practical education, it being "the imperative duty of parents, or guardians of children to have them, as far as possible, educated in some branch of business pursuits, by which they may be producers."[20]

There are many indications that California citizens valued education, albeit the commitment to those values differed a good bit, depending on the extent to which children were present in a community. Both white and black Californians appear to have promoted schooling in the interest of advancing the well-being of their families and communities. For blacks, the challenge and obstacles were markedly greater, owing largely to the racist views and policies of most whites. Of the several black leaders who emerged in early California, Jeremiah B. Sanderson was the one who focused his major efforts on education.[21] As a native of New Bedford, Massachusetts, with African, Indian, and Scottish ancestry, Sanderson had obtained a good education, presumably in non-segregated schools. In 1854 he arrived in California, intending only a short stay to improve his financial position before returning home. Shortly after arriving in San Francisco, he left for Sacramento, assuming his leadership and teaching role there in 1855. He was next heard from in San Francisco, where he served as a teacher between 1859 and 1866, with the exception of the 1864–65 term, when another teacher was appointed and Sanderson was made principal of the Broadway Colored School. The advancement of Sanderson lasted only as long as the new assistant, a black woman, remained in her position. When she resigned and was replaced by a white assistant, the school board felt compelled to replace Sanderson with a white principal, lest a black person be placed in a position of authority over a white person. Sanderson was then transferred to a second Negro school in a different part of the city. Not outwardly embittered by his experience in San Francisco, Sanderson in 1869 moved on to Stockton, where he taught for five years in a newly organized school for blacks prior to culminating his career with pastoral duties in Oakland. According to one account, Sanderson's school at Stockton became something of a center of learning for black youth, attracting several students from as far away as Los Angeles.[22] In any case, it seems evident that the small but highly motivated black community in California demonstrated a keen interest in obtaining an education.

The election of John Swett as superintendent of public instruction in 1862, coupled with increasing influence from San Francisco and other emerging urbanized areas, produced new and important support for public schooling.[23] On the issue of race, Swett was decidedly pro-Union and antislavery. His public statements and behavior seemed to indicate that he believed in extending free school opportunities to blacks as well as whites. Dominant racial values of the day, however, seemed to constrain even what Swett was prepared to advocate.

At long last, by 1863 a law was enacted that authorized local school boards to call elections for levying taxes for the purpose of furnishing school facilities or lengthening the school year. The following year, thanks again to Swett's leadership, another major advance occurred. In his first report to the legislature for the previous year, Swett pointed out that while California claimed 754 public schools, only 219 of them were fully "free schools." In the tradition of effective legislative advocacy, Swett drew on more favorable records in other northern states where the schools were all free. He informed the legislators that California raised by taxation only $4.42 per child, and that the total derived from all sources, rate bills included, was only $7 per child. Drawing on contemporary historical developments, including rapid population expansion attributable to the arrival of the railroads, Swett pointed out that the general social and economic fate of California rested with the mass of the population, not with a few brilliant minds.

Swett and his supporters circulated petitions for a state school tax sufficient to meet the educational needs of the state, declaring that it was "the duty of a representative government to maintain public schools as an act of self-preservation."[24] The petitions reportedly received widespread support and only rarely did a citizen decline to sign one. A successful bill followed from this petition effort, one that made provision for an annual state school tax of five cents on each one hundred dollars of taxable property. Each county was required to levy a minimum county school tax equal to two dollars for each child between the ages of four and eighteen years. It increased the maximum rate of county tax allowed by law from twenty-five to thirty cents. Fortuitously, the bill experienced no opposition in the Assembly, but a determined—though unsuccessful—fight to defeat it was met in the Senate. The victory of this legislation effectively assured the future of tax-supported public school education in California. A year later, the state ad valorem tax was increased from five cents to eight cents, and the minimum county tax was raised to three dollars per child.

Swett's crowning achievement was the school law of 1866. In that year the Senate Education Committee formally resolved that the state superintendent prepare a "Revision of the State School Laws." Such an invitation gave to Swett a magnificent opportunity to include every progressive element in support of public education that he believed could meet with legislative approval. Much of the work only amounted to a reenactment of the laws, but the comprehensive nature of the undertaking permitted the resulting bill to be named "An Act to Provide for a System of Common Schools." This legislative achievement established California in the front ranks of progressive states so far as a *full system* of free public education was concerned. The major points were summarized well by Roy W. Cloud nearly a half-century ago. Among the features of this legislation were the following:

1. Provision for a reorganization of the state board of education to consist of nine members and the formation of a separate board of normal school trustees of eight members.
2. Authorization of the state board of education to adopt rules and regulations for the conduct of the schools; to establish a course of study for district schools and to adopt a uniform state series of textbooks for such schools.
3. Provision for the payment of necessary expenses for teachers' institutes from the county school fund.
4. A requirement that all school districts furnish at district expense, school supplies, ink, chalk, pens, and stationery for use by the pupils.
5. Limit school hours for children under eight years of age to four hours a day, exclusive of intermissions.

6. Establishment of school libraries paid for by 10 percent of the state school apportionment.
7. Provision for the granting of life diplomas, i.e., certificates to teach, for teachers having ten years' experience; recognized normal school diplomas from other states and required that city, state, and county boards of examination be composed of professional teachers only.
8. Authorize and require school trustees to levy district school tax sufficient to keep a free school open five months in a year.
9. Provision for a state tax of 8 cents on each $100 of taxable property; a minimum county school tax of $3 per census child; and a maximum tax of 35 cents on each $100.[25]

When Swett left office in 1867, the state's public school system was enrolling approximately 46 percent of California's white children and 40 percent of its black children, but fewer than 1 percent of the Indian and Asian children.[26] Blacks clearly had asserted some influence and acquired some power. How far they had come is reflected in the statistics cited above. How far they still had to go in order to achieve equality is revealed in the debate and terms of the 1866 legislation. For the first time, the new legislation did permit a local school board, by majority vote, to admit into schools for whites "half-breed Indian children and Indian children who live with white families or under the guardianship of white persons." Other nonwhites would be allowed to attend school with whites only if a school district could not provide for their instruction in any other way. Under that circumstance local trustees would have to approve the idea by a majority vote, whereupon their decision would stand unless a majority of white parents objected in writing.[27]

A Senate amendment to the bill giving trustees authority to admit nonwhites into the schools passed by a vote of 25 to 5. The Assembly, however, refused to concur, thereby temporarily endangering the entire bill. Doubtlessly Swett could have lived with the amendment himself, but it was not something he viewed as worthy of fighting for at the risk of endangering his landmark legislation. The people of California were, he reported in 1867, "decidedly in favor of separate schools for colored children."[28] The amendment was deleted from the final version of the bill. The near absence of state-provided schooling for Indian and Asian children is explained by their own cultural orientation, by their lack of power, and by white prejudice. The harshest days of Chinese exclusion and discrimination against other minority groups still lay ahead.

If John Swett appears to Californians at the end of the twentieth century as a leader who was prepared to place pragmatic considerations ahead of principle on the issue of race, such a conclusion would be hard to refute. At the same time, it is not difficult to understand. Events soon confirmed that his social and political worries were warranted. By the end of the Civil War, improved unity in the Democratic Party and the arrival of numerous new residents, including many Chinese, led to defeat for the Republican ticket in 1867. Swett too was a casualty, losing to the southern sympathizer Reverend O. P. Fitzgerald, the same Breckenridge Democrat who had finished third and last in the 1862 election. The voters did, indeed, prefer "separate schools for colored children." As innocuous as the 1866 school law was on the race issue, it was too progressive for a majority of state legislators in the years immediately ahead. By 1870 two changes of note occurred. First, sparked by racist attitudes against an increasing number of Chinese, no reference at all was made in Section 56 of the school law to "Mongolian" children, the clear implication being that they should be excluded from participating in the benefits of public schooling. Second, no reference was made to the possibility, remote though it was, that blacks and Indians might he admitted to school with whites if local trustees chose to accommodate them in that manner.

The significance of educational legislation passed between 1863 and 1866 cannot be overemphasized. Professor Benjamin Silliman of Yale College, one of the nation's most eminent educators of his day, spoke of it in his graduation address at the private College of California in 1867. Silliman referred to Californians' having laid the foundations and set up the framework for "the best system of general common-school education for the whole people that existed in any state or country where the English language was spoken."[29] Setting up an institution of public schooling was of primary importance, but the quality of that institution would be defined by the quality of teachers serving in the schools, by the instructional programs offered in the schools, and by the materials that students and teachers had to work with. Early school leaders in California attended to all three needs as best they could, but the scarcity of dollars and qualified teachers seemed inevitably to make the challenge greater than the means to meet it.

State law during the early years of statehood made no restrictions on the level or subject that a teacher could teach, and local school committees were not about to enforce any restrictions themselves. Teachers in gold-rush California enjoyed closeness to their pupils and communities that they gradually lost in later years. In a technical and legal sense, the only qualification for teaching in those years was a willingness to teach and an ability to pass the scrutiny of a local school committee. As was the case with nearly all nineteenth-century occupations, a college education was not required. Local school committees were not infrequently made up of illiterate persons who were not above applying capricious standards in favor of hiring their friends and relatives for the low-status job of teacher. Yet, no matter how low the salary or the status, the occupation always held an attraction for some, particularly women, whose own nineteenth-century identities were closely associated with child-rearing.

Interestingly, the growing feminization of teaching in California was not evident until the years after 1860. In that year, 560 men teachers and 218 women teachers were believed to be working in California. By 1876, the gender majority had reversed dramatically to 1,167 men and 1,983 women. Salary discrimination seems always to have existed, albeit the differential during the 1860s was less dramatic in California than in the eastern states. For example, in 1864 the average woman teacher received $62 per month; the average man $74. Over the next half-century there grew in California and the nation the virtual truism that "women were admirably suited to the classroom," an observation that has invited to this day a mix of positive and negative analyses of gender roles and salaries.[30]

Beginning in 1863 with legislation written by John Swett, the state board of education became fully responsible for teacher examinations at all levels. However, the triumph of state authority was more apparent than real, as local school boards continued to hire and rehire teachers according to criteria they approved. Even as early as the 1860s, there was some modest advantage for teachers to pass the state examination, as contrasted with a county examination. While the locally prepared examinations generally were valid for just one year, the examinations established by the state authorized service for two, three, or four years, depending on the teacher's score. From the 1860s forward into the twentieth century, the counties exercised authority to issue certificates to elementary teachers.[31]

An obvious consequence of minimal preparation of teachers and easy access to the occupation was low status and little teacher independence from school committees in the management of schools. Established by state legislation passed in 1862, the State Normal School, a subcollegiate institution specifically designed for the preparation of teachers, constituted the first line in the training of teachers. The law provided that the state board of education, together with the city superintendents of schools in San Francisco, Sacramento, and Marysville, should be the board of trustees for the new school. What had changed, however, were only the governance structure and the funding source. The actual fledgling institution had existed since 1857 under San Francisco authority. In 1871 the institution moved to what was to become its permanent site in San Jose. Not until 1881 was the second such school authorized by the legislature, this one for Los Angeles.[32]

What has recently become known as "staff development" also began at an early date. Beginning in late December 1854, State Superintendent Paul Hubbs assumed initiative for convening the first state convention of teachers. The event was held in San Francisco and drew approximately one hundred teachers from most of the northern settlements of California. The program consisted of inspirational addresses, the sharing of stories about practice, discussions of ways to secure support for schools, and expressions of concern about salaries. Less than two years later, a second teachers' convention was held at Benicia, this time with about sixty teachers in attendance. Among the speakers was John A. Monroe, a United States commissioner at San Francisco,

The young women of Mills' Seminary, as Mills College was formerly called, gather for a delightfully informal portrait beneath the spreading limbs of an oak tree on the school grounds. Established in 1852 as the Benicia Seminary by Mary Atkins, and later purchased by Cyrus and Susan Mills, who moved the institution to Oakland, it was the first women's college in the Far West. *California Historical Society, FN-29897.*

who spoke about the need for "thorough training" as an essential for success in life. Others talked about the mission of females as teachers and about courses of study.

By 1861, the early staff-development approach received legislative support when State Superintendent Andrew Moulder received $3,000 to put on the first state teachers' institute, a three-day event attended by 250 teachers. Featured topics included a speech stressing the need for uniform state textbooks, a gymnastics demonstration, a discussion of school discipline, and a lecture on methods of teaching. This meeting, and similar institutes held in 1862 and 1863, emphasized the continuing need for greater public school funding. The symbolic sign of professional success was to be a publication, *The California Teacher*, which was published under various sponsorship between 1863 and 1876. By 1875, roughly the end of the gold-rush period, California teachers and principals were becoming numerous enough, resolute enough, and well organized enough to form the California Teachers Association (CTA), an organization that would become a potent force in the state's educational history from its first day to this.[33]

If the legislative session of 1866 may be thought of as producing the capstone achievement for the advance of elementary education late in the gold-rush days of California, the capstone event in higher education may be thought of as coming only a bit more than a year later. On March 21, 1868, a bill sponsored by Assemblyman John W. Dwinelle of Alameda County received legislative approval for the state to acquire the small, private College of California and to transform it into the public University of California. A week later, an appropriation bill followed, which made it possible for the university to operate, and a year after that, in 1869, it began operation at the College of California's site in Oakland.

The university brought with it a legacy rooted in the history of American higher education, including the classical traditions of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century influences produced greater egalitarian values in society and in higher education, but change was slow in coming. Such colleges as were established nationally until beyond the mid-nineteenth century favored the traditional liberal arts curriculum and the study of law and religion. Eventually, however, the practical necessity of forging a new nation based on a strong agricultural economy created a need for practical studies as well. Soon these contested for a place in the college curriculum. Congressional passage in 1862 of the first Morrill Act for the advancement of higher education in agricultural and mechanic arts granted public land to support state universities emphasizing that curriculum.

The Morrill Act was intended to change dramatically the focus of American higher education in favor of more practical studies. While it was largely successful in that regard over time, the power of classical education could not be set aside easily. The fate of state universities was not necessarily linked with practical studies. Although the University of California was founded shortly after passage of the Morrill Act, it patterned its early curriculum as much, arguably more, after the private colleges of the East. The leading western state university at the time was the University of Michigan, an institution that emphasized Greek and Latin, the natural sciences, mathematics, philosophy, and morals.

The experience of English influence on higher education in America dated back virtually to the founding of Harvard College in 1636. Thus, the desire and expectation for higher learning in America was well established prior to the American period in California. By 1850 the U.S. census reported 119 colleges, along with 44 theological seminaries, 36 medical schools, and 16 law schools.[34] Like its experience with elementary education, the state's establishing of private and public colleges hardly could be described as pioneering. However, they were substantial, and in less than a hundred years after its founding, the state university's new campus at Berkeley, first occupied in 1873, was described by objective observers of American higher education as, in the words of the American Council of Education, the "best balanced, distinguished university in the country."[35]

The story of the University of California's founding in 1868 starts at the beginning of the American period. Samuel H. Wiley, a Monterey Protestant clergyman, proposed in 1849 that a public university be established.[36] Soon Wiley acted on his ideals. An influential chaplain at the first constitutional convention, he may have influenced the authorization in the first constitution of funds from the sale and rental of state lands to support a university. Clearly, though, this constitutional authorization did not have an immediate impact. The legislature did in its first session in 1851 establish a university board and mandated that a site valued at no less than $20,000 be acquired. Almost immediately the new trustees acquired an offer of land in San Jose, but the Supreme Court found that offer unacceptable. The failure of this initial effort essentially ended the public effort until after passage of the first Morrill Act.

Private efforts to found colleges succeeded during the 1850s even as public effort failed. Wiley transferred his pastoral services from Monterey to San Francisco, where he established a close friendship with Henry Durant, a Yale graduate and Congregational minister. Together, in 1853, they and several other Congregational and Presbyterian clergy founded an academy-level institution offering classes for three students at a house in Oakland. Two years later they won a legislative charter and founded Contra Costa Academy, known after 1860 as the College of California. Notwithstanding that they appeared to have more space than students at their site in Oakland, Durant, Wiley, and their small band of sponsors sought to acquire a site that in the future would be worthy of an institution of moral and intellectual greatness. The pursuit was successful, and in 1858 they purchased a magnificent 140-acre site on both banks of Strawberry Creek in the Berkeley hills. The college remained in Oakland for more than a decade, however.

Durant became the college's first professor. The second was Martin Kellogg,

Joseph Le Conte, professor of geology and natural history, lectures to his class in South Hall at the University of California on a spring day in 1874. A student of Louis Agassiz's at Harvard, he arrived in California in 1869 and was for some years the only scholar with an international reputation to teach at the new university. Popular with his students—inspiring both Josiah Royce and Frank Norris in their formative years—he was not only an innovative scientific thinker but a great outdoorsman, who in 1870 made the first of many trips into the High Sierra. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

pastor of the First Congregational Church at Grass Valley and, beginning in 1868, professor of Latin and Greek at the newly transformed university. Both men went on to become important presidents of the University of California. Durant was the founding president and served until July 30, 1872, a year before the completion of the first building on the Berkeley campus. Kellogg was the seventh president and presided over the increasing growth of the institution during the 1890s.

Even as the college and later university's faculty was often resistant to the practical influences of the Morrill Act, the eventual transformation of the private College of California into a state-supported university was made possible by that act. It provided to each state 30,000 acres of public lands to public higher education

Sometime in the 1860s the San Francisco photographer Carleton E. Watkins traveled to the south end of the bay and made this rather forlorn image of Santa Clara College. Established in the old buildings of Mission Santa Clara de Asís in 1851 by the Jesuit priest John Nobili, it was the first institution of higher learning in the Golden State—though the nearby California Wesleyan University (University of the Pacific) was the first to receive a state charter. Four years earlier, an overland immigrant, Olive Mann Isbell, had opened the first American school in California at Santa Clara Mission. *California Historical Society, FN-05859.*

institutions, presumably devoted to the establishment of agriculture and mechanical arts. In 1868 Henry Durant was able to convince a state commission to merge the university with the College of California and to relocate it on the site of the college's recently acquired acreage in Berkeley. For the college's part, its board voted to convey to the University of California all its assets and debts, including the Berkeley land, and then to disincorporate. The approach worked, and California gained an institution with at least a semblance of maturity. When the new university opened in the fall of 1869, thirty-eight students began their study.[37] Agriculture and classical studies shared the curriculum.

Not only the College of California, but all efforts to begin collegiate-level instruction during California's gold-rush period were initiated from a religious influnce. Even prior to the efforts of Congregationalists and Presbyterians to found the College of California, Methodists in 1851 had founded California Wesleyan College at San Jose, and later in the same year renamed it the College of the Pacific. In spite of significant financial challenges during its early years, the institution managed to stay open and thus deserves the distinction of being the longest-surviving college in California. Within the next two decades Catholics established four colleges in northern California—Santa Clara (1851), San Francisco (1855), St. Mary's (1855), and Notre Dame (1855). They also established a college in southern California, St. Vincent (1865), now Loyola Marymount University.

During their first twenty years under statehood, California citizens had created the initial and fledgling educational institutional structures that would serve them and succeeding generations for the balance of the nineteenth century and through the entire twentieth century. A public system of free elementary education was initiated and was gaining support. A normal school had been created for the training of teachers. A state university that would become the envy of the world was begun. The beginnings of a state-mandated curriculum were in evidence. Teachers were being tested and certified. Even as progress seemed slow and plodding to early public school activists, it looks more impressive to students of the state's history. If there is any other lesson in this story it is probably this: History flows in an ever-changing continuum, even as human needs and human nature seem to remain remarkably constant. Education in gold-rush California was the product of what went before and what was occurring at the time. The achievements were notable. So were the lapses and inequalities. The story is a continuing one, and one where hope and optimism have most often outdistanced despair and pessimism.

NOTES

1. Over the past twenty-five years there have been numerous doctoral dissertations and articles written on racial discrimination in California and the West. Among the most comprehensive, general, and accessible to the general reader are Charles M. Wollenberg, *All Deliberate Speed: Segregation and Exclusion in California Schools, 1855–1975* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), and Irving G. Hendrick, *The Education of Non-Whites in California, 1849–1970* (San Francisco: R & E Research Associates, 1977).

2. Virtually all general histories of American education tell the story of the founding of the system of common schools. Likely the most comprehensive and objective of these is Lawrence A. Cremin, *American Education: The National Experience, 1783–1876* (New York: Harper & Row, 1980).

3. California, *Constitution,* 1849, Article IX.

4. William B. Spring, "The Influence of Interest Groups on Educational Legislation in California" (Ed.D. diss., Stanford University, 1963), 45.

5. Irving G. Hendrick, *California Education: A Brief History* (San Francisco: Boyd & Fraser, 1980), 7.

6. The first hundred years in the development of the California state department of education is told in Leighton H. Johnson, *Development of the Central State Agency for Public Education in California, 1849–1949* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1952).

7. California Legislature, *Journal of the Senate,* First Session, December 20, 1849, p. 20. A full discussion of this earliest period for public education is found in two excellent sources: David F. Ferris, *Judge Marvin and the Founding of the California Public School System,* University of California Publications in Education, vol. 14 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), 51–52; and William W. Ferrier, *Ninety Years of Education in California, 1846–1936* (Berkeley: Sather Gate Book Shop, 1937).

8. California Superintendent of Public Instruction, *First Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction* (1852), 45. This source is also quoted in Ferris, *Judge Marvin and the Founding of the California Public School System,* 72.

9. Ferris, *Judge Marvin and the Founding of the California Public School System,* 138.

10. See Ferris, *Judge Marvin and the Founding of the California Public School System,* 55.

11. Ferrier, *Ninety Years of Education in California,* 35–40. This was the first, and arguably is still the best and most comprehensive, narrative history of early California education yet written.

12. California Superintendent of Public Instruction, *First Annual Report,* 45.

13. John Bigler, "Governor's Special Message to the Senate and Assembly of California, Benicia, January 31, 1854," *Appendix to Assembly Journal* (Sacramento, 1854).

14. Roy W. Cloud, *Education in California* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1952), 27. No book published to date about education in California contains as much detailed information for the period between 1849 and 1949 as this book by a former executive secretary of the California Teachers Association.

15. Cloud, *Education in California,* 38.

16. Spring, "Influence of Interest Groups on Educational Legislation," 58.

17. Ibid., 54.

18. John Swett, *History of the Public School System of California* (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft, 1876), 31.

19. Hendrick, *California Education,* 10; California Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Annual Report* (1858), in *Appendix to Senate Journal* (Sacramento, 1858), 7.

20. *Proceedings of the California State Convention of Colored Citizens held in Sacramento on the 25th, 26th, 27th, and 28th of October, 1865* (San Francisco: Office of *The Elevator,* 1865), 78–81, 95, 99, 100, as cited in Irving G. Hendrick, *Public Policy Toward the Education of Non-White Minority Group Children, 1849–1970: Final Report* (Riverside: School of Education, University of California, Riverside, 1975), 33.

21. Rudolph M. Lapp, "Jeremiah B. Sanderson: Early California Negro Leader," *Journal of Negro History* 53 (October 1968): 321–33; Sue Baily Thurman, *Pioneers of Negro Origin in California* (San Francisco: Acme Publishing Co., 1952), 37–40.

22. Thurman, *Pioneers of Negro Origin,* 40.

23. Although cases have been made for the first state superintendent of public instruction (John Gage Marvin) and the third (Andrew Moulder) being honored as the founders of California's public school system, that honor is most frequently assigned to the fourth state superintendent, John Swett, owing to the significance of the school law of 1866. In addition to his biennial reports as state superintendent of public instruction and numerous contributions to state education journals, Swett also wrote *Public Education in California* (New York:

American Book Co., 1911). Biographies about him include William G. Carr, *John Swett: The Biography of an Educational Pioneer* (Santa Ana: Fine Arts Press, 1933), and Nicholas C. Polos, *John Swett: California's Frontier Schoolmaster* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1978).

24. Ferrier, *Ninety Years of Education in California,* 12.

25. Cloud, *Education in California,* 42.

26. Hendrick, *Education of Non-Whites in California,* 17.

27. California, Statutes, chap. 342, sec. 56 (1866), and quoted in Hendrick, *Education of Non-Whites in California,* 16.

28. Rudolph M. Lapp, "The Negro in Gold Rush California," *The Journal of Negro History* 49 (April 1964): 85–86.

29. Ferrier, *Ninety Years of Education in California,* 12.

30. Kathleen Weiler, *Country Schoolwomen: Teaching in Rural California, 1850–1950* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 36–38.

31. The long and often changing state experience with credentialing teachers has been told in numerous doctoral dissertations over the past five decades. The most detailed and comprehensive explication is found in Ralph E. Brott, Jr., "The Cyclical Nature of Education Reform: A Case Analysis of Educator Certification in California" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1989).

32. Cloud, *Education in California,* 49–50, 80.

33. Ibid., 63.

34. Cremin, *American Education: The National Experience, 1783–1876,* 400.

35. Hendrick, *California Education,* 55.

36. Likely still the best source of information concerning the earliest history of the University of California is one of the oldest: William W. Ferrier, *Origin and Development of the University of California* (Berkeley: Sather Gate Book Shop, 1930).

37. Hendrick, *California Education,* 50–52; Ferrier, *Ninety Years of Education in California,* 177–87.

10

Phelan's Cemetery

Religion in the Urbanizing West, 1850–1869, in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Sacramento

Steven M. Avella

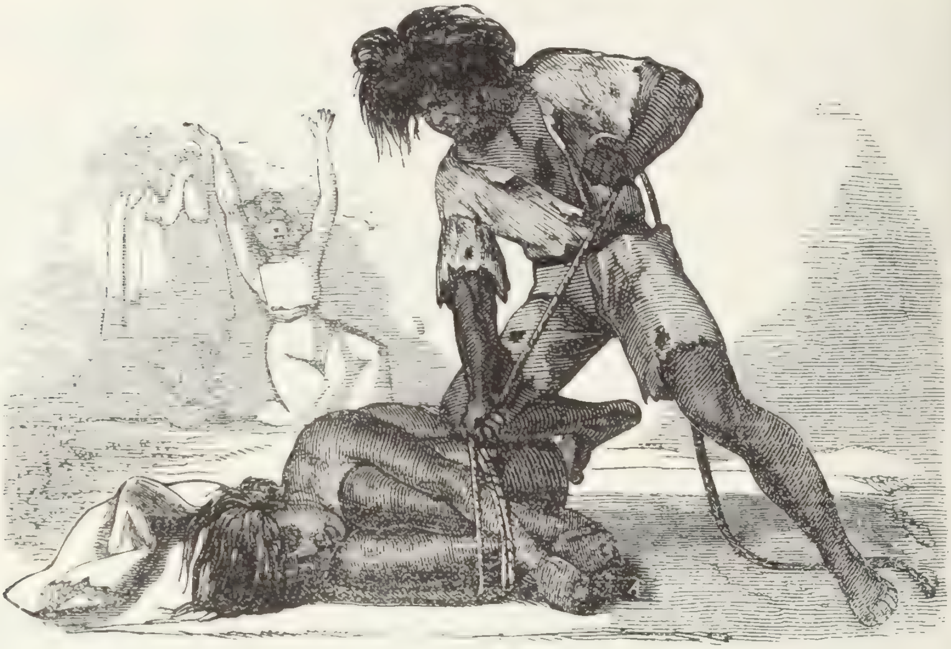
A tremendous explosion shook the bustling city of Sacramento at about noon on January 27, 1854. Within a few hundred feet of docking at the city wharves, the steamer *Pearl,* en route from Marysville, blew up, hurling bodies and debris into the air. Fifty-five people died in the blast, and most of the one hundred or so passengers sustained some sort of injury. The power and frightfulness of the explosion shook the city to its foundations. "Our city is overshadowed by gloom," wrote Sacramento physician Gregory J. Phelan as he related the tragedy to readers of the *New York Freeman.* On the day of the burial of the victims, businesses closed and the streets were draped in black bunting. The legislature adjourned to attend the funeral and more than three thousand marched to the Sacramento city cemetery. In the procession were the Sacramento Pioneer Associates, members of the legislature, fire companies, Hebrew Society, temperance societies, Odd Fellows, Free Masons, and Chinese immigrants. Phelan related:

> All the dead were buried in the City Cemetery. Perhaps in no country could a similar scene be exhibited. Christians of various denominations and Pagans, each with their peculiar rites and ceremonies, placed in the earth almost side by side.
>
> While the voices of the choir resounded through the air, the sounds of the strange strains of Chinese music fell upon the ear. And while the ministers of various denominations were discoursing of the sad event which caused this vast assemblage, and were offering up prayers to the one only God, the disciples of Confucius were chanting their services, providing a feast for the departed spirits, and preparing them for that unknown journey [from] whence no traveler returns. . . .[1]

The imagery of this powerful cemetery scene evokes so many realities of early American California: the fragility of life, the heterogeneity of the population, and the spontaneity with which the highly individualistic community came together in the wake of a common tragedy. The funeral services also encapsulated a unique moment in the religious world of Californians, and one could reasonably speculate as to what was running through their minds as they beheld these rituals. To the strongly Roman Catholic Phelan, the strangeness of it all is clear from the tone of his writing. No doubt practitioners of the other religious traditions represented at the grave site were similarly bemused or intrigued by the behavior of those around them. Among the mourners were certainly those who had no particular religious affiliation at all, and the state of their minds would not find its way into any denominational journal dedicated to reporting on the state of religion in the West. Whatever the people's reactions, in Phelan's cemetery, with its cacophonous rituals for the dead, we have a snapshot of the realities of religion in the American West.

ELEMENTS OF RELIGION IN THE AMERICAN WEST

To some degree, regional realities have always defined the meridian of religious life in America.[2] Puritanism subsisted within a New England shell. Evangelical religion is often best understood against a southern backdrop. In the American West, this is also the case, for as historians Ferenc Szasz and Margaret Connell Szasz observe, "The vastness of this immense territory, with its many ecological subregions, provided a multitude of homes for native belief systems, as well as for the diverse faiths brought by European, African, and Asian immigrants."[3] Into this diverse geographical and cultural container, with its extensive spatial distances and peculiar patterns of migration, poured a plethora of religious beliefs, customs, rituals, and institutions.[4] Without exhausting the list of regional variables, one can note the distinctiveness of some: the diversity of native tribal cultures; the spatial distances that provided shelter and isolation for religious outsiders, such as the Mormons; and the presence of Latino, Asian, and even Russian communities, with their religious traditions. In the cyclotron of these conditions, these groups constantly collided with one another, jarring each other's sensibilities and carefully constructed theologies, cosmologies, and philosophies. The collision among these competing realities sometimes evoked negative reactions, but more often than not, and to the dismay of many co-religionists in the East, it created a live-and-let-live mentality that made the West a natural home to a wide spectrum of religious beliefs and philosophies.[5] No doubt this was also facilitated by the sheer distance that separated settlers from the social controls of their home nations or cities, weakening denominational ties and producing some of the lowest rates of church membership and attendance in America. "When I left home in Missouri," one miner told Methodist William Taylor, "I hung my religious cloak on my gate-post until I should return."[6]



A northern Maidu binds a corpse as part of a ritual used both in burial and cremation. The diversity of religious customs among the native tribes of California anticipated the complex mosaic of beliefs and ceremonies brought to El Dorado by peoples of different faiths from every quarter of the globe. *California Historical Society, FN-31549.*

CALIFORNIA

In California many of these larger regional trends were concentrated, and all of them had a bearing on its religious development. The state's geographical diversity provided a multitude of different settings and backdrops for religious expression.[7] California's cultural geography was equally complex, including Native American, Hispanic, a myriad of European American groups, and Asian communities, all of which produced a bewildering (at least for an easterner) array of religious systems.

What especially distinguishes California's regional environment were the conditions of its population growth. Here, not only the massive influx of people brought by the Gold Rush, but also the materialism that undergirded this movement, provided an important challenge to traditional religious values.[8] "The Americans think only of dollars, talk only of dollars, seek nothing but dollars," wrote one Catholic priest of the Argonauts; "they are the men of dollars."[9] The disgusted cleric noted not only the material preoccupation of the Argonauts, but also their overwhelming male gender and perhaps their youth as facts significantly affecting the shape of religion in the Golden State.

California's peculiar, pioneer religious pattern has been a hearty perennial inter-st of denominational historians.[10] More recently, historians anxious to provide a "thick(er) description" of California life have attempted to ascertain the interplay of California's distinctive environment with the religious experience of its various inhabitants and to "write in" the religious component of California's larger past.[11] One of the earliest examples of this was William Hanchett, whose unpublished 1952 doctoral dissertation examined the role of Christian churches in the Gold Rush. Hanchett's research sought to determine whether religion either brought about social stability on the gold mining frontier, or was a beneficiary or product of a gradual process of "civilization." Hanchett concluded the latter, but his work provided an early example of attempts to intersect religion with the wider sphere of life in California.[12]

In that same vein, Tamar (Sandra) Sizer Frankiel's slender volume, *California's Spiritual Frontiers* (1988), used the realities of geography and climate to offer some provocative suggestions about the spiritual and denominational liberation many religiously strait-jacketed Argonauts and seekers of health experienced when they came to the sunny climes of the West Coast.[13] Kevin Starr and Laurie Maffly-Kipp have used the social and cultural backdrop of gold-rush California to explain why, despite the prodigious efforts of an erudite, eloquent, and well-heeled ministry, the New England Protestant establishment was unable to build a new "city on a hill" on the shores of the Pacific.[14] Historians of the Asian American experience, such as Sucheng Chan, testify to the importance of religious institutions in establishing a foothold for these "exotic" faith traditions on California soil.[15] All of these historians grasp the same essential insight: namely, that religion in the West is indeed, according to Kevin Starr's term, the "Great Exception."[16] Some have suggested that the study of California's dynamic diversity and distinctiveness, paradigmatic of the entire Pacific Slope, might very well stimulate a major reinterpretation of the controlling narratives of American religious history.[17]

Deeply indebted to the work of those historians, the essay at hand seeks to integrate California's religious heritage into the wider framework of the state's social and cultural history by examining the role of religion in shaping the urban cultures of Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Sacramento.[18] Each of these cities would merit a monograph on the subject of religion and urban culture, and here the limits of space provide the opportunity for only the proverbial "lick and a promise." Nonetheless, urban communities provide the best laboratories to examine the interplay of religion with the environment. Within their boundaries the full spectrum of religious activity—indeed the sacralization of the soil—took place. The chronological boundaries of this essay take us from the flux of the gold-rush era to a moment of "settling" symbolized by the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, a defining moment in California's history.

Religious communities and institutions in these cities played an important role in rooting culture in the barbarous soil of California. First and foremost, they reflected the deepest beliefs and aspirations of the men and women who adhered to them. In this essay, religion and religious sensibilities are not treated as epiphenomena that served as a substitute for "real" underlying economic or social concerns. Rather, it takes seriously the claims of the devotees and faithful practitioners that these religious beliefs helped them make sense of life's most profound questions and transitions and connected them to the supernatural. In early California, religion was often the only framework of meaning in a sometimes confusing and chaotic world. Witness, for example, the sentiments of some who thought the discovery of gold in California was a providential event with millennial implications. "Why sir," asked E. L. Cleaveland writing in *Home Missionary,* "were the immense treasures of California hidden from all the world, even the keen-scented Spaniard, until she was annexed to this Republic? And tell me, if anyone can, why it was that the title deed of transference had no sooner passed into our hands, than she gave up her mighty secret, and unlocked her golden gate. Is it possible not to see the hand of God in all this?"[19] Religion also provided an important impetus for moral and ethical conduct and a spur to action. William Hanchett suggests the intensity of the spiritual motivation of gold-rush-era clergy when he notes, "the concern of the Christian Churches, both Protestant and Catholic, to get missionaries into Gold Rush California, was in direct proportion to the eagerness of Argonauts all over the world to get there."[20]

Yet, in their essentially spiritual quest, religious institutions and communities were not hermetically sealed from the world around them, and the distinctions between the sacred and the secular were often erased. Although often undertaken for the highest spiritual purposes, the activity of religious people had a significant impact on the urban milieu. For example, religious institutions invested in city property by building schools and hospitals, helped to create social peace, and occasionally attempted to influence local politics.[21] One San Francisco businessman expressed the social importance of religion perfectly when he welcomed a newly arrived minister in 1849 by observing that "Property is worth more under the Gospel, life is safer, community is happier—we can't do without it."[22]

A comprehensive history of religion and life in California has yet to be written, but a review of city-booster publications, monographs, articles, and dissertations suggests similar patterns of religious development in most of California's cities with the onset of the Gold Rush. Native American and Hispanic Catholic religious worlds were overwhelmed by the rush of new settlers and gold miners and were either pushed aside or forced out of existence, although in some places, like Los Angeles, Hispanic Catholicism held on. Enthusiastic evangelical Protestants, funded by mission societies in the East, dispatched missionaries to California, determined to make the West a new "city on a hill." San Francisco provided the common port of ntry for most of them (although a few came overland), and these doughty men of God began their work by preaching in the Bay City and quickly moved to establish emporary and later more permanent houses of worship.[23] Boarding river steamers, missionaries next moved to the supply cities of the gold country—Sacramento, Stockton, and Marysville—replicating these same patterns of preaching, organizing, and building. From there they moved to the more remote mining camps or cities, preaching and exhorting as conditions warranted. Catholic missionaries appeared simultaneously, recruited along with Catholic immigrants from a variety of countries, and determined to revivify, modify, and assume control of the remnants of Hispanic Catholicism. Jews, Mormons, and Chinese religious communities mobilized as well to carve out their respective niches in the burgeoning El Dorado. Like their Protestant counterparts, these "outsiders" made their collective presence felt as they too preached, organized congregations, and built churches. All religious groups experienced the same process of interaction with California's polyglot population: initial transitory encounters with interested or homesick Argonauts, which ultimately evolved into more stable and permanent relationships within settled and financially secure congregations. When the gold fever ended and urban life became more settled, a greater institutional visibility for religious communities resulted in new, permanent (and sometimes very impressive) church buildings, Sunday schools, benevolent societies, elementary schools, separate academies for boys and girls, and social welfare institutions. Virtually all of these patterns are to be found in the case studies of this essay: Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Sacramento.

Yet, we must again remind ourselves, important differences exist among these cities that make sweeping generalizations highly perilous. Since the regional culture around each of them was so different, the role and function of religion in city-building varied from place to place. What follows is a sample of some of the ways religious belief systems and institutions affected the development of these communities.

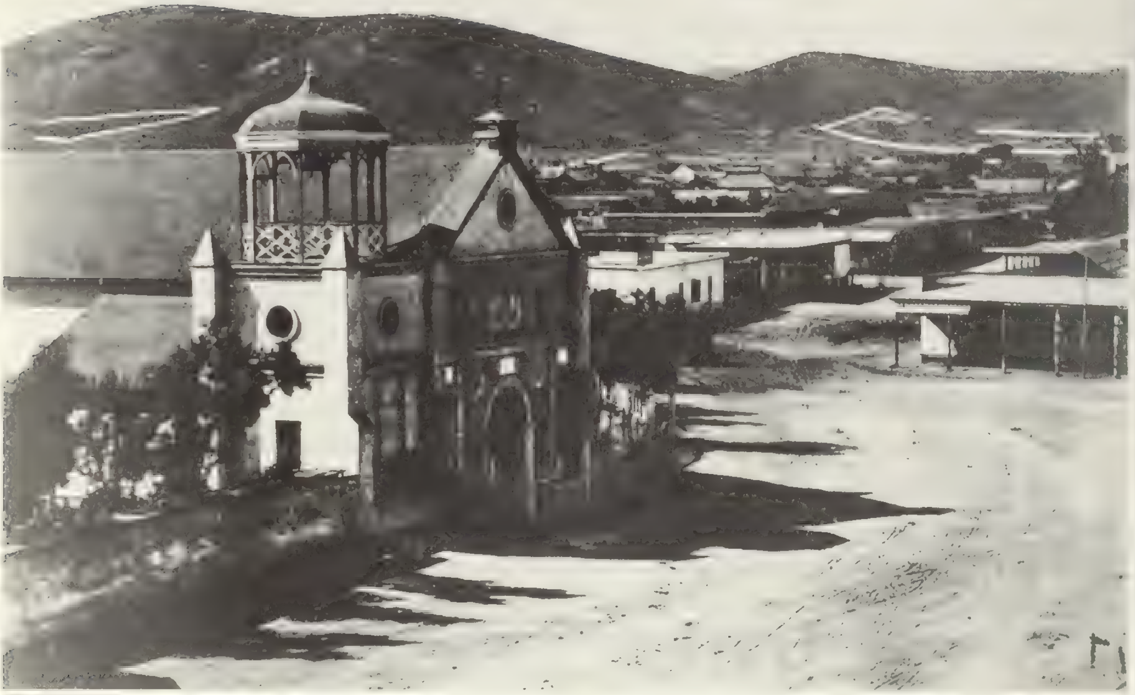
LOS ANGELES: RELIGION AND CULTURAL PERSISTENCE

Much changed with the American takeover of California in 1848. In southern California, the new American administration brought about significant changes to the land-holding and economic life of the powerful Spanish/Mexican rancheros who had so defined and controlled the order of things in earlier times. These grandees of the old order felt quickly the effects of the American regime—especially in redefining their relationship and rights to the lands they had accumulated under Mexican rule. Lured by soaring gold-rush-era food prices, rancheros were weaned from largely subsistence activities to market farming and large-scale cattle ranching, were compelled for the first time to pay property taxes on their holdings, and ultimately found their rights to the land challenged by American property and boundary regulations.[24] These changes also dramatically altered the relationship between the once mostly self-sufficient ranchos and the sleepy pueblo of Los Angeles. As the ranchos dissolved into commercial enterprises and small farms with even greater productivity, the importance of the city as a processing and commercial center increased proportionally. Los Angeles's population grew steadily from 1,610 in 1850 to 5,738 in 1870, with most of this increase coming from an influx of American settlers. Los Angeles was then fixed on the path of urbanization, a process that would culminate with the arrival of a transcontinental railroad in 1876. These developments ultimately relegated the community's distinctively Hispanic elements to "picturesque" status. However, as much as the world shifted around them, the older Californio culture would persist, to some extent, through a continued adherence to Roman Catholic folk religion. Catholicism's rituals and way of life provided one avenue of cultural resistance to the onset of Americanization. The proof of this was the inability of mainline evangelical churches, often seen as agents of Americanization, to gain much beyond a toehold in the city of the Angels.

"It is important to bear in mind," writes historian Michael Engh, "that southern California was a frontier that stood as an exception to the patterns of religious pioneering in the United States."[25] Indeed, Protestant evangelical groups had tried in vain since the 1850s to thrive in Los Angeles. Part of the reason for this was, of course, the lure of the gold fields of the north. This made it difficult for early Los Angeles to attract and retain a permanent Protestant presence through the 1850s and 1860s. Few Anglo-Americans wished to live in Los Angeles at this time, and the Protestant denominations, even those with strong records of adaptability to frontier locations, such as the Methodists, did not have a critical mass of men and women to sustain worship and institutional growth. Moreover, Protestant ministers who did come with any hopes of converting the locals (and this was never a priority with Anglo-Protestants) were hampered by their inability to speak Spanish. As a result, there was no permanent Protestant establishment in Los Angeles until Old School Presbyterian minister James Woods succeeded in incorporating a church in 1854. However, even Woods was unable to sustain the fledgling congregation and it languished, unable to finish a church building until 1862. Woods's experience was not unique, for as Engh observes, "Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian church leaders had dispatched dedicated clergymen to serve the spiritual needs in Los Angeles, only to see one divine after another give up the demoralizing field."[26] What demoralized Protestant evangelicals even more was the visible presence of Roman Catholicism in the city. The discomfit that church brought to the traditionally anti-Catholic Yankees who visited the community is evident in a letter of a federal land commissioner from Vermont, Hiland Hall. Hall wrote of a Sunday festival in honor of the Virgin Mary that he witnessed in September 1852. "This is Sunday morning, and the manner in which the day has been spent in the City of the Angels forms such a contrast with that which I have been accustomed in North Bennington. . . . In the first place there is no church in this city except a Catholic one, and in the second Sunday is regarded by everybody here only as a day of exemption from labor and devotion to amusements and frolicking." Hall related the noises and sounds of the festal celebrations in the city plaza and his attendance at a celebratory bull fight. Some of it seemed to have intrigued him, but to his correspondent he wrote, "The ringing of bells and firing of cannon as a part of religious worship on Sunday seems rather odd to me."[27]

What was the nature of the Catholic presence in Los Angeles that so repelled Hall, and how was it able to mount such a spirited resistance to Protestant migration? European religion had entered California with the Spanish mission chain in 1769. These proto-religious institutions have been discussed at length in any number of publications. The culture of Hispanic Catholicism that emanated from these highly successful evangelical centers, with the support of the secular state, infused itself into the bloodstream of Los Angeles for years to come. This culture, a variant of the dynamic Counter-Reformation Catholicism of Spain, included not only doctrinal formulations but also Catholic notions of sacramentality, public celebration, and syncretic practice.[28] Even after the collapse of Spanish colonial power in 1821, the secularization of the missions in the 1830s, and the subsequent importation of a native Mexican clergy into California, the Catholic ethos and holding power persisted over the Californios, who dominated California until the American takeover.

The persistence of Hispanic religion as a counterweight to Anglo-American domination is not accepted by all. Some have suggested that Hispanic religious practices, because they were so integrated into daily life, lacked the same intensity as evangelical religions.[29] The fact is, however, that the vibrancy and depth of this religious culture was not always evident in statistics of sacramental activity, or even in financial contributions. Rather, it manifested itself in other cultural expressions characteristic of Hispanic Catholics: devotion to the Virgin, participation in religious fiestas, and a strong home-based practice of religion, exemplified by home altars and private devotion. Historian Leonard Pitt discussed the complexity of the religious world of the Californios, who benefited directly from the collapse of the mission system and had never reattached to a new religious organization with secular clergy and a local bishop. Moreover, Californios did not attend Mass and disdained priests. Indeed, Catholicism was perhaps in a "medium state" as Pitt suggested, but its popular and cultural expression (which drove Protestants such as James Woods to distraction and mutterings of "idolatry, idolatry, idolatry") was very much alive. "Most of their [the Californios'] enjoyments," wrote Pitt, "were formalized and communal. Saint's days and other religious holidays took a great deal of planning."[30] The city plaza continued to be the site of public religious display, including the elaborate Corpus Christi processions with benedictions given at three altars, the Christmas reenactment of *Los Pastorales,* and celebratory bull fights on the August 15th cele-



The Church of Nuestra Señora la Reina de los Angeles, located on the west side of the dusty, sun-soaked Los Angeles Plaza, about 1869, not long after the Gothic bell tower was constructed. Designed by the carpenter José Antonio Ramirez and built by neophytes from the missions of San Gabriel, San Diego, and San Luis Rey, the church was completed in 1822. Still used today, it has dominated the heart of old Los Angeles for the better part of two centuries. *California Historical Society/Title Insurance and Trust Photo Collection, University of Southern California.*

bration of the Assumption of Mary.[31] In fact, one might argue that the symbolic power of these Catholic symbols was so pervasive that the Protestant establishment resurrected them, pruned of their creedal elements, as tools in marketing the region.[32]

It is important to note that even the Catholic Church was not immune to the forces of Americanization sweeping other areas of Los Angeles life. Religious reorganization of the pueblo in the American period had already begun with its former Mexican bishop, Francisco Garcia Diego y Moreno. In 1853, Vincentian Thaddeus Amat, a Spaniard who had served in Philadelphia, was appointed to the new bishopric of Monterey, and by 1859, he had moved his episcopal headquarters to the heavily Catholic city of Los Angeles.[33] Amat, according to historian Jeffrey Burns, was hardly sympathetic to the folkways of the residual Mexican religion and sought, through the creation of institutions such as schools, hospitals, and orphanages, to "Americanize" the pueblo world around him, to make it more in keeping with the diverse immigrant Catholics—Irish, Germans, French, and Italians—moving into Los Angeles. However, Amat, like other American bishops confronting strong ethnic groups, came to realize the limits of his episcopal power. Burns further observes that fiestas and other ancient practices went on despite his opposition.[34] Hispanic Catholic practice, like many other forms of popular religion, did not die because of clerical opposition.

Ultimately the ethos of Hispanic Catholicism would wane as the supporting Mexican civilization weakened. The community was eventually detached from its former cultural moorings as new demands for public order, sanitation, and education began to be voiced by increasing numbers of American and European settlers who sought consciously to Americanize and improve the backwards pueblo. The new social and political structures of the city were responsive to these demands, and local leaders and others eager to move Los Angeles along the path of greater urban development lamented the absence of a visible Protestant establishment. Evidence of this is historian Robert Fogelson's observation that the local press "appealed to missionary groups for assistance and at the same time urged the residents of Los Angeles to form their own religious institutions."[35]

Interestingly, the Jews and Chinese appeared to fare better in making headway in establishing their presence in Los Angeles. Judaism had been able to carve itself an early place in the religious world of the emerging city. In 1854, a Hebrew Benevolent Society was founded that gave the first institutional expression to the "Israelites" of Los Angeles. Lay rabbi Joseph Newmark, from Poland, was the catalyst for the growing religious identity of the small group, and under his leadership, dietary laws were able to be observed, weddings and funerals could be conducted, and the high holy days could be observed. Newmark and others took the initiative to invite Wolf Edelman to become the first permanent rabbi and teacher for Congregation B'nai B'rith in 1862. Los Angeles's small Jewish community, which had only numbered eight in the 1850 census, was by the 1860s well over two hundred. A closely knit group, this community intersected with larger Los Angeles life through business relationships, fraternal organizations, politics, and public charity.

Chinese Angelenos also figured into the mixture of religious identity in the emerging city. The numbers were small. The 1860 population of Chinese was only 16—14 men and 2 women. By 1870 that number had grown to 170. Huddled together in a small residential district south of the plaza, most of the Chinese were manual laborers—doing laundry, cooking, and cleaning. Inferences about their religious systems suggest that they continued to practice the traditional folk religion of their region of China. This did not include weekly worship services, but did involve the lighting of joss sticks or the burning of paper money to attract the favor of a particular deity. Occasionally, Asian faith spilled out onto the streets with celebrations of the lunar New Year and other calendar festivals.[36]

In the 1860s, the culture of early American Los Angeles was to some extent still determined by the strength of popular Hispanic Catholicism. Yet the power of these symbols was also reinforced by the relatively slow growth of population in the former pueblo. A very different set of circumstances developed north of the Tehachapis where the "world rushed in" in quest of gold.

SAN FRANCISCO: SOCIAL SERVICES, CULTURAL CONFLICT, AND AMERICANIZATION

Northern California was the cockpit of early California's growth and the heartland of its later religious diversity. The cities of the Gold Rush share a common historical trajectory, all of them springing into being virtually simultaneously in response to the intense commercial needs generated quickly by the Gold Rush. The representatives of at least forty nations gathered in these "instant cities" and in them were the visible representations of California's early culture—its public facilities, bars, brothels, commercial houses, and its churches. In these cities, we see even more vividly the role of religious bodies as agents of urbanization. They provided important social welfare functions, enhanced the value of urban property through the construction of churches, schools, and colleges, raised the moral and intellectual tone of the communities, created outlets for cultural expression, and provided anchors for the forces of development. San Francisco and Sacramento especially embodied these developments. Greater or lesser variations on these themes could be found in other gold-rush cities such as Marysville and Stockton and even larger towns in the heart of the mining activity such as Grass Valley and Nevada City.

San Francisco was a commercial village of about 1,000 denizens in 1848. Two years later, the seekers of El Dorado caused the village to blossom into a city of 34,776. Ten years later, the number had arisen to 56,802 and by 1870, to 149,473. The city rapidly developed a strong economic base, becoming the most important financial center of the American West and a transportation hub for ocean-bound and inland-bound trade, as well as the source for supplies to the ever increasing demands of the mining frontier. Manufacturing and other forms of commercial activity secured the city's economic hegemony not only over the economy of northern California, but over the entire Pacific Coast and the inland West as far as the Rocky Mountains. The composition of its population made it one of the most cosmopolitan cities in the nation. By 1860 it was the third largest center of immigration in the United States. Out of its 57,000 residents, nearly 3,000 were Chinese and 2,000 were African

Americans. By 1870 one out of every three San Franciscans was a native of Ireland, Germany, China, or Italy. The Irish would dominate the immigrant mix of the city for much of the nineteenth century, followed by the Germans and the Chinese. The massive influx of people to San Francisco, many of them in transit to the Mother Lode, created for a time a climate of social disorder, or at least instability. In this turbulent context, religion and religious institutions rendered important civic functions that assisted the processes of city stabilization and building.

Like Los Angeles, San Francisco "was born Catholic," as the former Mission Dolores formed the core of a pueblo.[37] Indeed, the Catholicity of the missions initially so thoroughly penetrated the local culture that a visiting Russian characterized the city's inhabitants as "religious fanatics."[38] The first infusion of American religionists were two hundred Mormons under Samuel Brannan, who landed in Yerba Buena in 1846, doubling the population of the community. California, with its burgeoning gold-rush populations creating critical masses of potential churchgoers, stimulated not only the appetites of those who sought gold, but also of the minions of evangelical and apostolic-minded Christian denominations.[39] Imbued with the zeal of reforming evangelical Protestantism, home missionary societies carried the torch for ministerial action in the land of El Dorado.[40] San Francisco was the first port of call for those who were sent to organize the pioneering foundations of the thriving churches of the East.

Among the first missionaries was Timothy Dwight Hunt, a New School Presbyterian who arrived from Honolulu in 1848 and accepted the post of "city chaplain." He was followed in 1849 by a veritable galaxy of ministers. The America Home Missionary Society sent Samuel Hopkins Willey and John W. Douglas. The Baptists dispatched Osgood Church Wheeler, while Sylvester Woolbridge represented Old School Presbyterians. 'A second Old School Presbyterian, Albert Williams, came to San Francisco in March 1849. Flavel S. Mines, Episcopalian, opened a church in response to private appeal, while Jean L. Van Mehr succeeded in his wake and opened Grace Episcopal in December 1849. Northern Methodist missionaries William Taylor and Isaac Owen showed up in September 1849, Taylor coming by sea and Owen by oxcart overland. Southern Methodists Jesse Boring, D. W. Pollock, and A. M. Wynn made their appearance in April 1850. In 1860, San Francisco's Unitarian pulpit was filled by one of the state's most eloquent and dynamic clergymen, Thomas Starr King.[41]

Institutional maturity came quickly. The Presbyterians formed the Presbytery of San Francisco in May 1849, retaining an attachment to the Synod of New York and New Jersey until 1857. In 1851, Old School Presbyterians organized the Presbytery of California, and a group of Cumberland Presbyterians established a presbytery in April of the same year. The Congregationalists formed an association in 1852, and in August 1850, the Episcopalians organized the Diocese of California under the leadership of the refined William Ingraham Kip. A San Francisco Baptist Association

Worshipers gather outside the first Baptist church erected in San Francisco, a simple foursquare frame meeting house on Washington Street, which might have been prefabricated in the East and shipped 'round the Horn. One Argonaut wrote home from San Francisco in December 1849 that "heaven is not quite forgotten here in this worldly place." He noted that numerous churches had sprung up in the gold-rush boomtown and, attending an Episcopal Christmas service, was pleased to find it "filled with a most respectable audience who responded well and sang the songs in harmony." *Courtesy Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.*

followed in October 1850.

Roman Catholics did not have homegrown missionary societies, but many Catholic missions were supported by the French-based Society for the Propagation of the Faith and other European fund-raising enterprises. More importantly, the church had a centralized system of missionary endeavors in Rome, the *Propaganda Fidei,* which monitored and coordinated global Catholic missionary enterprises. *Propaganda* had long known about California's spiritual conditions through the comprehensive reporting of priests and prelates in the East. Locally, the Franciscan order's administrator of the old Mexican diocese, Gonzales Rubio, hearing of the rapid increase of the population in the north, petitioned various bishops and religious communities to dispatch priests to California. Three missionaries of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, known popularly as Picpus Fathers, arrived in San Francisco in

March 1850. By the end of the year, they were joined by four other clerical comrades. Catholicism had already carved out a place for itself through the presence of Mission Dolores, founded in 1776. In 1850 the Spanish Dominican, Joseph Sadoc Alemany, was appointed the first bishop of Alta California. His headquarters were initially at the old colonial capital of Monterey; however, three years later Alemany moved to San Francisco and became the first archbishop of that city. Alemany built the infrastructure of Catholic life in San Francisco during the 1850s and provided his rapidly growing flock with parish churches, schools, orphanages, and hospitals. Catholic churches made this growing presence visible. A network of ethnic parishes developed that attempted to accommodate the diverse, but heavily Irish, population. St. Francis (1849), St. Patrick's (1851), St. Mary's (1854), St. Joseph (1861), St. Brigid's (1863), and St. Peter's (1867) were for the Irish. Notre Dame des Victoires (1856) was for the French, and St. Boniface (1860) served the Germans.[42]

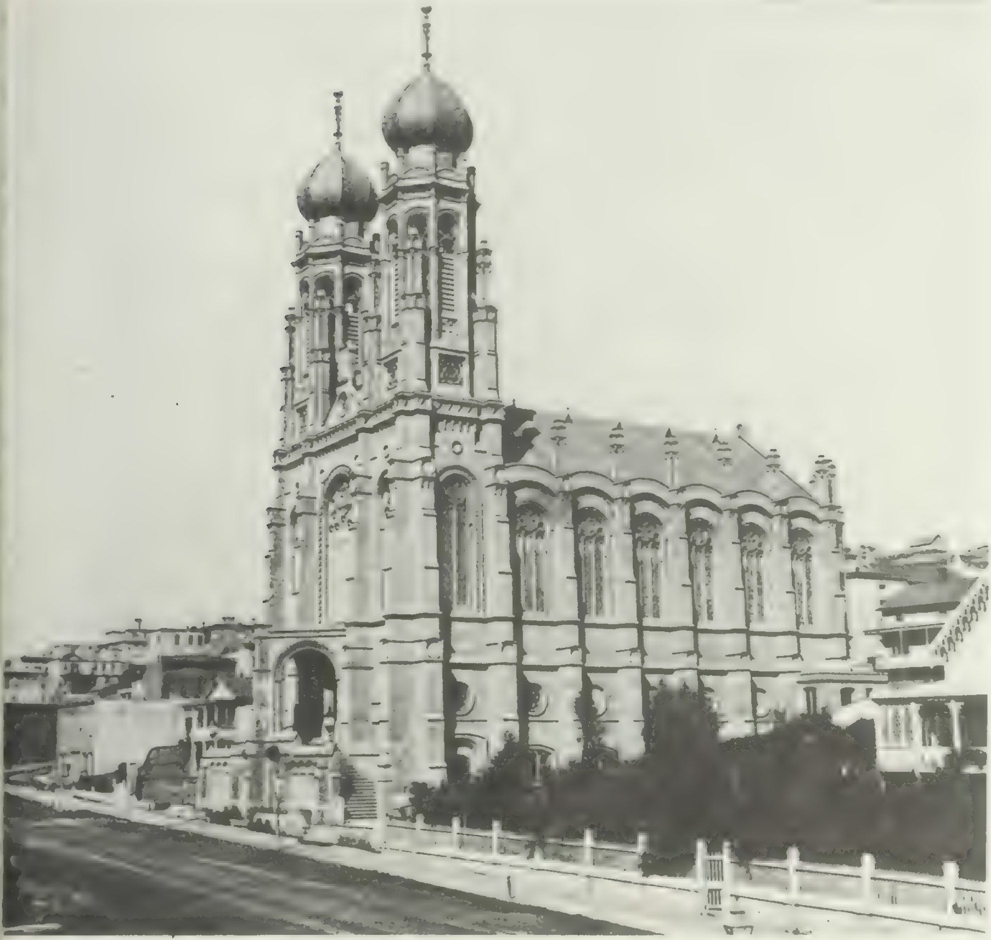
Chinese Argonauts began to appear in large numbers in 1850 and San Francisco's Chinese population grew thereafter. Their cultic life included an observance emerging from South China, a devotion to the Queen of Heaven, who assumed the role of a female protector of sailors and was worshipped in many parts of China.[43] Even more important was the cult of Guan Yu, also known as Guan Gong, a male heroic figure of the Three Kingdoms who was "honored and worshiped by people across China for his courage, his loyalty, and faithfulness." To the Chinese, Guan Gong's red-faced and black-bearded image was "the most popular of all Gods. Few white visitors to Chinatown failed to notice his existence." Chinese visitors recognized the importance of Guan Gong to the local San Francisco Chinese population. When the Burlingame delegation came to San Francisco in 1868, its Chinese officials paid their respects at the temple of Guan Gong.[44]

Mormons also established a presence in the city (despite the defection of Sam Brannan) when Parley P. Pratt, president of the Mormon Pacific Mission, organized a church in 1851. Jews from Poland and Germany established Congregation Sherith Israel in 1850, and later that year southern German Jews established Temple Emanu-el. Spiritualism as well made serious inroads in San Francisco's population; twenty Spiritualist circles were reported in 1852. By 1856, there was a total of two Jewish, six Catholic, and twenty-two Protestant houses of worship in the city. San Francisco's rapid growth and sometimes tumultuous urban culture provided the context for the development of these religious institutions and communities.

All of this religious development occurred as the city itself was struggling to forge its urban culture. This complex process included a great deal of struggle and a sorting out of winners and losers, as diverse citizens determined who would rule the economic, political, and social life of San Francisco. Religious issues and sensibilities played a role in this process, especially during the stormy decade of the 1850s. Evangelical Protestants in particular were determined to make San Francisco the test ground for the replication of the religious values of New England, and initially they had the upper hand. However, as the balance of immigration began to tip more in favor of the Irish and the Germans, and San Francisco's population took on more of a Catholic tone, social conflict developed.

The rise of anti-Catholic Know Nothingism in California between 1854 and 1856, although somewhat altered from its manifestation elsewhere, was felt in the emerging urban politics of San Francisco.[45] Know Nothingism enjoyed significant electoral success in California in the mid-1850s even though its anti-Catholic message was somewhat blunted in San Francisco. Nonetheless, it had the effect of galvanizing Protestant opposition to rising Catholic power in the city. These feelings were brought to expression in the revival of vigilantism in 1856. Although the motivation for this movement admits of a variety of interpretations, Patrick Blessing argues convincingly that the tactics and violence of the 1856 vigilantes were motivated in large measure by evangelical Protestants anxious to challenge the rising presence of the Catholic Irish, whom they detested. Congregational and New School Presbyterians from New England in particular, Blessing argues, had an "anti-Catholic obsession . . . that filled the pages of the two newspapers of the American Home Mission Society, *The Pacific* and *The Home Missionary*."[46] Ultimately the victory for dominance would go to the more numerous Catholics.[47] Protestant historian Douglas Firth Anderson observes that indeed "native born Protestant merchants exercised hegemony in early San Francisco society, first economically, then politically through the Committee of Vigilance of 1856, and the consequent People's Party." "Yet," Anderson asserts, "this hegemony was permeable, and it was singularly muted religiously as time went on."[48] Protestantism would be a minority faith in San Francisco well into the twentieth century.[49]

By contrast with Hispanic Los Angeles, San Francisco's Catholicism was heavily Hibernian and was strongly drawn toward assimilation with the larger culture.[50] Historian R. A. Burchell noted the importance of the church for the Irish community. "The Church itself recognized its social roles that ran beyond its religious one and symptomatically became the center of a system of associations that revolved around it."[51] Sodalities—devotional, fraternal, and benevolent—were all part of a thriving Catholic culture and exercised a sphere of influence within the larger community. San Francisco did not lay down any bars against Catholic upward ascendancy in either the political or commercial realm. Frank McCoppin, the first Irish-Catholic mayor, was elected in 1867. The number of seats in Catholic churches grew from 6,050 in 1860 to 21,000 in 1870.[52] "Our Countrymen need not fear," said the Irish-Catholic *San Francisco Monitor* in 1869, "that they will have to encounter the prejudices against their race or religion, that are such drawbacks to their settlement in many parts of the Eastern states." The editor further noted that "Catholicity, too has struck as firm a root in California as in any part of the United States . . . and as probably over a third, if not a full half of the population of our State belong to her



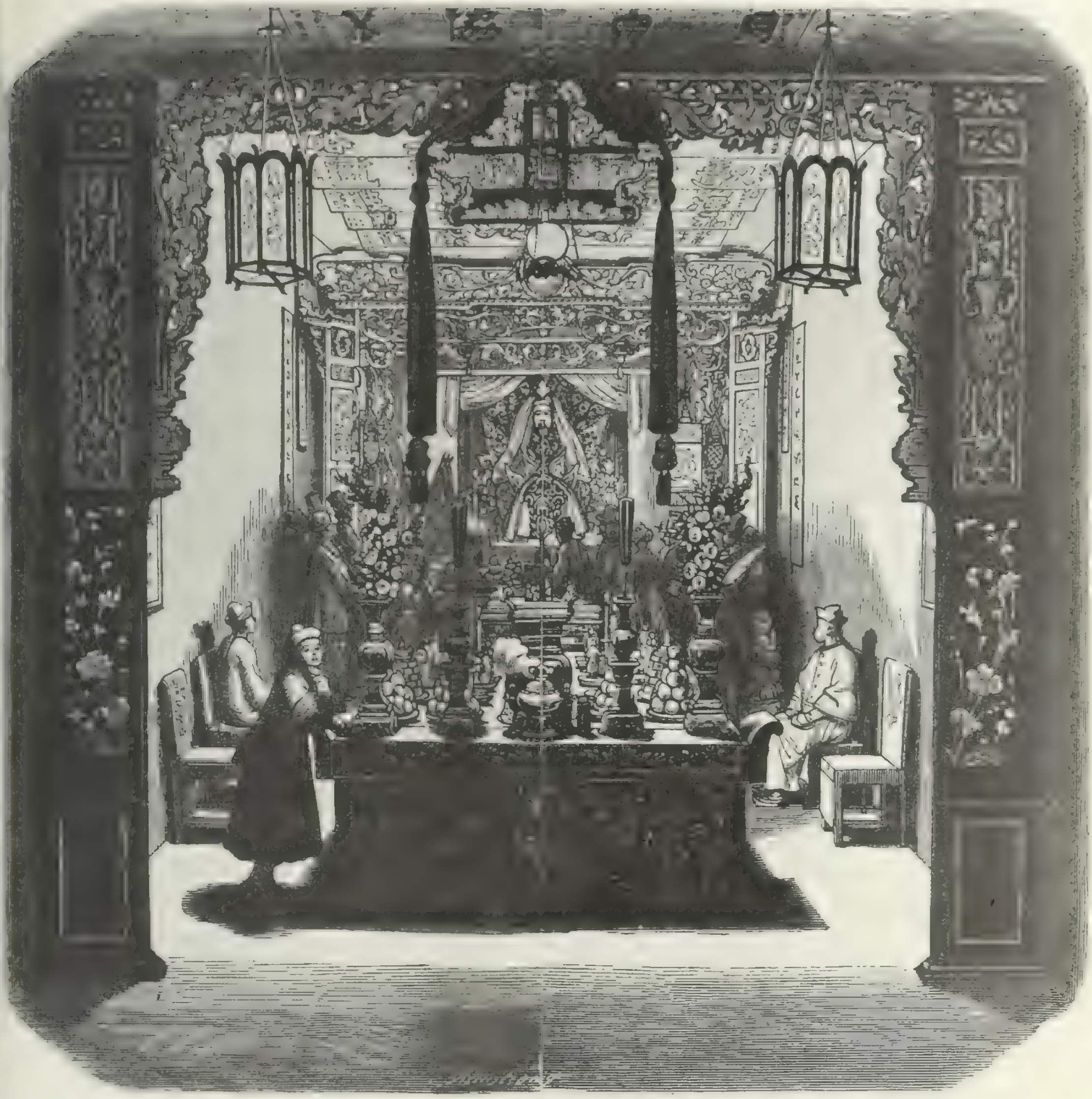
Constructed in 1865 on Sutter Street in San Francisco from designs by the English-born architect and Forty-niner William Patton, a former associate of the famed Sir Gilbert Scott, the Gothic-Byzantine Temple Emanu-el dominated the skyline of Union Square in San Francisco for many years. The congregation of Temple Emanu-el had been established in 1850 by German Argonauts not long after the organization of Congregation Sherith Israel, which held the first Jewish services in the city. *Courtesy California State Library.*

fold, Catholics here need not fear the loss of their faith for want of Church and Catholic associations, even in the more thickly settled districts."[53]

Religious institutions contributed substantially to the city-building process in other ways, such as the use of urban space, literary endeavors, educational and social welfare provisions, and ethnic accommodations. Church buildings, although of varying architectural styles and degrees of sophistication, were nonetheless a reassuring sign to community developers that order and propriety were gaining the upper hand in San Francisco. The establishment of a viable religious press was yet another hallmark of the advance of civilization. The Presbyterian/Congregationalist *Pacific* and the Roman Catholic *Monitor* were papers of high quality and broad appeal. Benevolent societies among the city's Jewish and Catholic communities provided succor to those struck by the illness or sudden death of a member of the family. Even the development of the network of public and private schools had religious overtones. When transplanted New Englanders created the first San Francisco schools in the image and likeness of the public schools in the East (replete with Bible reading and hymn singing), Catholic Californians protested and demanded their share of public monies to form their own schools.[54] The vigor of the Catholic school system was made possible by the ranks of religious women who taught in them. Convent school education, such as that conducted by the Sisters of Notre Dame in San Jose, had a broad appeal even to non-Catholics. Italian Jesuits arrived as well and opened successful colleges in Santa Clara and San Francisco.[55] The Catholic Sisters of Mercy opened St. Mary's Hospital in 1857 and rendered signal service during the city's recurrent health crises.[56] Religious forces compelled a cessation of gambling on the Sabbath and were the source of serious contention over the use of public funds for hospitals and schools. Social reform ministers, reports historian Roger Lotchin, "condemned the barbarities practiced against Indians; led in establishing schools, libraries, orphan asylums, and sailor's homes."[57]

Perhaps a more critical function were the efforts of churches in service to the ethnic diversity of the period. Churches here seemed to serve a two-fold function: as a preserver of ethnic identity or as a bridge to other cultural groups. Lotchin hailed the significance of churches "in defending the immigrant's heritage," noting specifically the positive role multiple synagogue creation played in accommodating the different nationalities of Jews in San Francisco. Similar observations were made regarding the importance of Catholic ethnic parishes for Irish, Germans, and French.[58]

Equally important were the contacts made between Christian churches and the growing Chinese population. Although this interaction was primarily for the purpose of converting the "heathen Chinee" to Christianity, there was nonetheless a social utility to these contacts, at least from the vantage point of those interested in integrating the Chinese into American society. Gunther Barth notes that "In the absence of larger social organizations in the unstable gold rush society, church groups guided the attempt to make the Chinese Americans."[59] Specifically, Barth cites the work of the Canton-based Presbyterian missionary William Speer, who arrived in San Francisco on November 6, 1852, and began preaching to the Chinese the next February in the Presbyterian Church on Stockton Street. Catholic efforts to convert the Chinese were more sporadic (and perhaps less enthusiastic, given the growing hostility of the Irish toward the "Celestials"). Various priests and religious made efforts; one notable example was the native Chinese priest Father Thomas Cian of



Chinese worshipers assemble in the Buddhist temple on Pine Street in San Francisco in a wood engraving designed by Charles Nahl. Established by the Sze Yap Company, a mutual-benefit society of some nine thousand Chinese Argonauts scattered through the state, the temple was part of a large complex that included business offices, a storehouse, and an asylum for the sick and poor. *Courtesy Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.*

Hunan Province, who endeavored to proselytize his fellow Chinese in San Francisco and throughout northern California. However, his mission was ultimately unsuccessful, and he ended his days in Italy.[60]

Cian's failure to make many inroads among his countrymen was the common result of all these proselytizing efforts. Historian Yong Chen suggests that Christianization efforts among the San Francisco Chinese fell short and notes that, from the inception of Chinese immigration, various Chinese communities built their own temples: "Chinese immigrants were not overwhelmed by white American culture, not only because they experienced discrimination, but also because they had their own rich and distinctive cultural heritage."[61] Alexander McLeod wrote that "The local missionaries offered them our God, our heaven, and our religion, but they had scores of their own manufacture better and cheaper."[62] Nonetheless, despite the fact that few Chinese actually converted to Christianity, it appears that the missionary efforts of Protestant denominations were among the few structured opportunities for cultural exchange that existed in San Francisco and elsewhere. Indeed, dedicated ministers like Speer devoted themselves to combating the rising anti-Chinese animus that would build in the 1870s.

San Francisco was the point of debarkation for many headed for the gold fields and to the next tier of instant cities that developed along the strategic points of the inland rivers that ultimately emptied into San Francisco Bay. The interplay of religion and urban culture in the interior is best seen in the city of Sacramento, destined to become the state capital.

SACRAMENTO: THE DOMINANCE OF THE ENTREPRENEURS

Sacramento grew up as a pure gold-rush city, literally rising from the nucleus of Sutter's Fort. Its population surged from 6,820 in 1850 to 16,283 in 1870. Although the city possessed certain advantages because of its position at the confluence of the American and Sacramento rivers as well as the remarkable richness of its surrounding agricultural lands, Sacramento was a community that faced considerable obstacles in its quest to remain at its founding location. Historian Mark Eifler provides important detail regarding the earliest years of Sacramento's existence.[63] After the 1848 gold discovery, the city quietly bloomed as a commercial entrepôt as miners descended upon it, thronging its embarcadero and setting up a tent city along the banks of the Sacramento. Sacramento was a veritable labyrinth of tents and make-do stores and shops; its popularity augured well for a prosperous future. Shrewd real estate speculators, with the compliance of John A. Sutter, Jr., son of the community's founder, carved up the lands from the Sacramento River east to Sutter's Fort and began to market the city to all comers. The decision to locate the city along the low land on the banks of the Sacramento with the American River embracing its northern boundary was done largely to edge out rivalry from the elder Sutter, who had plans of his own to create a new city on higher ground south of the present site. This decision to locate Sacramento had important implications for the city's historical development, largely because it nearly proved to be disastrous. Floods nearly wiped the city from the face of the earth in 1850, 1852, and again in winter 1861–62. In addition, the scourge of frontier communities, fire, also flattened the community on several ocasions. After the flood of 1862, and after nearly ten years of existence, the San Francisco *Morning Call* opined, "it is simply an act of folly for the people of the town of Sacramento to endeavor to maintain the city on its present location."[64]

As a result of these disasters though, hard-driving entrepreneurs, who had invested heavily in the fledgling city, and enterprising residents who were also aware of the economic potential of the community made a decision that ultimately shaped the heart and soul of Sacramento. They determined to maintain the site and do whatever it took to ensure that Sacramento survived. Rather than move the city from ts poor location vis-à-vis the river, city builders determined to build stronger and more durable levees and, in the tradition of Chicago and other western cities, to raise the entire level of the city anywhere from six to twelve feet above the river banks.[65] To prevent fires from wiping out their gains, city fathers decreed in 1854 that Sacramento's public buildings had to be of brick. To secure their city's future they bargained hard and built wisely in order to attract the state capital.[66] In this they were successful. This single-minded will to survive is perhaps the most important element that defined early Sacramento society. Builders, developers, and merchants exercised a powerful influence over the shape of the city's emerging culture, and this was the prevailing ethos in which the religious realities of the city also developed. Indeed, with no preexisting Hispanic residents and culture to erase or supplant, Sacramento truly was a tabula rasa on which the energetic forces of urban development could write their story.

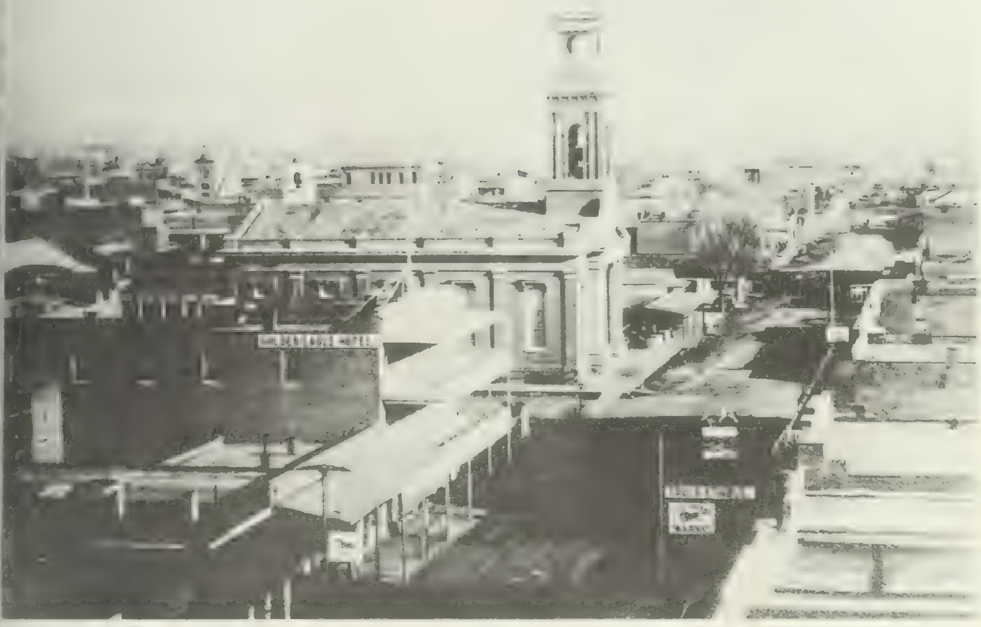
Following the Argonauts who plied river steamers and small drought boats up the Sacramento River, a series of San Francisco ministers made for the bustling entrepôt that was the point of departure for the mines of central California. Docking at Sacramento's crowded embarcadero, ministers such as Presbyterians J. W. Douglas, A. Williams, and S. Woolbridge had begun a small preaching mission in Sacramento as early as March and April 1849. However, it would be some years before they separated from the Congregationalists to form their own organization. Flavel Mines, who had founded the Episcopalian church in San Francisco, held services in August 1849 in a blacksmith shop on Third and J streets. The Congregational Church, destined to be Sacramento's leading church for many years, held its first meeting a month later on the northwest corner of Third and I streets. J. A. Benton, one of the pioneer clergy of the Anglo-Protestant tradition, drew together for a brief time Congregationalists and Presbyterians and was the presiding figure and the leading Sacramento clergyman for many years. Northern Methodists (under the missionary "Father" Owen) began their churches by the end of that same year. The next year, the Methodist Episcopal Church South was established by W. D. Pollock. The year 1850 as well saw the establishment of the Catholic St. Rose congregation in August and St. Andrew's African Methodist Episcopal Church in the fall. Two years later, the city's Jewish community opened Congregation B'Nai Israel, and in

1855 the Presbyterians established their own separate community. In 1865, the Mormons set up their first organization as did the German Lutherans. Sacramento's Chinese population, with its traditional rites, grew dramatically as well.

Sacramento's decision to stay put provided the backdrop for the formation of religious institutions. The city's religious benefactors included Peter Burnett, not only the first American governor of California, but also a major land speculator in early Sacramento. Burnett donated the lot on which the city's first Roman Catholic Church was erected. Church construction demonstrated one means by which the growing religious denominations contributed to the informal decision of the city that Sacramento was to stay put. The early Sacramento churches grew up with the city, but most were huddled near the city's main business arteries stretching east from the river, along J and K streets. The 1854 city government decree that future buildings in the city be constructed of brick posed a problem for many of Sacramento's churches, which had slender financial resources. Nonetheless, since the brick was a visible symbol of the decision for permanence, churches complied, and sometimes magnificently. Indeed, two of the city's major churches led the way in constructing brick church buildings of ample size and architectural elegance.

The First Christian Church (Congregational/Presbyterian) on Sixth and I streets served in the best New England tradition as both worship site and community meeting house.[67] "Mr. Benton's Church" as the locals called it, was a handsome brick structure designed by one of its own members, Albion Sweetser. Benton, the first Congregational minister ordained in California, exercised considerable sway over the city's moral tone through his eloquent pulpitry, which consistently set a high tone for moral influence. His three-hundred-seat church served Sacramento in other ways. The city's gridiron pattern had effectively packaged its lots for purchase, but left it lacking a distinct central gathering place or communal center. Moreover, for many years there were no halls or meeting rooms of sufficient size for various civic events. Benton's large church stepped into the gap, serving, in the best New England tradition, as Sacramento's first meeting hall. The church hosted widely attended cultural and social events that lifted the tone of the developing city. Moreover, it was also used as a gathering place for urban politicians, providing a neutral space for the evolution of the city's politics.

Catholics, on land donated by Peter Burnett at Seventh and K streets, attempted to match the elegance of Congregational Church at Third and I streets and managed to raise enough money to build a large brick structure designed by the San Francisco architectural firm of Crain and England. A handsome building of classical design, St. Rose Church held six hundred worshipers, and its dedication in August 1856 by Archbishop Alemany was a major civic event.[68] St. Rose never attained the level of urban prominence that the Congregational Church achieved, and it soon fell into disrepair as its mostly working-class Irish parishioners refused to



Designed by William Crain and Thomas English, who also drew the plans for old St. Mary's in San Francisco, the handsomely proportioned classical brick church erected in 1856 at Seventh and K streets in Sacramento for the Roman Catholic parish of St. Rose of Lima was long a local landmark. *California Historical Society, FN-19581.*

put up the money to lift the building to the new level of the city streets. However, in 1886, as evidence of the long-standing nature of church/community cooperation, Sacramento Catholics built the magnificent Cathedral of the Blessed Sacrament on the corner of Eleventh and K; the building competed with the nearby state capitol for architectural elegance.

Brick churches were one visible sign of the citizens' concurrence with the decision to root Sacramento in its "barbarous soil." As in San Francisco, city developers were also anxious to provide the element of stable urban life that made the city a desirable place to live and work. Here too, religious bodies rendered important assistance by creating schools and academies that appealed to a broad spectrum of Sacramento's population. Catholics took the lead. Shortly after St. Rose Church was established, a parochial school was opened by Father John Ingoldsby. This institution floundered until 1857, when the Sisters of Mercy arrived from San Francisco. These religious women would play an important role in the creation of Sacramento's urban culture through their educational and health care institutions.[69] By 1860, the sisters secured a plot of land on Eighth and G streets, wherein they established a convent an opened a school for girls in honor of St. Joseph. St. Joseph's Academy, as it came t be known, was fairly typical of Catholic schools for young women. It consisted o both boarding and day facilities for girls from elementary classes to those in their lat teens. Course work included academic subjects, as well as music, sewing, and othe "feminine" skills. Graduates of St. Joseph's received a high-quality education, and th school itself represented an important asset for the community at large.

Even though the school was Irish-Catholic in its orientation, Catholics did not and indeed for financial reasons, could not exclude others not of their faith. While th enrollment at St. Joseph's included a preponderance of Catholic girls, most of Irish extraction, a substantial portion of its pupils were from various other denominations—including the daughters of local Jewish Sacramentans.[70] The attractiveness of the education for a wide diversity of Sacramento's young women redounded to the steady improvement of the city, and St. Joseph's Academy itself was one of the city's cultural symbols of the rising numbers of female citizens that brought stability and settlement to the community.[71] It also redounded to the benefit of the Sisters of Mercy, whose various endeavors relied heavily on the benefactions of a large number of people in the community, not just the Catholics. St. Joseph's would become one of the main providers of teachers for Sacramento's growing school system. The sisters would ultimately branch into health care in the 1890s with the establishment of Mater Misericordiae Hospital.

A similar dynamic of accommodation existed between the church and the growing business class of the city. As Sacramento matured and an increasing level of sophistication attended business practice, local firms required more trained office workers, clerks, and middle-level managers. Sacramento lacked any institution of higher learning for young men. Into this void stepped Father Patrick Scanlan, pastor of St. Rose's, who diverted money from church improvement to the creation of a school for boys that would be a counterpart to St. Joseph's Academy. In 1876, the San Francisco-based Christian Brothers opened a school on Twelfth and K streets. Enrollments were strong from the outset with a spectrum of boys from every religious group in the city. The order offered both boarding and day school classes, and ultimately provided the kind of commercial courses that businesses of the city needed to fill their growing work needs.[72]

CONCLUSION

"Perhaps in no country could a similar scene be exhibited," wrote Dr. Phelan of the sad scene at the Sacramento city cemetery in 1854. The competing rituals were indeed symbolic of the different views of life and death that reposed in the hearts and minds of those thrown together by the social dynamics of California life, and life in he American West. While this essay can only suggest dimensions of the urban experience affected by religious communities and institutions, further study will no oubt reveal richer veins of information and a more complete picture of the multile forces shaping society in early American California. Just as important is an wareness of how much distance separates our own time and Phelan's. Indeed, our eactions to the cemetery scene would probably avoid characterizations of other regions as "pagan," or somehow as culturally inferior. Over one hundred and fifty ears of experience with growing religious toleration, as well as the increasing secuarization of our society (and the consequent marginalizing of religion from public fe) have given us a different mindset. The nature of California's early religious diersity, and the people's reaction to it, can tell us much about this evolution and thus, much about our national culture.

NOTES

1. "Our California Correspondence," *New York Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register,* 10 March 1854.

2. The relationship between region and religion is outlined in some of the following: Wilbur Zelinsky, "An Approach to the Religious Geography of the United States: Patterns of Church Membership in 1952," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 51 (June 1961): 39–93; Edwin S. Gaustad, *Historical Atlas of Religion in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 976); "Regionalism in American Religion," in *Religion in the South,* ed. Charles Reagan Wilson (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1985), 155–72; "Geography and Demography of American Religion," in *Encyclopedia of the American Religious Experience: Studies in Tradiion and Movements,* ed. Charles H. Lippy and Peter W. Williams, 3 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's, 1988), 1:71–84; James R. Shortridge, "Patterns of Religion in the United States," *Geographical Review* 66 (1976): 420–34, and "A New Regionalization of American Religion," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 16 (June 1977): 143–52; Catherine Albanese, "Research Needs in American Religious History," *CSR Bulletin* 10 (1979): 101, 103–105; Martin E. Marty, "Interpreting American Pluralism," in *Religion in America: 1950 to the Present,* ed. Jackson W. Carroll et al. (New York: Harper & Row, 1979); John B. Boles, "Religion in the South: A Tradition," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 77 (Winter 1982): 388–401; Richard E. Wentz, "Region and Religion in America," *Foundations* 24 (1981): 148–56; Roger W. Stump, "Regional Migration and Religious Commitment in the United States," *Journal of the Scientific Study of Religion* 23 (September 1984): 292–303, "Regional Divergence in Religious Affiliation in the United States," *Sociological Analysis* 45 (1984): 283–99, and "Regional Variations in the Determinants of Religious Participation," *Review of Religious Research* 27 (1986): 208–25; Jerald C. Brauer, "Regionalism and Religion in America," *Church History* 54 (September 1985): 366–78; Eldon C. Ernst, "American Religious History from a Pacific Coast Perspective," in *Religion and Society in the American West: Historical Essays,* ed. Carl Guarneri and David Alvarez (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1987); Thomas W. Spalding, C.F.X., "Frontier Catholicism," *Catholic Historical Review* 77 (July 1991): 470–84; Laurie F. Maffly-Kipp, "Eastward Ho! American Religion from the Perspective of the Pacific Rim," in *Retelling U.S. Religious History,* ed. Thomas A. Tweed (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 127–48.

3. Ferenc Szasz and Margaret Connell Szasz, "Religion and Spirituality," in *Oxford Encyclopedia of the American West,* ed. Clyde Milner et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 359–60.

4. The only bibliography of religion in the West is Richard W. Etulain, comp., *Religion in the Twentieth Century West: A Bibliography* (Albuquerque: Center for the American West, 1991). Various religious topics are covered in Howard R. Lamar, ed., *The New Encyclopedia of the American West* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998) and Alan Axelrod and Charles Phillips, *Encyclopedia of the American West* (New York: Macmillan, 1996). D. Michael Quinn, "Religion in the American West," in *Under an Open Sky: Rethinking America's Western Past,* ed. William Cronon et al. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1992), 145–66, offers some interesting insights. See also Gary Topping, "Religion in the West," *Journal of American Culture* 3 (1980): 330–50; and Ferenc Szasz, "The Clergy and the Myth of the American West," *Church History* 59 (December 1990): 497–506. Other sources are cited throughout the essay.

5. Patricia Nelson Limerick, "Believing in the American West," in Geoffrey C. Ward, *The West: An Illustrated History* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1996), 207–13.

6. William Taylor, *California Life Illustrated* (New York, 1858), 204.

7. For the best treatment of California's geographical variety, see Philip Fradkin, *The Seven States of California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

8. Regarding religion and the gold rush, J. S. Holliday, *The World Rushed In: The California Gold Rush Experience* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1981), contains vignettes of religious observance recorded in letters and diaries. He also deals with moral conditions on the mining frontier, a cause of much concern for religious leaders. Malcolm J. Rohrbough, *Days of Gold: The California Gold Rush and the American Nation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), also weaves religious issues and themes into his narrative. Laurie F. Maffly-Kipp's *Religion and Society in Frontier California* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994) is a good study of the impact of Protestantism on the mining frontier. Harland E. Hogue has written *Prophets and Paupers: Religion in the California Gold Rush, 1848–1869* (Bethesda, Md.: International Scholars Publications, 1996). An older but still very helpful doctoral dissertation is William Francis Hanchett, "Religion and the Gold Rush, 1849–1854: The Christian Churches and the California Mines" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1952). See also William Mead Muhler, "Religion and Social Problems in Gold Rush California: 1849–1869" (Ph.D. diss., Graduate Theological Union, 1989).

9. Hanchett, "Religion and the Gold Rush," 54.

10. Catholic sources are extensive and include William Gleeson, *History of the Catholic Church in California,* 2 vols. (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft Co., 1872); Henry L. Walsh, S.J., *Hallowed Were the Gold Dust Trails* (Santa Clara: University of Santa Clara Press, 1946). Jesuit John McGloin was one of the leading historians of his church. His works include *Eloquent Indian: The Life of James Bouchard, California Jesuit* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1949); *California's First Archbishop: The Life of Joseph Sadoc Alemany, O.P.* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1966); *Jesuits by the Golden Gate: The Society of Jesus in San Francisco, 1849–1969* (San Francisco: University of San Francisco, 1972). See also John T. Dwyer, *Condemned to the Mines: The Life of Eugene O'Connell* (New York: Vantage Press, 1976); James Culleton, *Indians and Pioneers of Old Monterey* (Fresno: Academy of California Church History, 1950). Francis J. Weber has been a prolific scholar of Catholicism in California, especially the Southland. See his *Century of Fulfillment: The Roman Catholic Church in Southern California, 1840–1947* (Mission Hills: The Archival Center, 1990) and *Thaddeus Amat: Cal-*

ornia's Reluctant Prelate (Los Angeles: Dawson Book Shop, 1964). Helpful as well are We-r's *A Bibliographical Gathering: The Writings of Msgr. Francis J. Weber, 1953–1993* (Mission ills: The Archival Center, 1995) and *The Catholic Church in California* (Mission Hills: St. rancis Historical Society, 1997).

Protestantism in California has been discussed in the following works: Douglas Firth An-erson, "California Protestantism, 1848–1935: Historiographical Explorations and Regional lethod in a Nascent Field" (paper, Graduate Theological Union Library, 1983); Methodist eon L. Loofbourow tells the story of his denomination in *In Search of God's Gold: A Story Continued Christian Pioneering in California* (Stockton: The Historical Society of the alifornia-Nevada Annual Conference, 1950); see also Edward D. Jervey, *The History of lethodism in Southern California and Arizona* (Nashville: Parthenon Press, 1960). Presbyter-an history is recounted in Clifford M. Drury, "The Beginnings of the Presbyterian Church n the Pacific Coast," *Pacific Historical Review* 9 (June 1940): 195–204, and *The Centennial of he Synod of California, 1852–1952* (pamphlet, San Francisco: Synod of California Presbyterian hurch, 1952); James L. Woods, *California Pioneer Decade of 1848: The Presbyterian Church* reprint, Fresno: Pioneer Publishing, 1981). For Lutheranism, see Richard T. DuBrau, *The Ro-ance of Lutheranism in California* (Oakland: Concordia Publishing House, 1959). On the aptists see Sanford Fleming, *God's Gold: The Story of Baptist Beginnings in California, 1849–860* (Philadelphia: Judson Press, 1949) and Floyd Looney, *History of California Southern aptists* (Fresno, 1954). On the Unitarians see Arnold Crompton, *Unitarianism on the Pacific oast: The First Sixty Years* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957). For African American churches see hilip M. Montesano, "San Francisco Black Churches in the Early 1860s: Political Pressure roup," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 52 (1973): 145–52; Kenneth Wilson Moore, Areas of Impact of Protestantism upon the Cultural Development of Northern California, 850–1870" (M.A. thesis, Pacific School of Religion, 1970). For Judaism see Fred Rosenbaum, *rchitects of Reform: Congregational and Community Leadership, Emanu-El of San Francisco, 849–1980* (Berkeley: Western Jewish History Center, 1980), and *Free to Chose: The Making of Jewish Community in the American West: The Jews of Oakland, California, From the Gold Rush o the Present Day* (Berkeley: Judah L. Magnes Memorial Museum, 1976).

11. A good contemporary synthesis of a new religious history approach to California re-igion is Sandra Sizer Frankiel, "California and the Southwest," in Lippy and Williams, *En-yclopedia of the American Religious Experience*, 3:1509–23.

12. Hanchett makes this point in his dissertation, "Religion and the Gold Rush." A syn-hesis of the argument is found in his article "The Question of Religion and the Taming of alifornia, 1849–1854," *California Historical Quarterly* 32 (1953): 49–56.

13. Sandra Sizer Frankiel, *California's Spiritual Frontiers: Religious Alternatives to Anglo Protestantism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

14. Kevin Starr, *Americans and the California Dream, 1850–1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973); Maffly-Kipp, *Religion and Society.*

15. These general works contain information about the role of religion in Asian communities: Gunther Barth, *Bitter Strength: A History of the Chinese in the United States, 1850–1870* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964); Sucheng Chan, *Asian Americans: An Interpretative History* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1991); Yong Chen, "China in America: A Cultural History of Chinese San Francisco, 1850–1943" (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1993); see also Robert Seager II, "Some Denominational Reactions to Chinese Immigration to California, 1856–1892," *Pacific Historical Review* 28 (1954): 49–66.

16. Starr, *Americans and the California Dream,* 93–97.

17. Maffly-Kipp, "Eastward Ho!"

18. Significant discussions of cities and the American West include Gunther Barth, *Instant Cities: Urbanization and the Rise of San Francisco and Denver* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975); Donald W. Meinig, "American Wests: Preface to a Geographical Interpretation," in *Re-Reading Cultural Geography,* ed. Kenneth Foote, Peter J. Hugill, Kent Mathewson, and Jonathan M. Smith (Austin: University of Texas, 1994), pp. 111–38; Carl Abbot, "The Metropolitan Region: Western Cities in the New Urban Era," in *The Twentieth Century West: Historical Interpretations,* ed. Gerald D. Nash and Richard W. Etulain (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989), 71–98; Bradford Luckingham, "The Urban Dimensions of Western History," in *Historians and the American West,* ed. Michael P. Malone (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), 323–43; Lawrence H. Larsen, "Frontier Urbanization," in *American Frontier and Western Issues: A Historiographical Review,* ed. Roger L. Nichols (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1986), 69–88; Carol A. O'Connor, "A Region of Cities," in *The Oxford History of the American West,* ed. Clyde Milner et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 535–64.

19. E. L. Cleaveland in *Home Missionary* 26 (July 1853): 65.

20. Hanchett, "Religion and the Gold Rush," 30.

21. Religion's role in the shaping of city culture has become a matter of intense interest among urban historians. Kathleen Neils Conzen has suggested ways in which the role of organized religion can be more effectively integrated into our understanding of the wider processes of city-building. For example, religious people and institutions have played important roles in the urban process by their occupation of space, their provision of social services and their contributions to the overall development of urban communities. See "Forum: The Place of Religion in Urban and Community Studies," *Religion and American Culture* 6 (Summer 1996): 107–30.

22. Quoted in Hanchett, "Religion and the Gold Rush," 28.

23. Clifford M. Drury, "A Chronology of Protestant Beginnings in California," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 26 (June 1947): 163–74.

24. Robert M. Fogelson, *The Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles, 1850–1930* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), 10–23.

25. Michael E. Engh, S.J., *Frontier Faiths: Church, Temple, and Synagogue in Los Angeles, 1846–1888* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992), 2. See also Francis J. Weber, ed., *The Religious Heritage of Southern California: A Bicentennial Survey* (Los Angeles: Interreligious Council of Southern California, 1976).

26. Engh, *Frontier Faiths,* 19

27. June Barrows, ed., "A Vermonter's Description of a Sunday in Los Angeles, California, in 1852," *Vermont History* 38 (1970): 192–94.

28. Jeffrey Burns alludes to the nature of this popular Catholicism in "The Mexican Catholic Community in California," in *Mexican Americans and the Catholic Church, 1900–1965,* ed. Jay P. Dolan and Gilberto Hinojosa (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 136. Timothy M. Matovina refers to the same dynamic among the Tejanos of San Antonio. See *Tejano Religion and Ethnicity: San Antonio, 1821–1860* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), 4, 20–22. For further descriptions of Hispanic Catholicism in California see Moises Sandoval and Salvador E. Alvarez, "The Church in California," in *Fronteras: A History of the Latin American Church in the USA Since 1513,* ed. Moises Sandoval (San Antonio:

Mexican American Cultural Center, 1983), 209–21; Michael C. Neri, *Hispanic Catholicism in Transitional California: The Life of Jose Gonzalez Rubio, O.F.M.* (Santa Barbara: American Academy of Franciscan History, 1995); Antonio Soto, "The Chicano and the Catholic Church in Northern California, 1848–1978: A Study of an Ethnic Minority Within the Roman Catholic Church" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1978).

29. Gregory H. Singleton, *Religion in the City of Angels: American Protestant Culture and Urbanization, Los Angeles, 1850–1930* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1979), 10.

30. Leonard Pitt, *The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846–1890* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 13.

31. Ibid., 218.

32. For the evolution of the mission myth and the recapturing of the ethos of Spanish Catholicism by Los Angeles's boosters, see James J. Rawls, "The California Mission as Symbol and Myth," *California History* 71 (Fall 1992): 342–61. See also Valerie Sherer Mathes, "The California Mission Indian Commission of 1891: The Legacy of Helen Hunt Jackson," *California History* 72 (Winter 1993/94): 338–59.

33. Weber, *Thaddeus Amat.*

34. Burns, "Mexican Catholic Community," 135–37.

35. Fogelson, *Fragmented Metropolis,* 27.

36. Engh, *Frontier Faiths,* 24–26, gives a good summary of Chinese religious rituals in Los Angeles.

37. Glenna Matthews, "Forging a Cosmopolitan Civic Culture: The Regional Identity of San Francisco and Northern California," in *Many Wests: Place Culture and Regional Identity,* ed. David C. Wrobel and Michael C. Steiner (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1997), 216.

38. William Issel and Robert W. Cherny, *San Francisco, 1865–1932: Politics, Power, and Urban Development* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 8.

39. Bradford L. Luckingham, "Religion in Early San Francisco," *The Pacific Historian* 17 (Winter 1973): 56–74.

40. In 1826, the American Home Missionary Society was formed on an interdenominational basis, but, was largely under the aegis of Congregationalists and New School Presbyterians. Old School Congregationalists had had a mission board since 1816. A Methodist Mission Society was formed in 1819, and after the 1846 schism, a Southern Methodist Board was created. In 1821, the Episcopalians formed a Domestic and Foreign Mission Society, and in 1832, the Baptists created the American Baptist Home Mission Society.

41. William Day Simonds, *Starr King in California* (San Francisco: P. Elder, 1917); see also Starr, *Americans and the California Dream,* 97–105; Frankiel, *California's Spiritual Frontiers,* 18–31. For the early history of Episcopalians in San Francisco, see William Ingraham Kip, *Early Days of My Episcopate* (New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1892); D. O. Kelly, *History of the Diocese of California: 1849–1915* (San Francisco: Bureau of Information and Supply, 1915); and Edward Lamb Parsons, *The Diocese of California: A Quarter Century, 1915–1940* (Austin, Tex.: Church Historical Society, 1958).

42. The significance of the ethnic parish in western cities is described in Jeffrey M. Burns, "Building the Best: A History of Catholic Parish Life in the Pacific States," in *The American Catholic Parish: A History from 1850 to the Present,* ed. Jay P. Dolan, 2 vols. (New York: Paulist Press, 1987), 2: 49–78.

43. Chen, "China in America," 139.

44. Ibid., 141–42.

45. The standard work on the rise of the Know Nothing movement is Ray Allen Billington, *The Protestant Crusade: A Study in the Origins of American Nativism* (New York: Macmillan, 1938); for the California version of this national movement see Peyton Hurt, "The Rise and Fall of the 'Know Nothings' in California," *California Historical Society Quarterly* (1930): 16–49.

46. Patrick Blessing, "Culture, Religion and the Activities of the Committee of Vigilance, San Francisco, 1856," *Cushwa Center Working Papers Series* 8 (Fall 1980): 5. For a fuller description of the variety of interpretations given to the vigilantism of 1856, consult the appendix of Robert M. Senkiewicz, S.J., *Vigilantes in Gold Rush San Francisco* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), 203–31.

47. Issel and Cherny observe that by 1860, "San Francisco stood not only as one of the nation's leading immigrant centers but also as a particularly Irish—and Roman Catholic—city" (*San Francisco, 1865–1932*, 14).

48. Douglas Firth Anderson, "Through Fire and Fair by the Golden Gate: Progressive Era Protestantism and Culture" (Ph.D. diss., Graduate Theological Union, 1988), 4.

49. Although he discusses a period of time after the chronological parameters of this essay, Douglas Firth Anderson notes the minority status of Protestantism in the Bay Area in "'We Have Here a Different Civilization': Protestant Identity in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1906–1909," *Western Historical Quarterly* 23 (1992): 199–221.

50. For a good treatment of Irish Catholicism, see Emmet Larkin's *The Historical Dimensions of Irish Catholicism* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1984); and also Lawrence J. McCaffrey, *The Irish Catholic Diaspora in America* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University Press of America, 1997).

51. R. A. Burchell, *The San Francisco Irish, 1848–1880* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 91. The Irish in California are also the subject of Patrick Blessing's "West Among Strangers: Irish Migration to California, 1850 to 1880" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1977). A venerable work worth citing as well is J. Quigley, *The Irish Race in California and on the Pacific Coast* (San Francisco: A. Roman & Co., 1878). Patrick J. Dowling has provided a series of interesting, if sometimes factually flawed, mini-biographies in *Irish Californians: Historic, Benevolent, Romantic* (San Francisco: Scottwall Associates, 1998).

52. Burchell, *San Francisco Irish*, 5.

53. Quoted in ibid., 4.

54. For additional information regarding Catholic schools in San Francisco see Catherine A. Curry, "Shaping Young San Franciscans: Public and Catholic Schools in San Francisco, 1851–1906" (Ph.D. diss., Graduate Theological Union, 1987).

55. Gerald McKevitt, S.J., *The University of Santa Clara: A History, 1851–1977* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1979); see also McGloin, *Jesuits by the Golden Gate.*

56. Mary Aurelia McCardle, *California's Pioneer Sister of Mercy: Mother Mary Baptist Russell (1829–1898)* (Fresno: Academy Library Guild, 1954).

57. Roger Lotchin, *San Francisco, 1846–1856: From Hamlet to City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 326.

58. Ibid., 121.

59. Barth, *Bitter Strength*, 159.

60. John B. McGloin, S.J., "Thomas Cian: Pioneer Chinese Priest in California," *California Historical Quarterly* 48 (March 1969): 45–58.

61. Chen, "China in America," 134.

62. Alexander McLeod, *Pigtails and Gold Dust* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1947), 40, 98.

63. Mark Anthony Eifler, "Crossroads City: Culture and Community in Gold Rush Sacramento, 1849–1850" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1992).There are very few full-scale studies of the history of Sacramento. Joseph McGowan's three-volume *History of the Sacramento Valley* (West Palm Beach: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1961) is dated but still the best source available. Two additional books are Thor Severson, *Sacramento: An Illustrated History: 1839–1874* (Sacramento, 1973), and Joseph A. McGowan and Terry Willis, *Sacramento: Heart of the Golden State* (Woodland Hills: Sacramento County Historical Society, 1983). Another helpful source is Susan Wiley Hardwick, "Ethnic Residential and Commercial Patterns in Sacramento with Special Reference to the Russian-American Experience" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Davis, 1986).

64. Quoted in Severson, *Sacramento: An Illustrated History,* 108–109.

65. These herculean efforts are recorded in Barbara Lagomarsino, "Early Attempts to Save the Site of Sacramento by Raising Its Business District" (M.A. thesis, Sacramento State College, 1969).

66. The decision to situate the state capital in Sacramento is related in June Oxford, *The Capital That Couldn't Stay Put* (Fairfield: James Stevenson Publisher, 1995), 61–66.

67. Paul Freye, "A History of The Pioneer Church of Sacramento, California, 1849–1949" (pamphlet, Sacramento Room, Sacramento City Library).

68. "Church Dedication," *Sacramento Daily Union,* 18 August 1856.

69. The work of the Sisters in Sacramento is described in Mary Evangelist Morgan, *Mercy, Generation to Generation: History of the First Century of the Sisters of Mercy, Diocese of Sacramento, California* (San Francisco: Fearon Publishers, 1957).

70. "Records of St. Joseph Academy, 1861–1868," Archives of the Sisters of Mercy, Auburn, Calif.

71. For an overview of the history of women in Sacramento, see Elaine Connolly and Dian Self, *Capital Women: An Interpretative History of Women in Sacramento, 1850–1920* (Sacramento: Capital Women's History Project, 1995).

72. See Ronald Isetti, *Called to the Pacific: A History of the Christian Brothers of the San Francisco District, 1868–1944* (Moraga: St. Mary's College of California, 1979), 46–48; evidence of the good rapport built up between the Brothers and the local business community, who contributed handsomely to the construction of a new school building in the 1920s, is on pp. 249–50. See also Sister Marie Vandenbergh, R.C., "Attitudes and Events Leading up to the Establishment of Christian Brothers School in Sacramento, 1871–1876" (M.A. thesis, Sacramento State College, 1968).

11

Popular Culture on the Golden Shore

Gary F. Kurutz

> The Sabbath in California is kept, when kept at all, as a day of hilarity and bacchanalian sports, rather than as a season of holy meditation or religious devotion. Horse-racing, cock-fighting, cony-hunting, card-playing, theatrical performances, and other elegant amusements are freely engaged in on this day.
>
> —Hinton Helper, *The Land of Gold*

The California Gold Rush and the harvesting of millions of dollars worth of gold dust gave the Argonauts an unprecedented level of discretionary income and plenty of ways to burn it. Miners who had made their pile and those who made a living off the Argonauts enjoyed a multitude of diversions provided by the cities, towns, and camps of this new El Dorado. Out of this caldron of chaos developed the gambling "hells" and drinking saloons referred to by just about every major journal keeper and letter writer. Short on the heels of these infamous institutions grew other forms of popular culture reflecting the educational levels and the incredibly diverse nature of the mining population. While hunting for gold was a rugged and dangerous business bringing out the worst features of many personalities, the stereotype of rough, carousing, cursing, crude miners quickly gave way to a population that appreciated the finer things of life.

A large number of highly literate, sophisticated individuals poured into California during this rough and ready era, and they wanted and demanded diversions other than swilling liquor and playing monte and faro. Seemingly overnight, theaters, music halls, circuses, literary societies, bookstores, lending libraries, and other forms of wholesome recreation blossomed. Californians, too, enjoyed a variety of contests ranging from bull-and-bear fights to billiards, thus laying the foundation for the state's love affair with sports. Those who realized that California's streets were not paved in gold saw a need to develop forms of amusement that would not only improve the mind but also create a stable social foundation conducive to permanent settlement. By the early 1850s, Californians began to worry about their reputations, and with this concern, on an unparalleled scale were importing the civilizing influences of their former homes.[1]

The first manifestation of popular culture in gold-rush California centered on Sunday. Reflecting the American roots of many of the gold seekers, this traditional day of rest turned out to be a day of merriment and money-making opportunities, a veritable institution of the Gold Rush. It was on this day that the population not only tended to chores and reflected on the Sabbath, but also "let loose" after a hard week of physical toil. Sunday represented a chance to socialize and enjoy life, and the Argonauts, without any real rules of social behavior but with bags of gold, often turned to games of chance and the comfort found in a bottle. But it was also on this day that miners held balls, went to the theater, sang songs, read newspapers, whooped it up at foot races, thought of home, and wrote letters.[2]

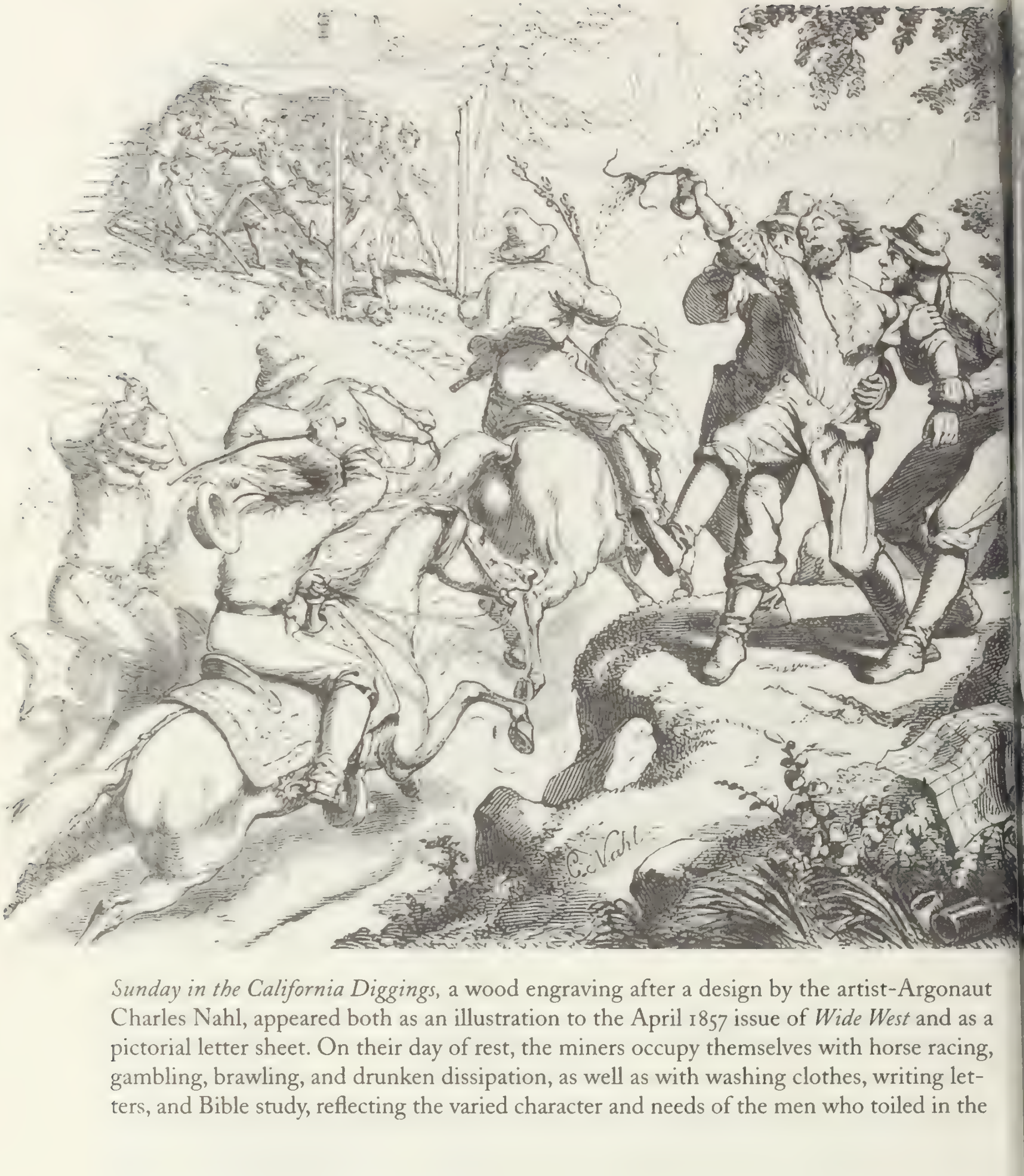
Sundays, like Saturday nights, gave others a "golden" opportunity to turn a profit. The professional gambler, barkeeper, thespian, musician, and the owners of these establishments happily relieved gold-rushers of their hard-earned gold dust. Others, too, who supplied services to the Argonauts, found this alternative use of the "Lord's Day" most pleasing. Jared Brown, a young blacksmith at Coloma, for instance, boasted that Sunday was his most profitable. It also happened to be horse-racing day. Brown wrote his father: "I plate a horse Sunday morning for running and he run right away from the others. Sunday is the day all racing is done. I do as much work on Sunday as all the rest of the week."[3]

This essay surveys the rapid development of popular culture and amusements during the first years of that fast-paced era. Many of these later developed into solid, long-lasting institutions; while others, like the bacchanalian sports described by Hinton Helper, died off as a result of public pressure.

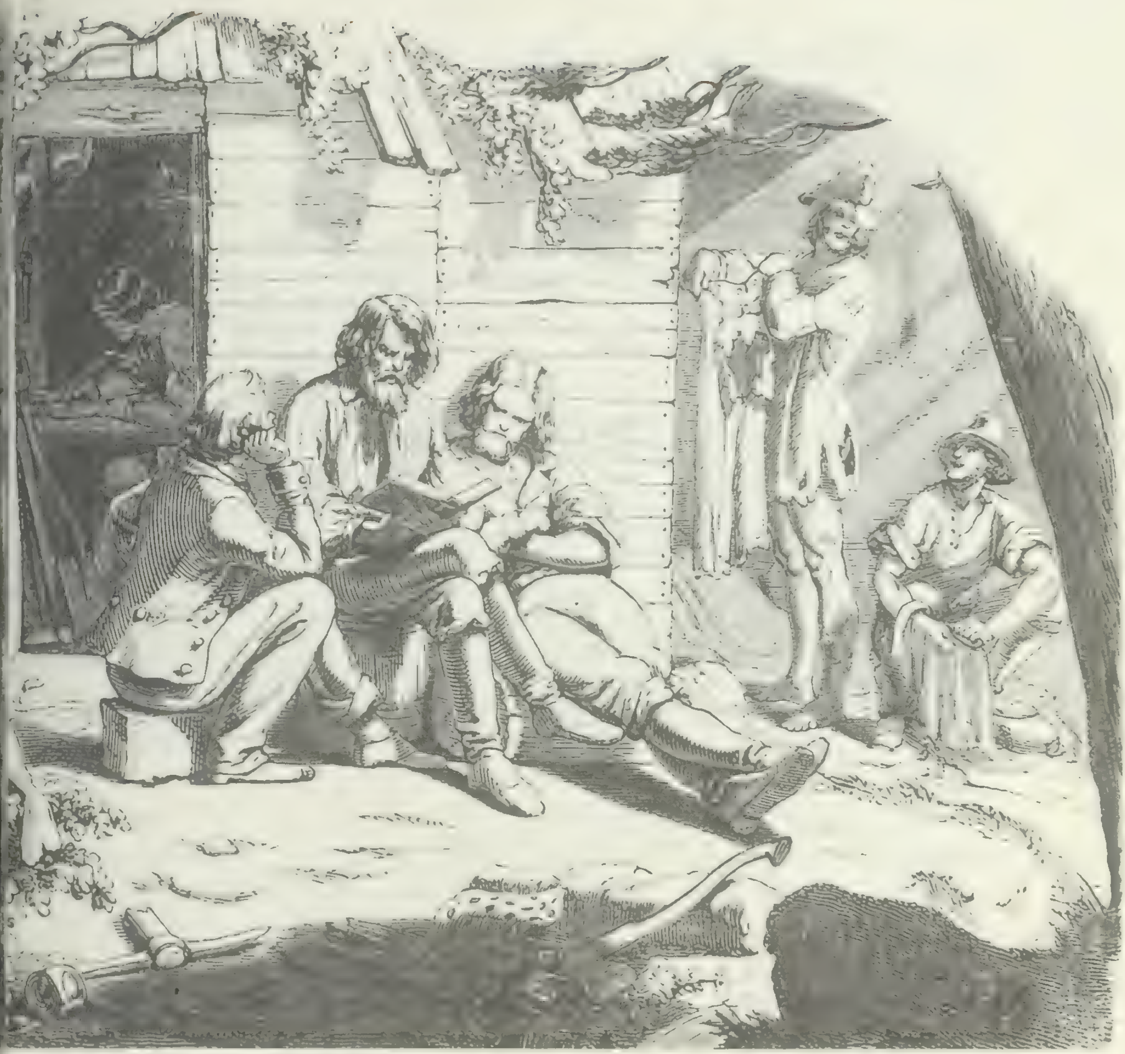
"All gamble to a frightful extent"

GAMING HOUSES AND DRINKING SALOONS

Without doubt, gambling turned out to be the most popular, most remarked about, and most condemned form of popular culture.[4] As *New York Tribune* journalist Bayard Taylor remarked, "Wherever there is gold, there are gamblers."[5] All the great contemporary chroniclers of the gold-rush era penned extensive and colorful descriptions of the gambling "hells" and the drinking saloons, the men who bet a bagful of gold on the turn of a single card, and the utter dissolution and ruination of young men who lost their moral compasses in these hells. Pioneer directory publisher Samuel Colville, when describing Marysville's gambling saloons, remarked that "Hogarth and Cruikshank might look upon the picture, and wonder where to



Sunday in the California Diggings, a wood engraving after a design by the artist-Argonaut Charles Nahl, appeared both as an illustration to the April 1857 issue of *Wide West* and as a pictorial letter sheet. On their day of rest, the miners occupy themselves with horse racing, gambling, brawling, and drunken dissipation, as well as with washing clothes, writing letters, and Bible study, reflecting the varied character and needs of the men who toiled in the



gold fields. Fifteen years after its publication, Nahl painted a monumental canvas of the same scene, *Sunday Morning in the Mines* (Crocker Art Museum, Sacramento). Exhibited in San Francisco, it awakened fond memories for many a graying Argonaut, one of whom declared that the scene would "be recognized as truthful by those who have witnessed similar ones." *California Historical Society, FN-31251.*

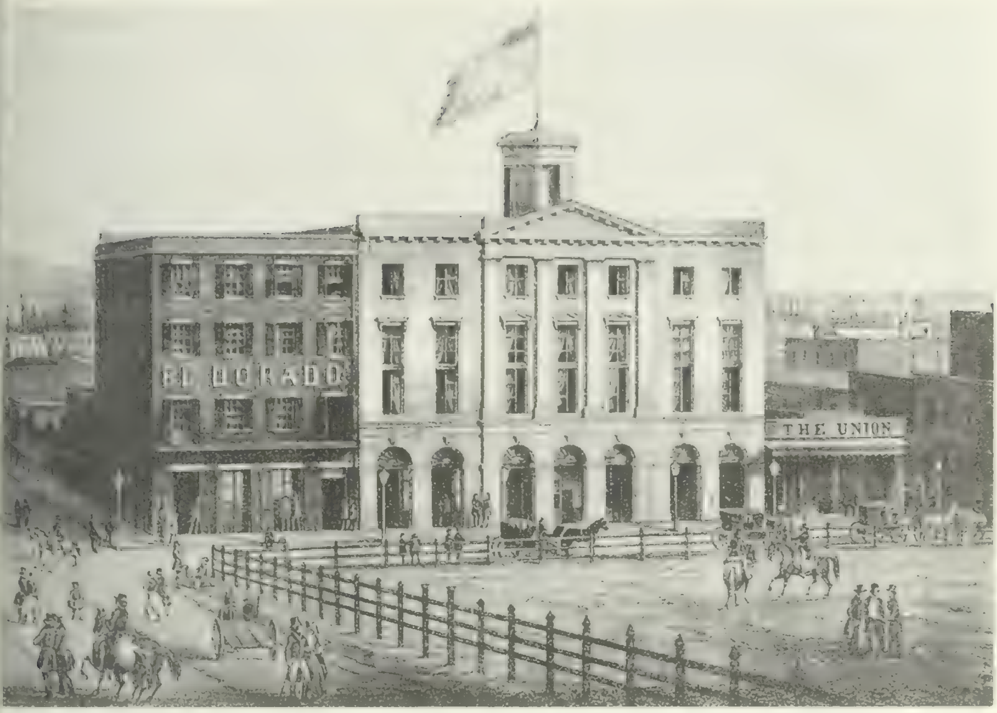
begin and be bewildered to know where to leave off. Here, naked, and unmasked depravity, daily, nightly, and unblushingly manifested itself."[6]

Gambling also caught the attention of just about anyone who took the trouble to write a letter home or make a diary entry. Frequently these letters and diaries struggled with the notion of miners willing to risk all, in the context of the responsibilities they had to loved ones at home. New England preachers warned gold seekers of the immorality found in the gambling saloons of California. The self-righteous condemned the squandering of hard-earned labor, while others, perhaps disingenuously, stated that they merely watched miners gambling and did not wager themselves. "During all this excitement and apparent chance to get rich, I never made a single bet or took a chance," wrote a sanctimonious Charles Ross Parke about the rampant gambling in Sacramento.[7] But, as writers of *The Annals of San Francisco* more realistically observed, "*Every body did so,*"[8] and William Perkins pointed out in his journal that "Merchants, Lawyers, Politicians, Judges, Governors, all gamble to a frightful extent."[9] In Sacramento, Stockton, and Marysville even ministers of the Gospel could be seen "piously engaged in dealing monte" and other games of chance.

Gambling did not draw a boundary, either, when it came to age, sex, or race. Journalist Enos Christman noted that he found himself "surrounded with crowds of persons of all ages, sex and color, from the pale-faced Frenchman to the ebon Ethiopian [African American]."[10] Artist John David Borthwick wrote: "Seated round the same [gambling] table might be seen well-dressed, respectable-looking men, and alongside of them, rough miners fresh from the diggings . . . and little urchins . . . ten or twelve years of age, smoking cigars as big as themselves."[11] John Banks, a Buckeye, was disgusted at seeing a handsome woman drinking, gambling, and swearing (just like the men!).[12]

The Gold Rush has been described as the "great lottery," and it only stands to reason that those who participated in the run for riches would be willing to take a chance at the gaming tables. Away from the moral constraints of home, the saloon gave gold-rushers a playground without restriction. Further, during the early days of gold, gambling provided the primary source of diversion, a relief from the arduous task of making a living, and a place for socializing.[13] For many, especially in isolated camps, there was no other place to go and nothing else to do. Daniel Woods, in his *Sixteen Months at the Gold Diggings,* illustrates the paucity of amusements and rationale for wagering with the following story:

> I saw, to my surprise, a young man who had come from one of the most religious families in his native city placing down his money upon the table. I stepped to his side. In a moment the card was turned, and a small amount of silver was added to that already in his hand. He looked anxiously at me and said, "I would not have my mother know what I am doing for all the money in this room." "Why then do it?" I asked; "have you



The El Dorado, one of the most famed gaming houses in San Francisco, stands next to the city hall on the east side of Portsmouth Plaza. Possibly designed by the French Argonaut Prosper Huerne and one of the first examples of fireproof construction in the city, it replaced the older "gambling hell" of the same name, which was destroyed by one of the periodic conflagrations that swept San Francisco. By 1852, when this pictorial letter sheet was published, San Francisco was becoming increasingly respectable and the riotous days of the city's opulently furnished pleasure palaces lay largely in the past. *Courtesy California State Library.*

> thought to what the first step may lead?" "But what can I do," he said, earnestly; "I came not here to gamble, but to find amusement; and can you tell me what other amusement is within my reach?"[14]

Very quickly California became the gambling capital of the world, with San Francisco leading the parade. As portrayed in *The Annals of San Francisco,* "Gambling . . . was *the* amusement—the grand occupation of many classes—apparently the life and soul of the place. There were hundreds of gambling saloons in the town."[15] The Chilean Benjamin Vicuña MacKenna wrote that "Gambling houses, open day and night, were the actual churches of San Francisco, and gold was the only God worshiped."[16] William Kelly added: "The Francisco gaming-houses are never closed, morning, noon, or night."[17] The El Dorado, Verandah, Denison's Exchange, Bella Union, and Aguila de Oro became some of the most infamous names in the world.

The Chinese started their own gambling houses on Sacramento and Dupont streets So lucrative did this pastime become, that "knights of the green cloth" paid thousands of dollars in annual rent just to set up a table.[18]

What applied to San Francisco applied on a smaller scale everywhere else. Marysville's first saloon consisted of a series of poles planted in the earth and covered with canvas in the center of town. Its owner, James Wharton, called it the "Round Tent."[19] James Lee set up a similar affair, called the "Stinking Tent," made of foul-smelling sailcloth in Sacramento, which in turn was followed by another "Round Tent," then the "Gem," and a score more. In this town, adjacent to perennially flooding rivers, reported John Letts, men stood up to their knees in mud to play monte.[20] Stockton boasted its El Dorado, Nevada City its Empire, Grass Valley its Alta, Sonora its Long Tom, and by 1852, forty saloons and gambling halls lined Columbia's streets.

The gaming houses must have been absolutely incredible, elegant affairs, especially in the larger population centers. One can only imagine what it must have been like for a young Forty-niner from an isolated, protected New England village to enter into a place like the Big Tent in Sacramento or the El Dorado in San Francisco. Bright lights, mirrors with gilded frames, lascivious paintings, tables loaded with buckskin bags of gold dust, painted jezebels with enticing smiles and siren voices, dense clouds of tobacco smoke, a cacophony of swearing and cursing in multiple languages, liquor flowing like water, and the blare of music all combined to create a heady, irresistible atmosphere capable of shattering the staunchest moral spirit.[21] An early San Francisco city directory provided this word picture of the dizzying attraction of the gambling saloon in 1849:

> Almost the only comfortable places of resort were the gambling saloons, which were warm and dry, though fetid with the fumes of tobacco, gin, and other liquors, and the poisonous air which has done its duty in turn to a hundred sets of lungs. In such places men needed not drink as a prelude to intoxication. They could absorb it through nostrils and pores of their skin, and, in addition, bands of music helped the excitement and diverted the self-examination and reflection of those who stood within those alluring hells. Few could see the heaps of gold upon the gambling tables and breathe the air, and resist the influences around and before them. Men entered to avoid the rain and get warm, or through curiosity, saw, bet, and were ruined.[22]

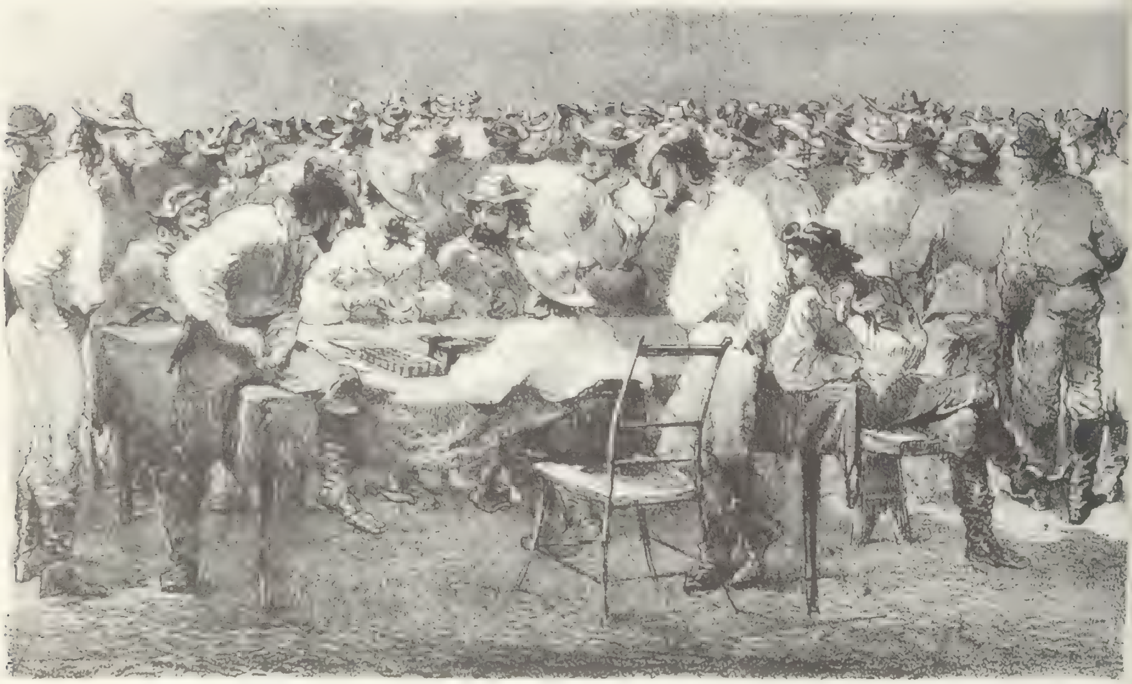
Women, both real and imagined, offered an irresistible attraction. While professional gamblers dominated, owners of saloons exploited the lack of women by placing them behind the gaming tables and liquor bars. William Perkins in Sonora, for example, noted the presence of "a pretty and handsomely dressed Frenchwoman behind the counter." Offering a candid view, he went on to admit that "Even a staid and sedate man like myself will at times spend a few quarters for the enjoyment of a genial smile from a pretty face, or perhaps the still greater stimulus of a flirtation."[23]

Albert Benard de Russailh reported that French girls charged an ounce of gold just o sit next to a customer at a bar or card table. "I may add," wrote the French traveler, "that the saloons and gambling-houses that keep women are always crowded and are sure to succeed."[24]

Owners of these establishments seemingly spared no expense in creating a heady atmosphere even though the structure itself was no more than a large tent. Music was a great enticement, and all kinds of bands and varieties of instruments could be found. Gambling saloon musicians made upwards of an ounce of gold per performance. According to the Marysville directory for 1856, "Musical talent [in the early years] commanded the most Utopian prices. Any amateur that could torture horse hair and cat-gut into any consecutive sounds reasonably endurable, found the gambling saloon a much more remunerative field for his labor, than the richest laden placer or gulch."[25] A Swiss lady, working as an organ grinder in the gambling saloons, made $4,000 in a few short months.[26]

While faro and monte proved to be the most popular, every game of chance known to the gambling fraternity was represented, including roulette, rondo, keno, twenty-one, chuck-a-luck, rouge-et-noir, lansquenet, poker, tub and ball, thimble rig, and strap and pin. Much has been written by contemporary observers of the sums of coin and gold dust bet and the demeanor of those who wagered. Stakes ranged as high as $1,000 to $5,000 a pop, but sums as small as a single dollar stake—still nearly a half-day's wages—were commonplace. Players treated losses with a range of emotions: some cursed, others went so far as to draw out a revolver or knife, and still others showed remarkable equanimity. Miners were notorious for coming into town and gambling away their hard-earned *oro.*[27] William B. Peter in 1851 wrote: "A sailor came back from the mines just a while ago with $6,000 piasters in gold. He rán to a gambling hall, threw his bag of gold on a Monte table shouting 'here's for Panama or back to the mines!' Thus gambling on *one* card the fruit of his labor for the year—fortunately, luck smiled on him. He returned to New York with $12,000."[28]

Drinking saloons, or tippling houses, served as the Siamese twins of the gambling hells, offering many of the same amenities including music, women, bright lights, expensive furniture, and alluring wall decorations. More often than not, drinking took place in gambling hells and gambling took place in the saloons. Hubert Howe Bancroft noted that "There were all grades and descriptions of saloons, from the lowest 'bit' house, where 'rot-gut' whiskey, 'strychnine' brandy, and divers other poisonous compounds with slang names were sold, to the most gorgeous drinking palaces" serving the best bourbon and champagne.[29] Most amazingly, the press reported that in 1853 San Francisco supported 537 liquor vendors and employed 743 bartenders![30] To supply the trade and the Forty-niner's thirst, merchants imported tremendous quantities of spirits. For example, an advertisement in the *Alta California* for



Argonauts try their luck at monte, one of the simplest and most popular games of chance in the diggings, in a lithographic illustration to *Three Years in California* (1857), by the artist-Argonaut John D. Borthwick. The great national game of Mexico at the time of the Gold Rush, monte was quickly taken up by Yankee gamblers. *California Historical Society, FN-31550.*

February 8, 1849, offered for sale 400 boxes of champagne, 100 boxes of cherry brandy, 600 cases of brandy, and 200 cases of gin. "The annual consumption of beer, wines and liquors in this State exceeds five millions of gallons," wrote California basher Hinton Helper in 1852.[31]

These saloons offered two other popular and more respectable forms of diversion: billiards and bowling, or ten-pin alley. Robert Brownlee recorded that a friend bought seven ten-pin alleys and sent one to him at his saloon in Agua Fria. "It was in great demand," he said, "as everybody wanted amusement, and this seemed to fill the bill."[32] At Coloma, James Delavan was astonished that scarce lumber was diverted to building bowling saloons with individuals "preferring to make their *ten strikes* there than to delve in the placers."[33] Apparently, these alleys attracted enough patronage to pay enormous rents. Taylor reported that a single bowling establishment in the Ward House (hotel) in San Francisco pre-paid its rent of $5,000 a month. The El Dorado, in addition to its many gambling tables, in its basement boasted four alleys that were rarely empty. On its first floor, patrons could also amuse themselves with billiards, and in the back, a shooting gallery.[34] As the Ger-nan Friedrich Gerstäcker summed it up, these diversions offered "A very nice vaiety of well-meant devices to get the money out of people's pockets as pleasantly as possible."[35]

By 1854, these gambling hells began to die out, giving way to more socially acceptable forms of amusement. The influx of families was putting unrelenting presure to eliminate or at least segregate the Forty-niner's gambling hell. In 1856, the tate legislature outlawed gambling altogether, thus ending perhaps the wildest chapter in California history.

"The only civilized distraction"

THE ARGONAUTS' THEATER

The theater emerged as the most enduring and appreciated form of popular entertainment to survive the Gold Rush. Actors and actresses of note came early to the and of gold, performing before easily satisfied and deeply interested audiences. Some of the most memorable names associated with this era—Lola Montez, Lotta Crabtree, Tom Maguire, Edwin Forrest, Junius Booth and his sons—all provided amusement ranging from renditions of Shakespeare to vaudeville. Theater represented an uplifting, respectable pastime that countered the degrading, debilitating atmosphere of the gambling hells. Those who saw California as their home worried about its reputation, and the theater, along with the church and atheneum, meant respectability.[36] As French traveler Albert Benard de Russailh remarked in 1851, the theater provided "the only civilized distraction."[37] The San Francisco *Daily Alta California,* in a sermon-like editorial, talked of the "Dramatic Temple" as an institution where lessons in morality are imparted and "where great truths are inculcated by the immortal language of the great bard."[38]

Despite the virtuous tones articulated by these editorials, the first theater of the Gold Rush hardly represented a place to impart moral lessons. When Sacramento's Eagle Theatre opened on October 18, 1849, its patrons entered the canvas and wood affair through a saloon, the infamous Round Tent. Before and after the performance, theatergoers could gamble and swill spirits. As journalist Bayard Taylor pointed out, "It would have been taken for an ordinary drinking-house, but for the sign: 'Eagle Theatre.'"[39]

The Eagle achieved lasting fame as the first California structure built for dramatic performances. Its short life, however, illustrates the vicissitudes of operating a palace of entertainment during that fast-paced, makeshift era. Like most businesses constructed in Sacramento in 1849, it consisted of a wood frame with canvas sides and roof. Carpenters fashioned its stage out of packing boxes. Costing a staggering $75,000, the flimsy playhouse measured approximately 30 by 95 feet with a capacity for 400 seats. Expenses did not end there. Actors, doorkeepers, orchestra, scenery painted drop curtain, posters, and programs drove up the overhead to $600 a night To pay for all this, managers charged $5 for a box seat and $3 to sit in the pit.[40]

Opening night drew a large and joyous crowd. Miners, dressed in "heavy overcoats and felt hats," poured out their gold dust at the Round Tent saloon and filed into the theater. A number of "well-costumed ladies" sat in a special place known as "dress circle." Taylor and Stephen C. Massett, the celebrated composer and vocalist, witnessed the performance of the first play, *The Bandit Chief; or, The Forest Spectre.* Massett noted that a howling wind and pouring rain put the tent theater to a real test. A group of thespians led by J. B. Atwater and Mr. and Mrs. Henry Ray acted out the medieval tragedy before the packed house. Taylor, somewhat skeptical, wrote: "Several acts are filled with the usual amount of fighting and terrible speeches." Mrs. Ray, Taylor derisively reported, threw herself on the stage several times for no apparent reason other than to prove a woman was indeed part of the play. Her impromptu appearances caused the miners to "applaud vehemently."[41]

Sacramento's inclement weather and flooding rivers challenged the fortitude of spectator and actor alike. During one performance, flood waters seeped through the wooden floors, and by the time the second act began, the audience, rather than fleeing, stood on benches. Apparently the defiant miners loved sloshing to their seats. Pioneering theater historian John B. McCabe reported: "On several occasions when the company were 'piling on the agony' on the stage, one of these miners would appear to be roused to enthusiasm, and while shouting his approbation, would throw his arms open, striking his neighbors on each side, and precipitating them backwards into the water. This practical joke sometimes caused a laugh, sometimes a fight."[42]

The Eagle Theatre lasted just two and one-half action-packed, flood-ravaged months before closing on January 4, 1850. Atwater and his colleagues headed for San Francisco and opened at Washington Hall on January 16, 1850, to a jammed house with Sheridan Knowles's *The Wife.* In short order, a succession of theaters followed, including the National, American, Phoenix, and Adelphi, offering a venue for great tragedians and comics alike. This flurry of activity inaugurated a long and fruitful San Francisco theater history that continues to this day.[43]

While Sacramento fought off floods, San Francisco contended with a series of fires that burnt down one "histrionic temple" after another. Out of these ashes emerged two frontier impresarios, Dr. D. G. "Yankee" Robinson and Tom Maguire. The irrepressible Dr. Robinson had his "Dramatic Museum" burn twice before opening on July 4, 1850, with an original gold-rush farce entitled *Seeing the Elephant.* Success and a craving for new audiences took Dr. Robinson on the road, where he carried the dramatic arts to places like Marysville and Nevada City for the first time. Robinson also brought to California the first professional singer, the beautiful coloratura soprano Elisa Biscaccianti. Saloon keeper Tom Maguire rose to the top as the greatest showman. Arriving in California in 1849, he erected on Portsmouth Square a series of Jenny Lind Theaters. Fire consumed the first two, but the third, the stubborn barkeeper made of brick and stone. It was so substantial that he sold it to officials for a city hall. Like Dr. Robinson, Maguire branched out and operated theaters throughout the mining country. The impresario possessed that rare ability to attract topflight entertainers and keep his audiences loyal with an assortment of acts ranging from vaudeville to musicales to grand opera.[44]

Although San Francisco dominated in numbers and elegance of theater buildings, the mining cities and towns all prized theatrical amusements and raced to build their own dramatic temples. Theaters represented respectability and put communities on the map of civilization. As the *Placer Times* so aptly put it, the theater served as an "oasis in a great desert of the mind." Newspapers carried scores of notices of theatrical offerings, reporters penned tediously detailed reviews, and printers struck gold by churning out posters and programs.[45] The tiny but rich mountain town of Downieville illustrates the determination to lure wholesome entertainment. Just three months after citizens lynched a Mexican woman named Juanita, the town opened up a thousand-seat theater; and in June 1852, it proudly inaugurated the National, with a capacity for 1,500 persons. The National even boasted a drop curtain with a view of Tyrol in Switzerland.[46]

With talented impresarios pulling the levers, just about every famous entertainer came through San Francisco and the mining towns. A bevy of famous actresses dazzled the miners, including Alexina Baker, Matilda Heron, and Catherine Sinclair. None achieved more lasting notoriety, however, than Lola Montez. She stormed through California, dazzled the miners with her alluring "spider dance," fought with them when they failed to show proper appreciation, kept a pet bear at her Grass Valley home, and "discovered" the child star Lotta Crabtree. At the tender age of eight, and under the tutelage of Lola, Lotta captivated audiences with her singing, dancing, mimicking, and acting. Eventually, this California darling became the highest paid actress in America, and loving San Franciscans named a fountain in her honor. Adah Isaacs Menken, who cavorted on a horse wearing flesh-colored tights in *Mazeppa* and did nothing more than smile, created a sensation. Versatile thespians like Edwin Forrest, James Stark, Uncle Willy Chapman, and Junius and Edwin Booth also won rave reviews.[47]

The California theater that entertained the Forty-niners did not lack for variety. This in part reflected the amazing sophistication of theatergoers. Despite the crudeness of California and roughness of its miners, many were well read, and pioneer bookstores and lending libraries carried hundreds of printed plays. Over one thousand theatrical pieces were presented during the 1850s, including 907 plays, 48 operas, 84 extravaganzas, ballets, and pantomimes, and 66 minstrel specialties. Twenty-two plays by Shakespeare led the way.[48] Chinese and French theaters added a true

Reared in the town of Grass Valley, where at an early age she was encouraged by the celebrated actress Lola Montez, Lotta Crabtree began her theatrical career as a child, singing and dancing for the miners. As her career blossomed, she became a national sensation, touring the country with her own company. At the height of her fame, she was the highest-paid actress in the United States. *California Historical Society, FN-04331.*

nternational flare.[49] The incredible saga of the Gold Rush also stimulated its own productions. Bulbous-nosed Alonzo Delano, known as "Old Block," wrote *A Live Woman in the Mines,* a two-act play based on people he had met in the diggings. The antics of the legendary outlaw Joaquín Murieta inspired Charles Howe to write the melodrama *A Dramatic Play Entitled Joaquin Murieta de Castillo, the Celebrated California Bandit.* To create authenticity, Howe wove in such scenes as a miners' meeting, a miners' court, and an emigrants' camp. The shocking desert massacre of the Oatman family and captivity of Olive and Mary Oatman by Apache and Mohave Indians led to the production of a "beautiful and thrilling" three-act play, *The Oatman Family,* written by C. E. Bingham.[50]

A number of more obscure forms of entertainment found their way to the gold-country theaters, ranging from juggling acts to ventriloquist performances. The Argonauts demonstrated over and over that they were hungry for any form of amusement and would willingly be hoodwinked. A parade of wizards, magicians, mimics, and delineators of eccentricities happily took the miners' gold dust. The *Sacramento Daily Union* for December 29, 1852, for example, reported on what it called the "best treat of the season," which consisted of an exhibition of ventriloquism, legerdemain, and puppets. Its performance brought down "earthquakes of applause and protracted laughter."[51] Signor Giovanni Rossi was a popular magician who toured the major cities giving demonstrations of necromancy, sleight of hand, and ventriloquism. The Italian magician even mimicked animals and insects.[52] William Bickham describes the large crowd that turned out at the Illinois House in San Francisco to see a magician; the performance apparently made a lasting impression on "green'uns" from the backwoods of Missouri and Illinois, who had never witnessed anything like this before.[53]

The titillating performances of the *tableaux vivants,* or artistic models, represented yet another form of entertainment in this competitive, anything-goes environment. A showing of women dressed only in "flesh-colored silk" and "transparent gauze" seemed like a good idea in female-scarce northern California. San Francisco and Sacramento newspapers of 1850 ran frequent notices of "Splendid Living Pictures." Ostensibly, Dr. Collyer, the owner of one of these troupes, claimed that they were merely reproducing historical scenes from classical artists. The editors of the *Alta California* stated that the moment the models began "to pander to depraved tastes" they would be terminated.[54] In Stockton, "Model Artists" "clothed in nature's robes" and sitting on a revolving platform won unbounded applause.[55] As more respectable forms of amusement developed and tastes and morals became more rigorous, patronage for performances like Dr. Collyer's beauties dissipated, and the *tableaux vivants* did not live out the decade.

When the famed Joseph Andrew Rowe opened his Olympic Circus in San Francisco on October 29, 1849, he brought to the gold country a lively, breathtaking show. Known as "the celebrated equestrian and domesticator of the horse," Rowe, along with his wife, formed a company that included a clown, several riders, rope dancers, musicians, and a ringmaster. They gave dozens of performances before enthusiastic audiences at an amphitheater on Kearny Street. On May 2, 1850, Rowe opened his equestrian act in Sacramento and again met with success. After performing for several months, Rowe's thirst for travel and adventure took hold and the circus shipped out to Hawaii and Australia in the spring of 1851. Rowe, however, was not alone in providing high-wire acts, stunts with cannon balls, and clever gymnastic maneuvers on the backs of galloping horses. William H. Foley, Rowe's best clown, formed his own troupe, and the National Circus of H. C. Lee and John R. Marshall enjoyed great popularity.[56]

"The violin shrieked"

MUSIC AND DANCE

Music played a vital role in bringing amusement and comfort to the pioneers. In an astonishingly short time, high-class professional performers flocked to this El Dorado on the Pacific Coast. The saloons and theaters featured an assortment of handsomely paid musicians. Well-established performers like pianist Henri Hertz and vocalist Stephen C. Massett came to the mining region and were treated like royalty. Elisa Biscaccianti, "the American Thrush," and Kate Hayes, "the Swan of Erin," and a succession of female singers regaled adoring crowds of women-starved men. Soon music halls became a feature of most of the larger towns and cities, and the larger cities even supported music stores selling sheet music, violin and guitar strings, instruments of all kinds, and how-to books.[57]

Stephen Massett deserves special mention as the first "star" of the Gold Rush. On June 22, 1849, San Franciscans stuffed themselves into a tiny schoolhouse on Portsmouth Square to see the English-born talent put on a one-man show of singing and skits. For his efforts, Massett took in over $500. This represented the first regular entertainment in the city by the bay. He then proceeded to Sacramento and Marysville. Massett later recorded his theatrical experiences in his autobiography, *"Drifting About," or What "Jeems Pipes of Pipesville" Saw-and-Did.*[58]

Out in the wilderness and in the camps, however, the miners experienced a less sophisticated, but more spontaneous, form of musical entertainment. Luther Schaeffer, throughout his diary, paints a memorable picture. Around campfires or in their tents and log cabins, gold hunters would engage in singing hymns or favorite songs, depending on their country or place of origin. This singing would sometimes counteract the screams, firing of guns, and other hideous noises that emanated from the saloons.[59] At Rough and Ready, one Argonaut noted how a group of Frenchmen pitched their tents nearby, and when plied with liquor, "would make the woods re-echo with their French songs and boisterous merriment."[60] On Sundays, they quite naturally sang the "Marseillaise." The musical charms of the French likewise impressed William Perkins in Sonora. They formed an amateur company and gave weekly concerts, which Perkins pronounced the only amusement worth the enrance money.[61]

Schaeffer, in search of better mining prospects, moved to Grass Valley and took with him his musical interests. In April 1851, he recalled how his companions met at ach other's cabins and sang "old fashion, plaintive tunes." "Old Virginia Shore," Yankee Doodle," "Susanna," and "Auld Lang Syne" were particular favorites. Singing dispelled gloom and sadness and helped assuage that sense of deprivation. So powerful did this singing become that large numbers of miners congregated around hem. "Even the most boisterous, the most careless and indifferent, would stop to lisen and occasionally wipe away an unbidden tear," Schaeffer recorded.[62]

This casual singing inspired one of his companions to propose putting on a conert for the benefit of Grass Valley. With grand enthusiasm, these rough miners plunged into their work. Lacking a printing press, they wrote out their programs and posted them throughout the town, advertising: "Great Vocal and Instrumental Concert by the Grass Valley Minstrels. Cards of admission only 50 cents. The choicest gems from the most popular operas will be performed."[63]

On a Monday evening, April 7, before a packed house, the Grass Valley Minstrels gave their one and only concert. The minstrels consisted of two professional musicians, a dentist, a banker, and Schaeffer. They began inauspiciously as Schaeffer, gong onto the stage, tripped and fell, causing an embarrassing domino effect. After much laughter, the musicians regained their composure and played and sang away. The violin shrieked," he humorously recalled, "the guitar was out of tune; the hideous bones rattled; the abominable triangle gave forth about as sweet music as a in-pan, and the flute chimed in." When the curtain finally rang down, a thunderous applause rewarded them. Schaeffer, with justifiable pride, noted that their concert was long remembered in the Grass Valley area.[64]

Beginning with the fall of 1848, minstrel troupes became a regular form of enterainment. Painting their faces black and calling themselves "Ethiopian," groups disguised as African Americans went from saloon to saloon with their tambourines, banjos, bones, violins, accordions, and triangles, singing songs and telling jokes. Billy Birch, Charlie Backus, The New York Serenaders, Donnelly's (formerly of Christie's Minstrels) Ethiopian Serenaders, Tyrolese Minstrels, and Stockton Minstrels, among others, brought smiles to thousands.[65]

Of all the forms of popular entertainment, none surpassed the miners' ball, or cotillion. Whereas gambling drew self-righteous rebukes, dancing seemed to inspire approbation. Accounts of these terpsichorean conclaves appear numerous times in gold-rush literature.[66] As J. D. Borthwick pointed out, "Wherever a fiddler coul be found to play, a dance was got up."[67] Christmas, New Year's, the Fourth of July the opening of a theater, or just plain Saturday night, were all excuses for getting up a dance.

One of the most unforgettable images of the Gold Rush is a lithographed plate in Borthwick's great narrative showing miners dressed in their heavy boots and flannel shirts dancing arm-in-arm. This womanless event he simply entitled "A Ball in the Mines." Equally as memorable, though, is a Kurz & Allison 1887 rendition of *The Miners' Ten Commandments,* which shows a man dancing in the frame of a hoop skirt.[68] Miners found imaginative ways to make up for the lack of female dance partners. A large square of canvas placed on a "certain part of his inexpressibles" would designate a "lady" for that particular dance.[69] Perhaps the most bizarre account of making-do appears in John M. Letts's *California Illustrated:* "At a certain point in the mineral regions, part of a lady's hat was discovered, which caused so much excitement and joy, that it was immediately decided to have a ball on the spot, in honor of the event." The miners then passed out invitations and over 300 celebrants appeared, each with a bottle of brandy. Inspired by a simple female hat, the ball lasted two days![70]

As more women came to California, these pioneer soirées were proportionately enlivened. But there were still not enough female partners to go around. Dr. Morse told how Sacramento prepared for a Fourth of July dance. Reflecting the biases of the day, he wrote "it was essentially important that every Caucasian descendent of Eve in this section of the State should be present."[71] The men of Sacramento scoured the countryside in search of female dance partners, and when the ball began, 200 plain-looking men faced 18 women. Because of the presence of so many ladies, the men paid an astonishing $32 per ticket. Up at Murderer's Bar, William Bickham and fellow miners became so excited at the prospect of attending a ball with women present that they threw off their old mining clothes and put on "new Toggery." Some even shaved, and all wore clean shirts.[72]

In the more diversified Southern Mines and in more cosmopolitan places like San Francisco, women of various nationalities gathered at "fancy-dress balls," or as many miners called them, *fandangos.* "The pretty damsels" and "graceful nymphs" who tended the gambling tables and served the drinks helped considerably to increase the ratio of women to men. A *fandango* in Sonora featured a variety of dances ranging from polkas to Hispanic steps. Musicians playing a piano (a rarity in the mines), violoncello, harp, violin, and two guitars set the pace. Singing in French and Spanish added an international flare to the event.[73]

Most of these balls or *fandangos* contemporaries portrayed as reasonably respectable. But an abundance of alcohol combined with an abundance of lonely men must have resulted in some raucous moments. The writers of *The Annals of San Francisco* bserved: "There the most extraordinary scenes were exhibited, as might have been xpected where the actors and dancers were chiefly hot-headed young men, flush of ioney and half frantic with excitement, and lewd girls freed from the necessity of ioral restraint."[74]

Free-flowing liquor, quantities of food, and long duration typified these festivities. o keep everyone fortified, most included a large meal or supper. Occasionally, ances lasted until dawn and sometimes even for several days. Dame Shirley, writng as an observer rather than as a participant, left this memorable picture of how iiners celebrated the Saturnalia at Indian Bar:

> At nine o'clock in the evening they had an oyster and champagne supper in the Humboldt [hotel], which was very gay with toasts, songs, speeches, etc. I believe that the company danced all night; at any rate they were dancing when I went to sleep and they were dancing when I woke the next morning. The revel was kept up in this mad way for three days, growing wilder every hour. Some never slept at all during that time. On the fourth day they got past dancing, and, lying in drunken heaps about the barroom, commenced a most unearthly howling.[75]

By the time Dame Shirley sent this letter to her sister in 1852, the dance was beoming commonplace. "Such balls were becoming too numerous to be all chroniled," remarked *The Annals of San Francisco*, "while amidst the general brilliancy it is ifficult to select any one as a specimen to show forth the times."[76]

'The gold of the mind"

EADING AS A PASTIME

Vhile the gambling hells and drinking saloons overflowed with customers, the niners and those who supplied the miners with services also followed much tamer ind more civilized pursuits. Reading and writing were chief among them. Writing etters home and making diary entries was one of the most talked-about pursuits, ind every Californian eagerly awaited a letter from a loved one. Californians sent housands of letters around Cape Horn or across the Isthmus of Panama, and they vaited for hours in long lines at the post offices for the chance of a letter from iome. Sunday, the great day of rest, served as writing day. It is no accident that harles Nahl's heroic painting, *Sunday Morning in the Mines,* has as its central igure a self-portrait of the artist writing a letter that begins "Dear Mother." Likewise, ohn Banks, while in the mines, made almost all of his diary entries on Sunday.[77] ertainly, a major pastime of Californians consisted of savoring those communiations to and from home. Luther Schaeffer beautifully and eloquently captured the reciousness of those letters:

> There is one source of happiness to the Californian, which can never be fully understood by friends at home: I allude to letters—to a sheet of paper, scribbled over, perhaps, carelessly by a friend, who little thinks how each word, each crossing of the T, or dotting of an I, will be dwelt upon; how every sentence is remembered, and how the rough miner throws his body down on his hard pallet, with his letter secreted in his bosom, and dreams, perchance, of the writer, or of the pleasure of returning home, and embracing friends from whom he had so long been absent.[78]

Reading served as a pastime eagerly enjoyed. Despite the rough and tumble of the Gold Rush, a highly literate group of people occupied the territory. While reading Scripture led the way, newspapers from the home states were not far behind. Newspapers sold for a premium. Bayard Taylor wrote with astonishment of how a man from New York arrived with 1,500 copies of the *Tribune* and sold them all within two hours for a dollar apiece, causing Taylor to search his valise for newspapers.[79] And, it did not matter if the paper was terribly out of date.

Taylor provided another wonderful, yet realistic, picture of reading, or the lack thereof, when visiting Sacramento. He pointed out that after a long day of work, people were simply too tired to read and that candles cost so much that "reading was out of the question." He went on to say, "I saw many persons who had brought the works of favorite authors with them, for recreation at odd hours, but of all the works thus brought, I never saw one read. Men preferred—or rather it grew, involuntarily, into a custom—to lie at ease instead."[80]

Others, like William Perkins, complained of the lack of books and reading material in 1849 and 1850; but by 1851 Perkins noted a rapid turnaround, reporting that "literature of all kinds is abundant," which he believed caused a great improvement in society.[81] Reading also had a curative effect on some. John Marshall Newton, a sickly but determined young man trying to regain his health from the mines, wrote from San Francisco: "I passed my time—a couple of months—in eagerly devouring all the books I could get from the stalls in the streets. As I was quite weak I used to read all day long propped in bed."[82]

San Francisco pioneered the way with reading. Squeezed into Portsmouth Square, the same plaza that supported the gambling center of the world, stood an oasis of civilization, the bookstore of John Hamilton Still of Florida. He set up shop in September 1849 and supplied his customers with "the latest novels, magazines and newspapers." Others such as Charles Kimball (the "Noisy Carrier"), Anton Roman, J. M. Hutchings, and Hubert Howe Bancroft followed. Within a short time, Epes Ellery became the first to deal in secondhand books.[83]

Despite the constant threat of fire, Fryer and Hullburd opened a private library in a suite of rooms on Clay Street at the early date of April 1850. The enterprising partners offered a wide array of fictitious, historical, and scientific works, and several

he What Cheer House on Sacramento Street, near Montgomery, in San Francisco, 1865. stablished in 1852 as a temperance hotel by Robert B. Woodward, the What Cheer came o have a well-stocked library for the intellectual stimulation of its lodgers, who disdained rinking and gaming. By 1861 the well-patronized Library Room contained two to three housand volumes, including fiction by Charles Dickens, Washington Irving, Nathaniel awthorne, and others, as well as historical works, biography, and weighty tomes on arming and stock-raising. *California Historical Society, FN-02365.*

oreign language newspapers. Additionally, the proprietors made available a service hereby visitors could dictate notes and letters. The *Daily Alta California* proudly reorted that San Francisco now had a place for "the gold of the mind."[84]

As northern California and the mining region progressed in the early 1850s, the umber of books, magazines, and newspaper vendors likewise multiplied. Newspaers and city directories frequently carried advertisements for books. Columbia and onora serve as examples of the popularity of books and reading. Charles J. Brown n Columbia combined a circulating library with his jelly and jam shop, and at the

Broadway Book Store, customers could purchase books in many languages. Sonora supported a circulating library and three bookstores boasting a variety of books, newspapers, and periodicals.[85]

The most amazing instance of the love of reading may be found in the mining camp of Hawkins Bar in Tuolumne County. Howard Gardiner tells of how Morgan Davis, a Yale graduate, established a circulating library in 1852. Davis acquired books by soliciting subscriptions from miners and offered mainly works of fiction but included many standard publications to suite all tastes. Gardiner later recalled that: "In the long winter evenings, the boys would gather in some tent, appoint one of their number reader, while they sat by, smoked their pipes, and listened interestedly. Woe to the man who made a disturbance at these sessions; he was ejected summarily, sans ceremony."[86] Such a scene provided a stark contrast to the stereotype of the swarthy, carousing, swearing, gambling, drunken Forty-niner.

A further example of the civilizing influence of the printed word occurred with the founding of the Mercantile Library Association in San Francisco on January 24, 1853. Located on the second floor of the California Exchange, it opened its doors on March 1 and featured a 1,500-volume library, as well as current newspapers and periodicals. Most importantly, the library offered an option to the many "degrading influences" and gave San Franciscans a "means of mental improvement." As *The Annals of San Francisco* stated, "It is the best substitute for a portion of the comforts of home."[87] The African American San Francisco Atheneum, Hebrew Young Men's Literary Association, and Seaman's Reading Room and Library also provided similar opportunities for intellectual attainment.

Additionally, the mining region and its supplying cities began to support lectures, literary and dramatic essays and readings, and debates on important topics of the day. With many well-educated and talented people flooding into California, it would seem only natural that such intellectual diversions developed. Subjects for visiting lecturers included discourses on mining, mesmerism, and religion and, not surprisingly, the evils of intemperance and gambling.[88]

"Depraved lust for the sordid and sensational"

SPORTS IN THE GOLDEN ERA

A variety of sports and other contests provided an alternative to the saloons for amusement in this wild, reckless environment. Bull-and-bear fights, bull fights, cock fights, horse racing, prize fights, foot races, and walking contests also satisfied the never-ending desire for excitement. Sports helped to relieve the tedium of work and gave the lonely Forty-niner a place to go and something to do.

No activity attracted greater attention or invited more curiosity and comment han the gruesome bull-and-bear fight, in which grizzlies and long-horned bulls ought each other to the death. This legacy of California's Hispanic past continued vell into the 1860s, and virtually every major town hosted these contests. The great hroniclers of that era described in gory detail this primitive yet popular form of nortal combat. Local newspapers likewise provided full accounts.[89]

Tracy Storer and Lloyd Tevis in their thorough study, *California Grizzly*, docunent a marked change in the sport during the American period. "The fights, which ıad been rooted in the traditions of Spain and were an integral part of the fiestas and eligious holidays of Spanish California, now were cheapened and commercialized or the benefit of the newcomers."[90] Curiosity and a "depraved lust for the sordid and sensational" lured many non-Hispanics to these spectacular, bloody contests. In the violent milieu of the Gold Rush, the Forty-niners admired the strength of the bear ınd bull as much as the skill and determination of the prize fighter.[91]

Recalling the glory days of the Roman coliseum, these four-legged gladiatorial bouts were accompanied by appropriate fanfare. Like most other leisure activities, hese fights took place on Sundays, and at the surviving missions, following Mass. Conducted in a carnival-like atmosphere, parades, music, horse racing, cock fighting, and other more benign forms of amusement preceded the main event. Managers promoted the contests in a variety of ways. Hinton Helper, for instance, said he was shocked to hear a drum, fife, and clarinet on the Sabbath, and when he looked out nis window, saw a caged grizzly being paraded through the streets of San Francisco. Large posters on the cage announced: "Fun Brewing—Great Attraction! Hard Fighting to Be Done! Two Bulls and One Bear."[92]

Bull-and-bear fights proved to be tremendous bonanzas for the animals' owners. Contemporaries reported crowds as large as six thousand, with spectators paying from $2.50 to $10 admission. When bruin and taurus entered the arena men, women, and children whooped, shouted, and stamped their feet in happy unison. These contests seemed to attract all races and nationalities. Many, particularly Hispanics, came dressed in their finest attire. Most of these affairs took place in makeshift amphitheaters that consisted of a circular pen surrounded by a sturdy, high wooden fence behind which rose tiers of rudely constructed seats.[93]

The *dramatis personae* consisted of beasts bestowed with such colorful names as Lola Montez, Behemoth, Hercules, Trojan, and—recalling the recent Mexican War—Generals Scott and Santa Anna. While the Spanish and Mexican tradition matched a bull against a matador (human), the Californios had modified this by capturing the native grizzly from the Sierra and pitting it against a wild bull. Strong and immense, old bruin usually proved more than a match for the fiercest adversary. The Americans, however, when staging these contests, sometimes mistakenly captured the more passive black bear and enraged spectators when the frightened bear seemed less than enthusiastic when facing a snorting, pawing bull with its rapier horns.[94]

J. D. Borthwick, the Scottish artist, provided a vivid account of one of these deadly contests. Held at Mokelumne Hill, he noted that promoters plastered the town and roadside with signs reading "War! War!! War!!! / The celebrated Bull-killing Bear," / GENERAL SCOTT, / will fight a Bull on Sunday the 15th inst., at 2 P.M.." Borthwick went on to describe the conditions of the contest: "The Bear will be chained with a twenty-foot chain in the middle of the arena. The Bull will be perfectly wild young, of the Spanish breed, and the best that can be found in the country. The Bull's horns will be of their natural length, and '*not sawed off to prevent accidents.*' The Bull will be quite free in the arena, and not hampered in any way whatever."[95]

Managers, in an effort to please the crowd and depending on the willingness of the beasts to fight, used a variety of formats. Sometimes one would be chained to a post, sometimes the hind legs of both were tied together, and other times it would be two bulls against one bear or even a mountain lion or buffalo against a bear. Occasionally, too, the combatants would have to be goaded into fighting. Twisting a bull's tail usually produced the desired effect. The winner would be "rewarded" by facing another foe. The bull's horns and the bear's paws and jaws inflicted horrible wounds, which frequently brought about the death of one or both.[96]

When women, children, and churches had arrived, public revulsion ultimately pressured authorities into putting an end to this blood sport. The San Francisco *Daily Alta California* used such words as "disgusting," "depravity," "sickening," and "brutality" when describing these contests and called them "a disgrace to our city, to society, to our laws and to humanity." Further, the fact that these contests mostly took place on Sundays revolted the pious. By the late 1850s and early 1860s, lawmakers legislated out of existence these brutal confrontations.[97]

Reflecting an Hispanic population that was not Californian, but came primarily from Sonora (in Mexico) and South America, the Southern Mines also enjoyed the more traditional bull fight as a pastime. Both Enos Christman and J. D. Borthwick recorded the practice of this ancient sport at Sonora. Christman, a journalist, told how the contest began with an impressive procession of two gaudily dressed Mexican horsemen carrying long spears, followed by footmen with red flags. After their deep bows and strains of inspiring music, a large wild bull stormed triumphantly into the arena charging both horsemen and footmen. Once things calmed down, all eyes turned as the matador, disguised as "a dusky Mexican señorita, magnificently dressed," bravely entered with sword in hand. The matador parried with the bull, let him make several passes, and then coldly administered the coup-de-grace amid "a shower of silver dollars and a shout of applause."[98]

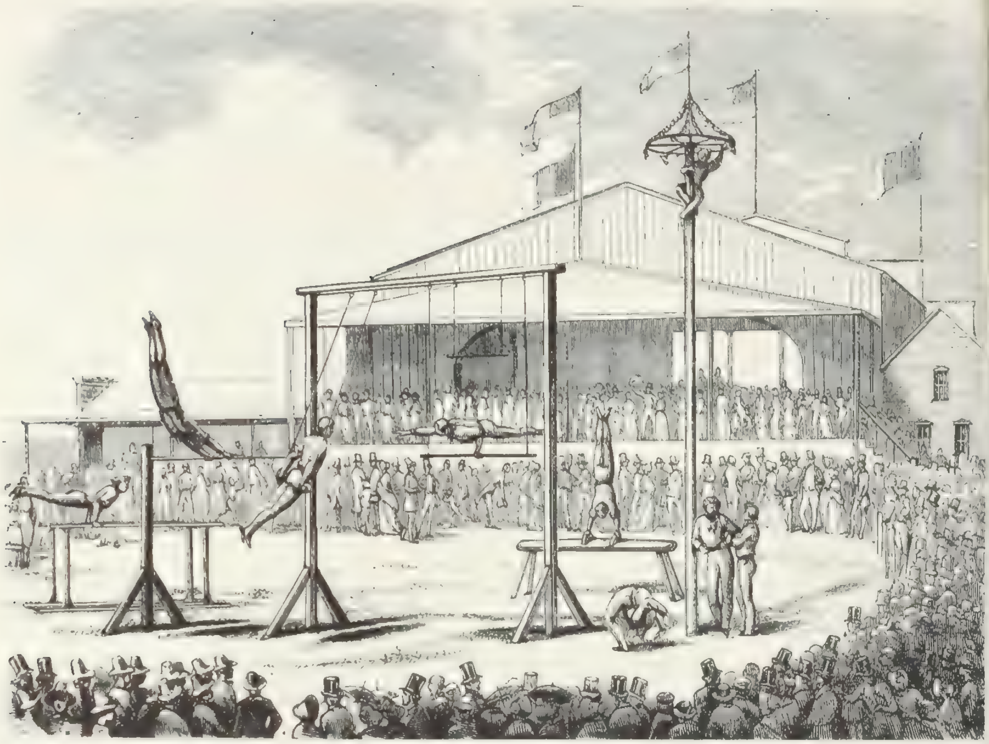
Borthwick, after witnessing such a contest, noted two unusual features. One was the performance of an athletic and brave man, who brought the crowd to a frenzy by actually riding the bull while it furiously tried to buck his tormentor.[99] He then went on to describe the performance of the celebrated "Señorita Romana Perez," the featured matador at a bull fight at nearby Columbia. The artist wryly noted that the matador was "very well got up as a woman, with the slight exception of a very fine pair of moustaches." When Romana curtseyed, laughter, hisses, and curses greeted her/him. Nonetheless, the bull fighter exhibited much feminine grace and adroitly whisked his petticoats at the bull before giving it the cold steel.[100]

While bulls tried to gore bears with their horns, human beings entertained audiences by pummeling each other with their fists. Bare-knuckle prize fighting was already heavily patronized in the eastern United States and it only made sense that it would come to a brawling, carousing, jumping place like California. In this male-dominated society, prize fighting became a natural companion and extension to the many fights that broke out over mining claims and in the drinking and gambling saloons. As John Boessenecker points out in his study of violence in the Gold Rush, the great champions all came to California during this rambunctious era, including Chris Lilly, Yankee Sullivan, John Morrissey, William "Woolly" Kearney, and Billy Mulligan, among others.[101]

Many boxing matches were held during the early 1850s and drew enormous crowds. The most famous, a bout between Irishman John Morrissey and Britisher George Thompson, did much to create interest in the sport. Morrissey challenged Thompson to a fight to be held on August 20, 1852, the winner to receive a $3,000 prize. On the appointed day, thousands of spectators poured into Mare Island by riverboat and steamer and placed their bets. A *Daily Alta California* reporter, following the fight, noted that "The Sacramento boys bet houses and lots very freely against horses and other livestock." The two pounded each other for eleven rounds, until Morrissey's supporters cried foul and a near riot ensued. The judges agreed with Morrissey and awarded him the fight. That tussle created a keen interest in the sport. "Within a short time every little mining town had a gymnasium, with its professor teaching the young and old how to strike out from the shoulder."[102]

Not all sporting activities involved the spilling of blood. Foot races, with bets ranging from a handful of cigars to $1,000, delighted the miners. William Bickham, an obviously well-coordinated individual, knew how to enjoy himself with his free time at Murderer's Bar. On one Monday, he mentioned that he played a game of foot-ball, and at other times, track and field gave him a welcome diversion. He did not mention, however, placing a wager on any of these activities. He proudly wrote his sisters at home that "I have had much sport upon the clear days, skylarking with my companions of this neighborhood, running races, jumping, &c. I have proven to be the best Jumper on the Bar and am believed to be as good at running as the best. To-morrow I try my speed with *one* of the best. Rivalry."[103]

Another popular American and European pastime that crossed the continent to California was pedestrianism. A short article in the *Daily Alta California* for June 6, 1852, carried the following: "A man named Kelly commenced on Sunday morning,



Gymnasts exhibit their athletic abilities before a huge crowd assembled at Russ's Gardens in San Francisco for the annual May festival of the local Turnverein, established in 1853 by German-born Argonauts. Among the many physical-culture enthusiasts in the city were the artists Charles and Arthur Nahl, who were ranked among the best gymnasts in California. In 1860 Arthur helped form the San Francisco Olympic Club, the first athletic club in America, and three years later the brothers published their illustrated *Instructions in Gymnastics,* which included exercises "suitable for the female sex." *California Historical Society, FN-06037.*

at Selby's ranch, below Sacramento, the arduous feat of walking a thousand miles in a thousand consecutive hours, on a wager of $2,000. He came in at the end of the tenth mile last evening, as fresh as when he started on his long journey."[104] On June 30, the paper reported that Kelly had completed 710 miles despite having to endure badly blistered feet. Remarkably, the *Alta* for July 15 related that this endurance walker had completed the feat and presumably won the bet.[105]

The many Germans who came to California brought with them their love of gymnastics. In 1853, San Francisco Germans established a *Turnverein,* or gymnastic society, and built a gymnasium on Battery Street. To share this respectable pastime with their fellow countrymen, they held an annual May Day exhibition at Russ's Gardens. Attired in brown linen coats and pantaloons, "They leaped, balanced and twirled, danced, sang, drank, smoked and made merry."[106] As depicted in a pictorial letter sheet, a large throng witnessed this happy demonstration of athletic skill. Following the lead of San Francisco, the Turnverein soon spread throughout the region, bringing a healthy alternative to games of chance.

Many other sports entertained the gold-rush population. Horse racing and the development of race courses throughout the state aroused much interest. Hunting and shooting clubs gave many an opportunity to show off their marksmanship. Less savory forms of competition involving cock and dog fights appealed to those with violent dispositions.

"A jaunt of recreation"

ENJOYING NATURE

Gold-Rushers, once they settled into a routine, began to notice what pioneer publisher James M. Hutchings would call "scenes of wonder and curiosity."[107] To be sure, mining and its supporting activities wreaked havoc on the environment, but long before John Muir arrived in 1868, some were appreciating the beauty and geographic diversity of the region. The awesomeness of the Sierra and its powerful rivers; the magnificence of San Francisco Bay and its Golden Gate; the sublime foothills and stately oaks; and the great Central Valley with its wildlife elicited comment from the travel writers of the early 1850s. California, as the newcomers found out, offered more than the sparkle of a golden nugget.

This sense of place gradually led Californians to take "jaunts of recreation" and to delight in its natural surroundings. Leisurely excursions gave people relief from the hurly-burly atmosphere of the cities and camps. San Franciscans, for example, found that Sunday trips out to Mission Dolores, the Presidio, and the ocean gave them a cheap and convenient form of recreation. Traveling by foot, horse, and carriage, and later by omnibus, they would take the Old Mission Road over the sand dunes on their way to quiet adventure. Along the way, they would see numerous homes with well-cultivated vegetable and flower gardens. By the mid-1850s, such places as the Golden Gate, United States, and Sonntag's nurseries gave pleasure to all passersby.[108] Just as Victorian England and its urban masses awakened to the delights of natural history, so did California. As the *Alta California* noted, the green fields and flowering shrubs gave relief to those who have "long been pent up in the cheerless city."[109]

Mary Jane Megquier penned several letters home describing the fields of flowers that could be found on the way to the mission. Such scenes made her think of home. On April 4, 1856, Megquier described such a pleasurable outing:

> Yesterday Mrs. Robinson, Emily and myself started for a walk out of town, took a lunch at a friend of Ems from New York with the addition of two ladies from there and

> two gents, we walked to the mission, visiting a number of private gardens which are perfectly splendid now: roses, verbenas fucias and gillyflowers seem to predominate but the verbenas surpass any thing I ever saw, clusters as large as a teacup, of every shade covering quite an extent of ground, you could be happy while gazing upon them. We went and took an ice cream came home well satisfied with the days adventure.[110]

To celebrate May Day in 1853, Emanuel Russ opened his sprawling gardens to fellow Germans. Located at Sixth and Harrison streets near the Mission Road, Russ's Gardens, as mentioned earlier, hosted a meeting of the Turnverein Association with a variety of events including gymnastic demonstrations, singing, and dancing. Flags and garlands, an amphitheater, and a gaily decorated pavilion greeted the guests. Following this success, the kindly Russ made his comely gardens available for a multitude of celebrations, military exercises, and picnics. It soon became a favorite place of resort.[111] In many respects, this sanctuary of leisure foreshadowed the founding in 1866 of northern California's most famous place of amusement, Woodward's Gardens.[112]

To the south and west of Russ's Gardens stood a collection of adobes redolent with the culture of a bygone era. Mission Dolores attracted many curiosity seekers on Sundays. Its exotic architecture and quiet cemetery evoked a sense of romanticism and nostalgia. "It seems as though we could never weary in looking upon these interesting scenes," publisher J. M. Hutchings wrote.[113] However, the gruesome and noisy bull-and-bear fights held at the mission on Sundays occasionally broke the serenity Hutchings so admired.

A Sunday alternative consisted of an eight-mile ride out to the ocean. The pounding surf, bark of the sea lions, bracing wind, and incredible vistas presented a distinct contrast to city life. Excursionists could also admire the vegetable gardens that supplied their supper tables. By mid-decade, entrepreneurs saw an opportunity and established roadside destinations such as Ocean House, Beach House, Lake House (on Lake Merced), and Rockaway House. These seaside inns gave visitors a place for refreshment before making the trek back to the urban center.[114]

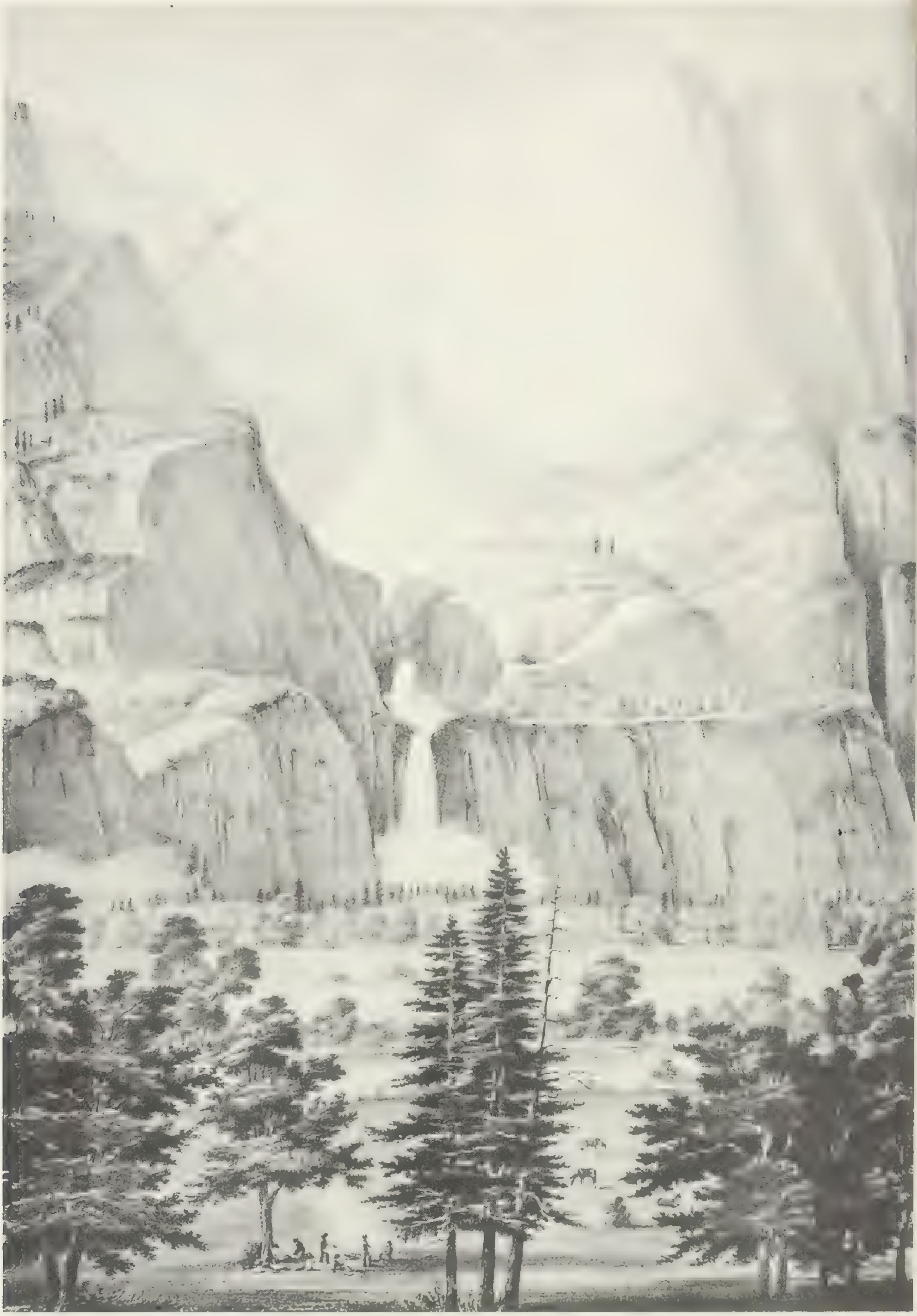
While certainly charming and convenient, these peninsular recreation spots paled when compared to the fantastic natural wonders found in the interior. Long known to Native Americans, the finding of geysers, caves, caverns, natural bridges, giant waterfalls, and leviathan trees by Caucasian newcomers added a dramatic new dimension to California. None created more astonishment than the discovery of the Big Trees Grove near Murphys in Calaveras County. Augustus T. Dowd stumbled upon the grove of *Sequoia gigantea* in May 1852 and lured his companions to the spot by saying he had killed the largest grizzly bear he ever saw. These "vegetable giants," as they were dubbed, apparently could not be believed. Within a short period of time "the trumpet-tongued press proclaimed the wonder to all sections of the State, and to all parts of the world."[115] A tourist attraction had been found.

The reaction to this discovery typified the American view at midcentury. On the one hand, Californians expressed awe and respect for nature, comparing these "patriarchs of the forest" to man-made monuments like European cathedrals or the tomb of Mohammed at Mecca or the Juggernaut of Hindostan.[116] On the other hand, some gold-rush Californians, in characteristic fashion, reacted to these redwood grizzlies as if they had found nature's version of P. T. Barnum's freak show or as something that could make their promoters rich. First, they bestowed names on these 3,000-year-old trees, such as "Three Graces," "Old Maid," "Mother and Son," "Siamese Twins." Next, they cut one down, Dowd's "Discovery Tree." It took a crew of five men over twenty days to fell this noble tree, which measured over 300 feet in height and 96 feet in circumference. Later, a crew polished its stump into a dance floor and its trunk was hollowed out into a two-lane bowling alley.[117]

To convince nonbelievers and those who could not visit the grove and its new hotel, promoters decided to take the trees to the world. California now had its own "wonder of the world." Workmen crated up the twelve-inch-thick bark of the Discovery Tree and a two-foot section of the trunk for exhibition first in San Francisco and then in New York City and Europe. Proclaimed as "The Vegetable Wonder of the World," the bark of this three-millennia-old tree was reassembled to a height a sixty feet and went on display on Bush Street in September 1853. The bark tower delighted crowds for about a month before going on tour.[118] Another, "The Mother of the Forest," was, as John Muir later put it, "skinned alive." Promoter George L. Trask hired workmen to strip its bark to a height of 116 feet and carefully packed it up for show in New York and London. A London broadside touted this bark cylinder as the "greatest curiosity in the world!"[119]

While the discovery of big tree groves in the Sierra and along the coast brought worldwide attention, Californians found other outdoor attractions. Boat trips to the Farallon Islands, hikes up Mount Tamalpais in Marin County or across the bay on Mount Diablo, or an excursion to the hissing geysers in Sonoma County, confirmed that there was much to do and see in natural California. Not too far from the Calaveras Big Trees and located on a creek know as McKinney's Humbug, a Captain Taylor in October 1850, while target shooting, "discovered" the "Great Cave of Calaveras County." Proclaimed as "one of the greatest natural curiosities of California," its owners responded in that typical way by opening a hotel and leading tours into subterranean chambers picturesquely titled "Cathedral," "Bishop's Palace," "Cataract," and "Bridal Chamber." A settlement grew up around this attraction bearing the appropriate name of Cave City. Other caves in the area were discovered, and to this day, lure the curious.[120]

The infusion of tens of thousands of new faces into California in the 1850s led to



In the spring of 1855 James M. Hutchings, having heard rumors of a waterfall a thousand feet high, organized the first tourist party to visit Yosemite, and upon his return, he engaged the pioneer lithographic firm of Britton & Rey to prepare a print of *The Yo-Hamite Falls.* Derived from a drawing by the artist Thomas A. Ayres, who had accompanied Hutchings into the mountains, it was the first image of the valley published and helped to popularize the wonders of the valley. By the end of 1855 three other parties had made their way to Yosemite, the simple beginnings of tourism at what would become one of the greatest scenic attractions in the Golden State and the nation. *California Historical Society, FN-31560.*

the greatest tourist find: Yosemite Valley. Although first entered by explorers in 1833, the glacial chasm did not become widely known until the punitive expeditions of Major James D. Savage and his Mariposa Battalion against the Indians in 1851. One of its members let it be known that the valley boasted a thousand-foot waterfall. This report intrigued J. M. Hutchings, who was planning to publish a monthly magazine on California. He brought along artist Thomas A. Ayres, and in June 1855, the Hutchings party toured Yosemite, enjoying "five days of scenic banqueting." The subsequent combination of Hutchings's writings and his publication of Ayres's drawing in October 1855, opened the valley to the world. Its remoteness, however, made a visit more than a leisurely "jaunt of recreation," and consequently, Yosemite had little impact on the gold-rush population. Pack trails and then a hotel opened in 1859, but not until the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, or even the building of a branch railroad to the edge of the valley in the early 1900s, did Yosemite attract significant numbers of tourists.[121]

Once the Forty-niners had a chance to look around and not worry about making a pile or surviving, they found an abundance of ways to while away their free time. Considering that California, prior to the great discovery in 1848, consisted of a few pueblos and scores of ranchos, it is nothing short of astonishing that it could, by the early 1850s, lead the world in gambling and consumption of spirits and boast first-rate theaters, music halls, and lending libraries. These newcomers also found delight in nature and appreciated California's many "scenes of wonder and curiosity." Popular culture was indeed well established on its golden shores.

NOTES

1. Virtually every narrative history of the Gold Rush contains a section on amusements and popular diversions.

2. For more detail on this day of rest see Hinton Helper, *The Land of Gold: Reality Versus Fiction* (Baltimore: by the author, 1855), 109–15; Charles B. Gillespie, *A Miner's Sunday: From the Writer's California Journal 1849–50*, reprinted from *Century Magazine*, 1891 (Golden, Colo.: Outbooks, 1981); and Elizabeth Margo, *Taming the Forty-Niner* (New York: Rinehart, 1955), 43–53. Charles Nahl's great painting at the Crocker Art Museum in Sacramento, *Sunday Morning in the Mines*, is the best visual reference.

3. Jared Comstock Brown to Charles Brown, Coloma, August 11, 1851, Small Manuscript Collections II, Box 10, California State Library.

4. For a general history of gambling in the Gold Rush, see Thomas R. Jones, *You Bet!: How the California Pioneers Did It* (Sacramento: News Publishing Co., 1935); John Philip Quinn, *Fools of Fortune; or Gambling and Gamblers* (Chicago: G. L. Howe & Co., 1890), 438–52; Editors of Time-Life Books, *The Gamblers* (Alexandria: Time-Life Books, 1978), 82–94. Eyewitness accounts of gambling and drinking are too numerous to mention here. Among the best are by Bayard Taylor, Hinton Helper, J. D. Borthwick, William Kelly, William Perkins, Enos Christman, and John F. Morse.

5. Bayard Taylor, *Eldorado, or, Adventures in the Path of Empire*, 2 vols. (New York: George P. Putnam, 1850), 1:87.

6. Samuel Colville, *Colville's Marysville Directory for the Year Commencing November 1, 1855* (San Francisco: Monson & Valentine, 1855), vii. Colville's preface provides one of the most vivid descriptions of a gaming house..

7. Charles Ross Parke, *Dreams to Dust: A Diary of the California Gold Rush, 1849–1850*, ed. James E. Davis (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 102.

8. Frank Soulé, John H. Gihon, and James Nisbet, *The Annals of San Francisco* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1855), 248; hereinafter *Annals of San Francisco.* H. H. Bancroft, in *California Inter Pocula* (San Francisco: The History Company, 1888), 677, supports this view.

9. William Perkins, *Three Years in California: William Perkins' Journal of Life at Sonora, 1849–1852* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964), 344; hereinafter *Journal of Life at Sonora.*

10. Enos Christman, *One Man's Gold: The Letters & Journal of a Forty-Niner* (New York: Whittlesey House, 1930), 189.

11. J. D. Borthwick, *Three Years in California* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1857), 58. William Kelly, *A Stroll through the Diggings of California* (London: Simms and M'Intyre, 1852), 49, describes Indian gambling in Sacramento.

12. H. Lee Scamehorn, Edwin P. Banks, and Jamie Lytle-Webb, eds., *The Buckeye Rovers in the Gold Rush* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1989), 167.

13. Bancroft, *California Inter Pocula*, 677.

14. Daniel B. Woods, *Sixteen Months at the Gold Diggings* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851), 188–89.

15. *Annals of San Francisco*, 248.

16. Benjamin Vicuña MacKenna, in *We Were 49ers! Chilean Accounts of the California Gold Rush*, trans. and ed. Edwin A. Beilharz and Carlos U. López (Pasadena: Ward Ritchie Press, 1976), 196.

17. Kelly, *A Stroll through the Diggings*, 181.

18. *Annals of San Francisco*, 382. Taylor, *Eldorado*, 1:57, recorded that the Parker House paid $110,000 yearly, of which gamblers paid at least $60,000 for use of the second story.

19. Colville, *Marysville Directory*, vi.

20. John Letts, *California Illustrated* (New York: William Holdredge, 1852), 131. For a description of gambling in Sacramento none is better or more colorful than Dr. John F. Morse, "History of Sacramento," in *The Sacramento Directory for the Year 1853–54* (Sacramento: Samuel Colville, 1853), 6–7.

21. For descriptions of the inside of gaming houses, see for example Borthwick, *Three Years in California*, 57; Taylor, *Eldorado*, 1:118–19; Kelly, *A Stroll through the Diggings*, 181–83; Woods, *Sixteen Months*, 74–75; Helper, *Land of Gold*, 70–71; and Albert Benard de Russailh, *Last Adventure: San Francisco in 1851*, trans. Clarkson Crane (San Francisco: The Westgate Press, 1931), 12–17.

22. Samuel Colville, "History of San Francisco," in *Colville's San Francisco Directory* (San Francisco: by the compiler, 1856), xvii.

23. Perkins, *Journal of Life at Sonora*, 218–19.

24. Russailh, *Last Adventure*, 29–30.

25. Colville, *Marysville Directory*, vi.

26. Taylor, *Eldorado*, 2:31. Taylor provides as equally colorful a picture of music as Colville.

27. See Quinn, *Fools of Fortune,* for the rules of the various games. Susan Lee Johnson, "Bulls, Bears, and Dancing Boys: Race, Gender, and Leisure in the California Gold Rush," *Radical History Review* 60 (1994): 27–29, tells of the violence associated with gaming: "Indeed, no other activity in the diggings, aside from mining itself, provided as much rancor as gambling."

28. William B. Peter to Emile Holland, San Francisco, January 1, 1851, Small Manuscript Collections II, California State Library.

29. Bancroft, *California Inter Pocula,* 675. Bancroft also noted: "The saloon-keeper was one of the dignitaries of the town."

30. *Annals of San Francisco,* 452. Liquor, according to this report from the *San Francisco Herald,* was sold in 144 tavern restaurants, 154 groceries, and 46 gambling houses. This number of bartenders included reserves. There were actually 556 working at the time of the report.

31. *Daily Alta California* (San Francisco), February 8, 1849; Helper, *Land of Gold,* 67.

32. Robert Brownlee, *An American Odyssey: The Autobiography of a 19th-Century Scotsman,* ed. Patricia A. Etter (Fayetteville: The University of Arkansas Press, 1986), 118.

33. James Delavan, *Notes on California and the Placers: How to Get There, and What to Do Afterwards* (New York: H. Long & Brother, 1850), 52.

34. Taylor, *Eldorado,* 2:57.

35. Friedrich Gerstäcker, *Gerstäcker's Travels* (London: T. Nelson and Sons, 1854), 274.

36. Invaluable for the study of the theater are the publications of the Northern California Writers' Project: *San Francisco Theater Research,* vol. 1 (San Francisco: Works Projects Administration, 1938), and *Theatrical Annals of Sacramento* (Sacramento: Works Projects Administration, 1939–1940). The following also provide background information on theater: George R. MacMinn, *The Theater of The Golden Era in California* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1941), 366–445; Pauline Jacobson, *City of the Golden 'Fifties* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1941), 166–221; Thor Severson, *Sacramento: An Illustrated History: 1839 to 1874* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1973), 149–52; and Margo, *Taming the Forty-Niner,* 89–110.

37. Russailh, *Last Adventure,* 18.

38. "The Drama in San Francisco," *Daily Alta California,* January 24, 1850.

39. The best account of the Eagle appears in Taylor, *Eldorado,* 2:29–31. See also *History of Sacramento County, California* (Oakland: Thompson & West, 1880), 119–20. *Theatrical Annals of Sacramento,* compiled by the Northern California Writers' Project, is a transcription of theater articles and notices from the *Sacramento Placer Times,* August 1, 1849 to June 3, 1850.

40. *History of Sacramento County,* 120; MacMinn, *Theater of the Golden Era,* 28–31.

41. Taylor, *Eldorado,* 2:30–31.

42. Quoted in MacMinn, *Theater of the Golden Era,* 33.

43. The *Daily Alta California* extensively covered the opening of theaters, the various plays, and players; MacMinn, *Theater of the Golden Era,* 38. See also Charles Lockwood, *Suddenly San Francisco: The Early Years of an Instant City* (San Francisco: California Living Books, 1978), 100–104.

44. MacMinn, *Theater of the Golden Era,* 41–45, and Jacobson, *City of the Golden 'Fifties,* 263–71.

45. Ibid.

46. MacMinn, *Theater of the Golden Era,* 57–58.

47. Biographies exist of many of the pioneer actors and actresses. See, for example, Bruc Seymour, *Lola Montez: A Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996). See also Jacobso and MacMinn for short biographies of individual actors and actresses.

48. MacMinn, *Theater of the Golden Era,* 84 and 196.

49. Vicuña MacKenna, in *We Were 49ers!,* 197–98.

50. Glenn Loney, ed., *California Gold-Rush Plays* (New York: Performing Arts Journal Publications, 1983). In addition to a fine introduction, Loney reproduces the plays of Delano and Howe. See also MacMinn, *Theater of the Golden Era,* 243–52.

51. *Sacramento Daily Union,* December 29, 1852; MacMinn, *Theater of the Golden Era,* 489–90.

52. *Sacramento Transcript,* May 18, 1850 and *Daily Alta California,* April 29, 1850.

53. William Dennison Bickham, *A Buckeye in the Land of Gold: The Letters and Journal of William Dennison Bickham,* ed. Randall E. Ham (Spokane, Wash.: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1996), 161–62.

54. The pioneer newspapers of Sacramento and San Francisco carried numerous advertisements for artistic models. See, for example, *Daily Alta California,* April 3, 1850, and *Sacramento Transcript,* September 28, 1850. MacMinn, *Theater of the Golden Era,* 253–59.

55. George H. Tinkham, *A History of Stockton* (San Francisco: W. M. Hinton & Co., 1880), 177.

56. For more on Rowe, see *California's Pioneer Circus,* ed. Albert Dressler (San Francisco: by the editor, 1926), and "Joseph A. Rowe," in *San Francisco Theater Research,* 1:74–117.

57. The following provide background information on music: MacMinn, *Theater of the Golden Era,* 366–445; Jacobson, *City of the Golden 'Fifties,* 166–221; Corinne Swall, "Elisa Biscaccianti, The 'American Thrush' in Gold Rush California," *The Californians,* vol. 11, no. 1 (n.d.): 8–17; and Margo, *Taming the Forty-Niner,* 89–110.

58. Stephen C. Massett, *"Drifting About," or What "Jeems Pipes of Pipesville" Saw-and-Did* (New York: Carleton, 1863). See also "Stephen C. Massett: Singer, Writer, Showman," in *San Francisco Theater Research,* 1:1–73.

59. Luther Melancthon Schaeffer, *Sketches of Travels in South America, Mexico and California* (New York: James Egbert, Printer, 1860), 36. For examples of gold-rush songs see M. Taylor, composer, *The Gold Digger's Song Book* (1856; with an introduction by Sister Mary Dominic Ray, San Francisco: The Book Club of California, 1975). Original gold-rush sheet music may be found in such repositories as the Bancroft Library, California State Library, Huntington Library, and North Baker Research Library, California Historical Society.

60. Schaeffer, *Sketches of Travels,* 69.

61. Perkins, *Journal of Life at Sonora,* 219.

62. Schaeffer, *Sketches of Travels*, 127.

63. Ibid., 130.

64. Ibid., 130–31.

65. For a discussion of minstrels, see Eugene T. Sawyer, "Old Time Minstrels of San Francisco. Recollections of a Pioneer," *Overland Monthly* 81 (October 1923); MacMinn, *Theater of the Golden Era,* 421–45; and "Minstrels," in *San Francisco Theater Research,* vol. 13 (San Francisco: Works Projects Administration, 1939).

66. Gretchen Adel Schneider, "Pigeon Wings and Polkas: The Dance of the California Miners," *Dance Perspectives* 39 (Winter 1969): 4–57, provides a detailed study of the subject.

67. Borthwick, *Three Years in California,* 321.

68. Kurz & Allison's Art Gallery, *The Miners' Pioneer Ten Commandments of 1849* [chromolithograph] (Chicago, 1887).

69. Borthwick, *Three Years in California*, 320–22.

70. Letts, *California Illustrated*, 89–90.

71. Morse, "History of Sacramento," 9–10.

72. Bickham, *A Buckeye in the Land of Gold*, 134–41.

73. Perkins, *Journal of Life at Sonora*, 244.

74. *Annals of San Francisco*, 248.

75. Louise Amelia Knapp Smith Clappe, *The Shirley Letters from the California Mines, 1851–1852*, ed. and introduced by Marlene Smith-Baranzini (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1998), 87.

76. *Annals of San Francisco*, 355.

77. See Banks's entries for April 5, 1851, forward, in Scamehorn, Banks, and Lytle-Webb, *The Buckeye Rovers in the Gold Rush*.

78. Schaeffer, *Sketches of Travels*, 188.

79. Taylor, *Eldorado*, 1:56.

80. Ibid., 2:27.

81. Perkins, *Journal of Life at Sonora*, 290.

82. John Marshall Newton, *Memoirs of John Marshall Newton* (Cambridge, N.Y.: Washington County Post, 1913), 42.

83. For a history of early book-selling, see Robert E. Cowan, *Booksellers of Early San Francisco* (Los Angeles: The Ward Ritchie Press, 1953), and Hugh Sanford Cheney Baker, "A History of the Book Trade in California 1849–1859," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 30 (1951): 97–115, 249–67, 353–67.

84. *Daily Alta California*, April 25, 1850. For a superb history of pioneer libraries in California, see Hugh S. Baker, "'Rational Amusement in Our Midst': Public Libraries in California, 1849–1859," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 38 (December 1959): 295–320.

85. Edna Bryan Buckbee, *The Saga of Old Tuolumne* (New York: The Press of the Pioneers, 1935), 111, 202–203. Pioneer newspapers and directories are loaded with advertisements for books.

86. Howard C. Gardiner, *In Pursuit of the Golden Dream: Reminiscences of San Francisco and the Northern and Southern Mines, 1849–1857*, ed. Dale L. Morgan (Stoughton, Mass.: Western Hemisphere, 1970), 213 and 350–51.

87. *Annals of San Francisco*, 428–29; see also *San Francisco Directory for the Year Commencing October, 1856* (San Francisco: Harris, Bogardus and Labatt, 1856), 129–30, for a listing of cultural institutions.

88. Perkins, *Journal of Life at Sonora*, 304; Schaeffer, *Sketches of Travels*, 137, 141.

89. See, for example, Helper, *Land of Gold*, 116–30; Borthwick, *Three Years in California*, 289–99; Perkins, *Journal of Life at Sonora*, 273–77; Christman, *One Man's Gold*, 198–200; and Frank Marryat, *Mountains and Molehills; or Recollections of a Burnt Journal* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1855), 251.

90. Tracy I. Storer and Lloyd P. Tevis, Jr., *California Grizzly* (Lincoln: Bison Books, 1978), 152. Storer and Tevis in their chapter, "Bear-and-bull Fights," present a superb overview of these contests. For a different analysis see Johnson, "Bulls, Bears, and Dancing Boys," 30–32.

91. John Boessenecker, *Gold Dust and Gunsmoke* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1999), 166–67.

92. Helper, *Land of Gold,* 117.

93. Storer and Tevis, *California Grizzly,* 153.

94. Boessenecker, *Gold Dust and Gunsmoke,* 161.

95. Borthwick, *Three Years in California,* 290.

96. City rats would sometimes be let loose in the arena to arouse the combative spirit in the animals. Storer and Tevis, *California Grizzly,* 161. See also "The Bear Fight at Brighton," *Sacramento Union,* September 14, 1851, and A. A. Sargent, "An Historical Sketch of Nevada County," in *Nevada, Grass Valley and Rough and Ready Directory* (San Francisco: Brown and Dallison, 1856), 30, for examples of uncooperative bruins.

97. Storer and Tevis, *California Grizzly,* 161–62.

98. Christman, *One Man's Gold,* 199–200.

99. Borthwick, *Three Years in California,* 334–39.

100. Ibid., 357–58.

101. Boessenecker, *Gold Dust and Gunsmoke,* 167–78. Contemporary newspapers provided ample coverage of prize fighting.

102. Quoted in Boessenecker, *Gold Dust and Gunsmoke,* 174. See also Margo, "Pugilists and Ponies," in *Taming the Forty-Niner.*

103. Bickham, *A Buckeye in the Land of Gold,* 147.

104. *Daily Alta California,* June 6, 1852.

105. Ibid., June 30 and July 15, 1852.

106. *Annals of San Francisco,* 445. *The May Festival of the Turnverein Association, San Francisco* [pictorial letter sheet] (San Francisco: W. W. Kurz & Co., n.d.).

107. James M. Hutchings, *Scenes of Wonder and Curiosity in California* (San Francisco: Hutchings & Rosenfield, 1860), provides an excellent overview. Much of the text and illustrations originally appeared in various issues of *Hutchings' California Magazine.* A native of Scotland, Hutchings came to California in 1849 as a gold seeker. For a powerful interpretation of outdoor life see Kevin Starr's chapter entitled "Sport, Mountaineering, and Life on the Land," in his *Americans and the California Dream, 1850–1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 172–78.

108. "A Jaunt of Recreation from San Francisco, by the Mission Dolores, to the Ocean House and Seal Rock; Returning by Fort Point and the Presidio," *Hutchings' California Magazine* 3 (June 1859): 530–34.

109. *Daily Alta California,* May 2, 1853.

110. Mary Jane Megquier, *Apron Full of Gold: The Letters of Mary Jane Megquier from San Francisco, 1849–1856,* ed. and introduced by Polly Welts Kaufman (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), 159.

111. *Annals of San Francisco,* 663, and *Daily Alta California,* May 2, 1853. The Willows, another public garden, opened in the late 1850s.

112. Robert B. Woodward founded on Mission Street in San Francisco an amusement park that included gardens, aquarium, art gallery, library, and museum (Lockwood, *Suddenly San Francisco,* 109–14).

113. "A Jaunt of Recreation," 533–34.

114. Ibid., 534–35.

115. "The Mammoth Trees of California," *Hutchings' California Magazine* 3 (March 1859): 387. For a detailed discussion of the big trees see Dennis G. Kruska, *Sierra Nevada Big Trees: History of the Exhibitions, 1850–1903* (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1985).

116. "Mammoth Trees of California," 387.

117. Francis P. Farquhar, *History of the Sierra Nevada* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965), 84–85.

118. Kruska, *Sierra Nevada Big Trees,* 20–21.

119. Ibid., 33–39.

120. "The Great Cave of Calaveras County," *Hutchings' California Magazine* 1 (January 1857): 296–98. See also "The Alabaster Cave, of El Dorado, Co., Cal'a," *Hutchings' California Magazine* 5 (December 1860): 242–49. Ann Whipple in "Cave City," *California Gold Rush Camps,* Annual Keepsake (San Francisco: The Book Club of California, 1998), states that a hotel was built in 1850, burned down twice, and in 1853, Messrs. Magee and Angels erected a longer-lived inn.

121. The literature on Yosemite is so vast that it could literally fill a library. See for example, Lloyd W. Currey and Dennis G. Kruska, *Bibliography of Yosemite, the Central and the Southern High Sierra, and the Big Trees, 1839–1900* (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop; Palo Alto: William P. Wreden, 1992). Most useful for this article is Peter J. Blodgett, "Visiting 'The Realm of Wonder': Yosemite and the Business of Tourism, 1855–1916," *California History* 69 (Summer 1990): 118–20.

12

"My own private life"

Toward a History of Desire in Gold Rush California

Susan Lee Johnson

One afternoon in the autumn of 1850, a native woman and man happened upon an encampment of white miners near the Merced River. Gold had been discovered only eighteen months before, but already nonnative immigrants had poured into the Sierra Nevada foothills, setting up towns such as Sonora and Nevada City, as well as ephemeral camps such as the one these Indians encountered near the Merced. The woman carried a small child in her arms. The man, her husband, once had been a resident of one of California's coastal missions, but now lived among the Miwok peoples of the foothills. His wife also may have resided at a mission, or she may have grown up among upcountry Miwoks.

When this native family stopped at the white men's camp, the miners served them a meal. At least one of the miners spoke some Spanish, and the Indian man was fluent, so the assembled diners conversed as best they could using this common language. They also seem to have consumed a good amount of whiskey. When it came time for the travelers to depart, the man was, as one of the miners recalled in his diary, "extremely lavish of his 'mil gracias senores.'" Then the couple headed off down the trail with their babe in arms. The white men watched them leave, and noticed that the Indian man kept stopping to embrace and kiss his wife as they walked. So the miners decided to follow them. Soon enough, the woman and man stepped off the trail into a cluster of willows. The white men crept as close to the couple as they could without being noticed and, as one of them remembered, "stood almost breathless lest we should be discovered and spoil our fun!" This is where the historical record ends, with the diarist's remark, "Perhaps here it would be well to let drop the curtain, rather than incur the displeasure a description of after scenes might bring down upon my poor head—and allow imagination to fill up the remainder!"[1]

With a few notable exceptions, such scenes and "after scenes" have not captured he attention of historians writing about gold-rush California, and so readers are left o "allow imagination to fill up the remainder."[2] This is an unfortunate turn of events, since scholarly inquiry into the history of sex and sexuality has exploded over the past two decades. John D'Emilio and Estelle Freedman's *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America,* the first interpretive overview of the history of sexuality in the geographic area that is now the United States, is over a dozen years old and already has appeared in a second edition.[3] The University of Chicago Press began publishing the *Journal of the History of Sexuality* a full decade ago—a sure mark of the maturation of the field.[4] And, since the late 1970s, both university presses and trade publishers have been turning out a steady stream of histories of sex and sexuality. The 1990s alone witnessed the publication of works as diverse as Ramón Gutiérrez's *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500–1846;* Timothy Gilfoyle's *City of Eros: New York City, Prostitution, and the Commercialization of Sex, 1790–1920;* George Chauncey's *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890–1940;* Elizabeth Kennedy and Madeline Davis's *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community;* and Rickie Solinger's *Wake Up Little Susie: Single Pregnancy and Race Before Roe v. Wade.*[5] In light of this explosion of scholarship, the relative silence about sex and sexuality in gold-rush California—indeed, in the history of the North American West generally—is especially striking.[6] Like the white voyeur who watched a native couple having sex among the willows but refused to commit his observations to paper, present-day historians seem content to let imagination satisfy our curiosity about sex and sexuality during the Gold Rush.

This may be because some question the legitimacy of the field. Indeed, skepticism is often the first scholarly response to new areas of intellectual inquiry. When it comes to the history of sex and sexuality, that skepticism often takes two forms. First, doubters maintain that the historical record is silent on sexual matters. More than one historian intent on studying the sexual past has approached an intellectual mentor or an archivist with great enthusiasm, only to be told that no documents exist that shed light on such questions. The diligent and determined researcher, of course, can satisfy such doubters by uncovering the vast range of primary source materials that provide evidence about sexual concerns in times past. A second group of skeptics is far less easily mollified. Such scholars argue that studying the history of sex and sexuality is a trivial pursuit, a prurient waste of intellectual energy that only detracts from the production of historical knowledge that "matters." Besides, these critics sometimes contend, sex does not really have a history; it is a "natural" aspect of human existence that has changed little, if at all, over time, and as such is not a proper topic for historical inquiry. Some go on to add that sex and sexuality are "private," and thus are more suited to psychological than historical analysis.

Historians of sex and sexuality disagree. They argue that sexual concerns have infused historical transformations far more often than skeptics admit. They als maintain that relegating sex to the realm of the "natural" and the "private" distort our understanding not only of obviously sexualized experiences such as marriage prostitution, and homosexuality, but of such matters as war, diplomacy, politics, an economics as well. Then historians of sexuality go further to argue that contemporary ideas about sex are themselves products of history. There are many examples o this, but prime among them are the dual notions that sexuality itself is a separate discrete aspect of human existence, and that people "have" sexualities—that each o us as individuals can be defined and categorized by our sexual proclivities. Following the work of French intellectual Michel Foucault as well as the archival research of a generation of scholars, historians of sexuality have identified such ideas as modern notions, rooted deeply in the cultural, social, and economic history of the North Atlantic world, though now disseminated unevenly about the globe.[7] If we are to understand older meanings and practices of sex, historians of sexuality contend, we must begin by trying to suspend our present-day assumptions about what sex is or what it ought to be, the better to make sense of what it has been in the past. While people in all times and places and cultures have felt sexual desire and engaged in sexual practices, the meanings and significance of that desire and those practices have varied wildly.

Gold-rush California is a particularly rich historical context in which to explore such sexual desires, practices, and meanings.[8] First, the Gold Rush occurred sufficiently long ago that whatever assumptions we now have about sexuality are inadequate guides to understanding how sex happened and what sex meant to participants. Second, the Gold Rush brought together an extraordinarily diverse cast of characters, and thus an extraordinarily diverse array of customary ideas about and practices of sex. Even a partial list of gold-rush participants suggests the stunning variety: Miwok and Nisenan women, Chinese men, enslaved African Americans, Chilean peons, independent Sonoran prospectors, Anglo American artisans, French prostitutes, Californio *patrones*—and the list could go on and on. Third, among these varied gold-rush populations, only native peoples lived in communities with roughly equal numbers of women and men.[9] Among all immigrant groups, by contrast, men far outnumbered women. In the area called the Southern Mines, for example, the enumerated population in 1850 was less than 3 percent female. Ten years later the same area had seen a 1200 percent increase in the number of women; but the total population was still less than 20 percent female.[10] In immigrant homelands, sex between women and men constituted the most common and culturally sanctioned—though certainly not the only—means of sexual expression, so this unusual sex ratio had profound consequences for sexual relations in the "diggings," as the mining areas were called. And because women of all immigrant groups held less social, cultural, political, and economic power than their menfolk, sexual relations generally took place in a milieu of male dominance—though the scarcity of women in California sometimes gave them leverage in a male-dominated world that they might not have exercised back home.

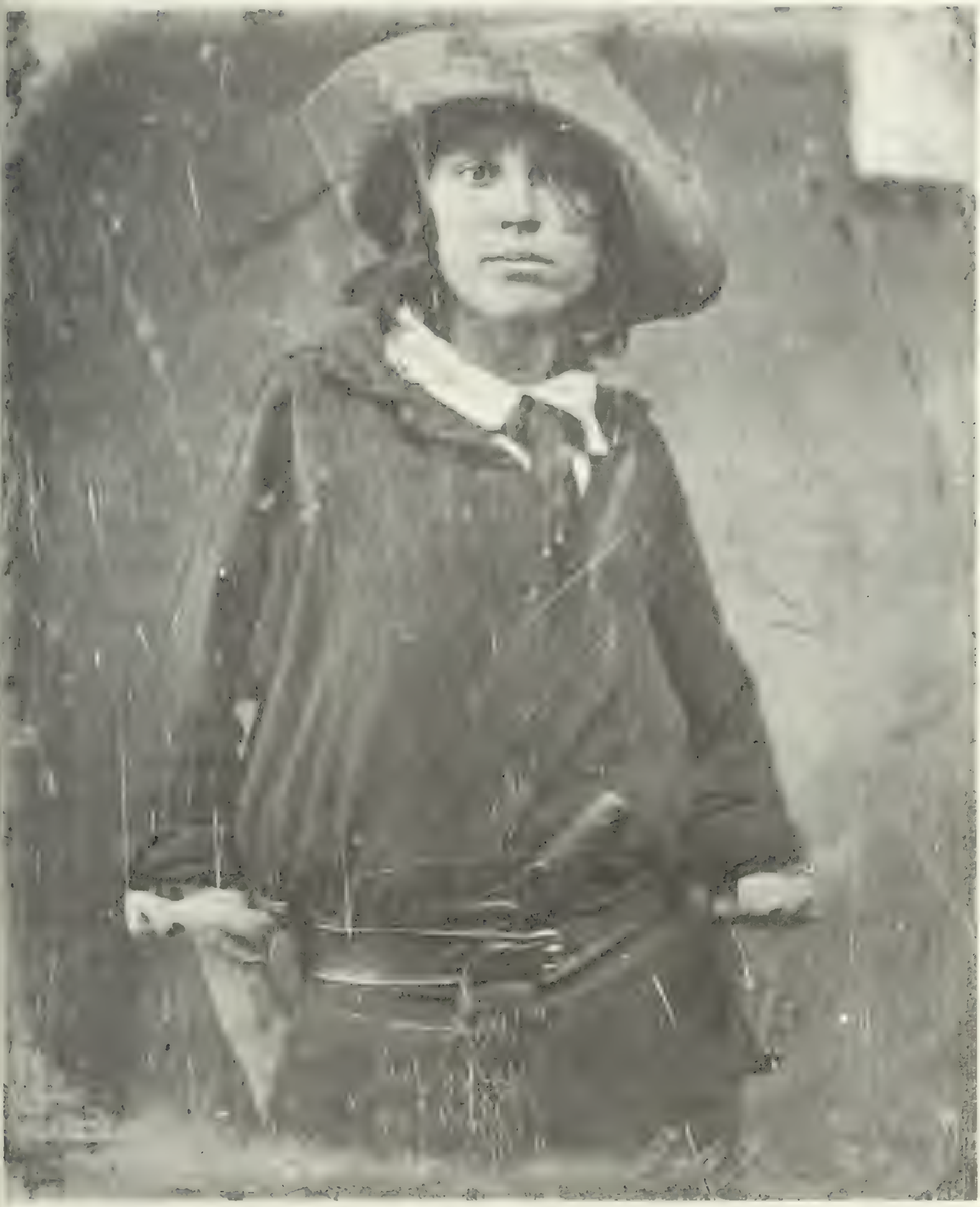
Finally, sex happened in gold-rush California within a larger geopolitical, economic, and cultural context. Gold was discovered in the Sierra Nevada foothills on January 24, 1848, one week before the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which ended the Mexican-American War and by which Mexico ceded California to the United States. This was the era of Manifest Destiny, the rallying cry of white Americans who believed it their God-given right to overspill the continent—with the blessing of the federal government, and despite the claims of prior residents, both Indians and Mexicans. Such racialized notions of cultural superiority touched every aspect of gold-rush social relations, and sexual relations were no exception to this rule. Furthermore, the gold discovery coincided with a key moment in both the development of industrial capitalism and—because of concurrent transportation and communications revolutions—the growth of a globalizing economy, hence the frenzy that led so many people from so many places to rush to California after 1848. These developments touched different parts of the world—even different parts of the United States—differently, but they invariably linked California to economic systems by which distinct working and middle classes were starting to emerge, with accompanying relations of power and privilege that reverberated back through the diggings as well. Sexual matters during the Gold Rush were shot through with such economic inequities and their varied social and cultural expressions.

In spite of all this, historical scholarship on sex and sexuality in gold-rush California is still in its infancy.[11] Rather than review in detail the sparse existing literature, then, I propose in this chapter to survey one particularly rich primary source in order to illustrate the range of evidence readily available to historians who are concerned with sexual matters.[12] If a single text yields such a wealth of sexual content, then the prospects for a more capacious historiography are very good indeed. The source I have in mind is the very diary that offered up the story of the native couple who stole off into the woods for an erotic interlude, not knowing that two white miners were spying on them through the willows. The diarist was a young white man—just twenty-two as he penned his voyeuristic remarks—who hailed from Edgartown, Massachusetts, on Martha's Vineyard, though he emigrated to California from New York City, where he had worked as a clerk. Christened Timothy Osborn, his friends called him Tim. Like many born and raised on the islands off Cape Cod, Timothy came from a seafaring family that profited from the New England-based whaling industry, though his move to New York and then California and his employment as a clerk and then a miner suggests that he had different visions for his economic future.[13] And like many others from the industrializing Northeast, Timothy was caught up in an era of uncertainty for young white men, for whom customary paths to economic independence were eroding. While some such men were starting to join together to resist the subordination of labor that the shift from a commercial capitalism to an industrial capitalism seemed to portend, others jumped at the chance for a more individualist solution to vagaries of economic change—and the discovery of gold in California provided just such an opportunity.[14] Timothy Osborn was a jumper, not a joiner; one might describe him as aspiring middle class.

In September 1849, Timothy and his cousins, William and James Osborn, left for California, sailing around Cape Horn and arriving in San Francisco in January 1850. In June, the trio left the city by schooner for Stockton, and then employed a Mexican teamster to transport their belongings up into the foothills, where they commenced mining at the Merced River in the Southern Mines. All along, Timothy kept a journal, in which he wrote nearly every day until May 1851, and irregularly thereafter until 1855. Unlike some gold-rush diaries, which are long on weather reports and mining yields and short on men's thoughts and feelings, Timothy called his "a journal of my own private life."[15] The diary does not disappoint. Indeed, one of the "private" aspects of his life that Timothy recorded faithfully was his intense curiosity about sex, as well as the opportunities the Gold Rush offered him to indulge that curiosity.[16] Each one of these recorded opportunities, understood in historical and cultural context, opens a window on practices and meanings of sex and sexuality in the gold-rush era. Taken together, they point the way toward a new history of desire in nineteenth-century California.

When one pictures Anglo Americans who went to California from the eastern United States—and there were more Anglo American gold-rush participants than those of any other immigrant or native group—one generally sees either lonely men of courting age cut off from the means by which most formed intimate relationships, or else young husbands bereft of young wives.[17] However myopic, these visions do not lie. The near absence of women whom white men regarded as potential or actual sweethearts or spouses weighed heavily on such gold seekers' hearts, and tormented their bodies as well. Timothy Osborn, for example, filled his diary with reveries of women back East. He wrote as well of innumerable, interminable campfire conversations among his white companions about the "girls" at home. Of one such chat, Timothy noted, "We talked of home and its *girls* until our tongues were *weary of wagging.*"[18]

The young woman Timothy most missed was his cousin, Annie Coffin, though the closeness of their familial relationship did seem to give him pause. Much of what he wrote about Annie—like most of the sexual content of his diary—he rendered in a shorthand that would have been illegible to all but the most determined reader. In one encoded entry, for example, Timothy recalled "the bitter tears" Annie had shed when the two parted. He added, with some defensiveness, "It is by no means strange that I so often think of her, for had it been any other girl with whom I had been



John B. Colton, a slender, youthful Forty-niner who had been one of the unfortunate Jayhawker party that stumbled into Death Valley on its way to the mines, strikes a pose on Long Wharf in San Francisco in 1850. The enterprising photographer who made the original daguerreotype was soon producing duplicates, which he titled "a girl miner in boy's clothing" and sold at five dollars each. Hundreds of lonely Argonauts, far from home in a land that was overwhelmingly male, purchased copies of the picture; and for years, historians and curators were as easily fooled as the miners. *Courtesy Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.*

equally intimate, it would be the same."[19] In another shorthand entry, Timothy described a dream he had had about Annie, set "in the little room made dear to our memories by being the scene of our first affectionate kiss." In this dream, Annie laid her head against Timothy's chest and sobbed because, as he put it, "my father had forbidden our intimacy." Timothy promised Annie that he "was not influenced . . by either father or mother in the choice of [a] wife." Then, Annie smiled up into Timothy's eyes and, "for further assurance," he noted, "*she kissed me!*"[20] By writing in shorthand and using words like "strange" and "forbidden," Timothy hinted that it was not just modesty which moderated his textualizing impulse, but a sense of moral ambiguity. What did it mean to yearn for so near a relative, and how far should he let that yearning go? By literally underlining moments of physical contact and by naming places for the intimacies shared there, Timothy showed that the pleasure of Annie's touch so far had triumphed over his moral qualms.[21]

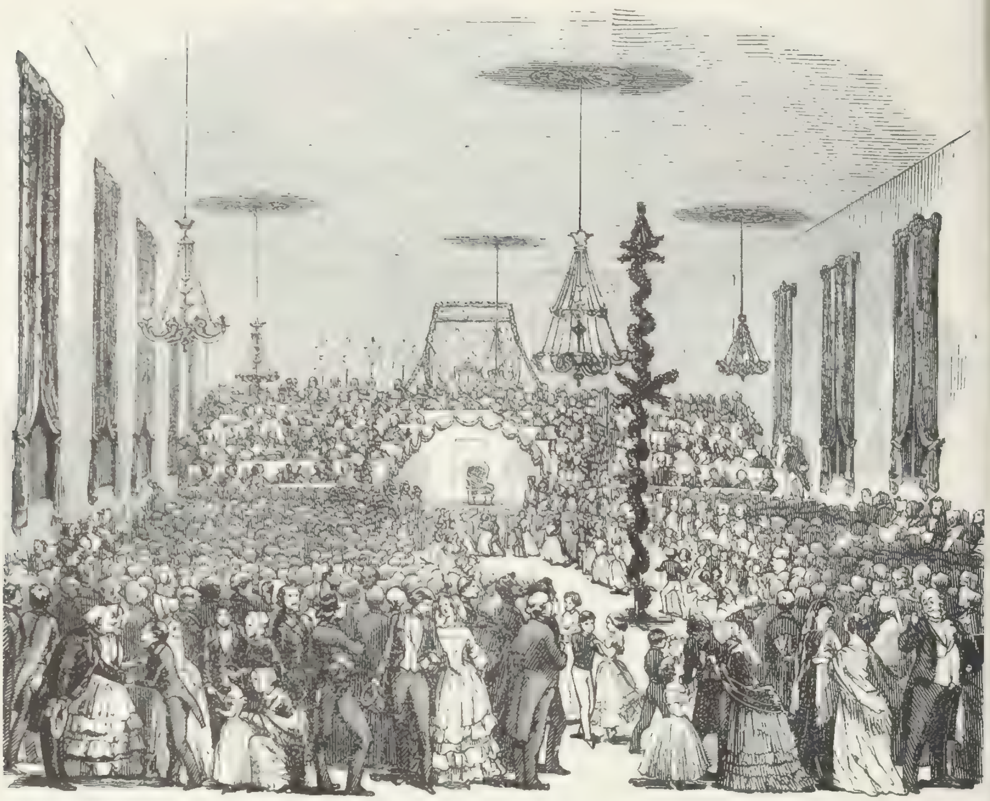
Annie Coffin was only one of the "girls" Timothy remembered fondly, however. An evening of singing ballads with Cousin William brought several young women to mind. The song "The Enchantress" reminded him of Bell Udell; "Oh Lud Gals" of Mary Taylor; "Off Said the Stranger" of Annie Butler; and "Good Bye," of course, of Cousin Annie. The song "Lovely Rose" sent Timothy off into a rapture over his boyhood favorite, Eliza Mills, whom he regretted he could never marry because "she did not possess those elements of refinement which I would want a wife to have." He worried that Eliza might have inherited "a good deal of her father's animal passion." Thoughts of Eliza and the others stirred him so much that he confided to his diary, "there's *no sleep to-night!*"[22] Other young women from home danced through Timothy's diary as well—Fannie Tucker, a horseback riding companion; Susan P., whom he remembered for "the *open hand* and *heart* with which she always welcomed me"; nameless girls on snowy days, when he would purposely upset a flying sled "to see the fun and *anything else that might turn up!*"[23] Infused with ecumenical longing and tinged with class anxieties (refinement and passion might be irreconcilable), these diary entries bespeak the physical absence of white women in gold-rush California, and their pervasive presence in white men's minds.

Historians have long noted that absence, and argued that what emerged in the breach was a world of dance halls and brothels, where lonely men followed their frustrated yearnings. What few have realized is that this contention presumes a kind of volcanic theory of male sexuality—that is, the idea that men will be men, and that being a man means experiencing insistent desire that will be satisfied, one way or another. This, of course, was how many nineteenth-century white Americans thought about male sexuality, although those of the emerging middle class sought to harness men's eruptive potential by urging male self-control. Prescriptions for male restraint were linked to racialized and class-specific ideas about female sexuality as well—the assumption that white women of means did not experience sexual longing in the same way or to the same extent as did men, which in turn implied that women by nature embodied purity and virtue.[24] That white, middle-class people in the mid-nineteenth century characterized male desire in a particular way (and that some at the turn of the twenty-first century still hold to these beliefs) is no argument for naturalizing those cultural constructions as ultimate truths. Better to see such ideas as just that—as culturally constructed—and to try to understand how such constructions informed sexual relations in a particular historical context.

In gold-rush California, a world of commercialized leisure evolved in which men's desire was constantly stoked and stroked, thereby reinforcing familiar ideas about male sexuality. Lest we think that this milieu of sex-for-sale was somehow unique to the male world of the diggings, however, we should remember that a similar milieu flourished in the East as well, particularly in cities such as New York.[25] Timothy Osborn, then, moved from one hotbed of illicit desire to another. The chief difference between New York and California was that in the East, white men visited markets in pleasure not far from their homes. Close by, then, female relatives and neighbors provided a constant reminder of emerging middle-class sexual ideologies, within which male self-control and female purity lived in symbiosis. In the West, female purity seemed a long way away, and thus male self-control seemed a good deal less relevant.

But there was a similarity between commercialized leisure in such eastern and western places; East or West, sex-for-sale was largely an urban phenomenon. Timothy Osborn, for example, rarely left the camps he and his mining partners set up in Mariposa and Tuolumne counties in 1850, and thus rarely encountered such markets in pleasure. Had Timothy traveled just twenty-five miles north to the town of Sonora, for instance, he would have found it bustling with saloons, brothels, and dance-halls, and he could have spent a bit of the gold he dug viewing "Model Artists"—naked or at least scantily clad women who posed for male onlookers.[26] Men who lived in the region known as the Northern Mines could find the same in towns such as Nevada City.[27]

Timothy, however, saw little of this side of the Gold Rush until he gave up on mining altogether in late December and relocated in the San Joaquin Valley at Stockton, which served as the supply town for the Southern Mines (just as Sacramento served as an entrepôt for the Northern Mines). He had some advance warning that Stockton would be different from remote encampments in the diggings. In November, a friend who had just visited the town told Timothy of "the steady importation of '*Ladies*' from the Atlantic side, and an increased immigration of *females* from Australia and China." "Of the latter class," his friend told him, "the market is well supplied and 'trade' is light, with market quotations ranging from $50 [to] $100 *tout la nuit*."[28] When he moved to Stockton himself, Timothy walked about the town, surveying the billiard and gambling saloons, the dance halls, and the



San Franciscans dance at the annual Public School Festival held at the Musical Hall in an 1854 pictorial letter sheet. Opportunities for Argonauts to enjoy women's company in the days of '49 were largely limited to saloons and gambling halls, where women of the demimonde gathered, but gradually social events such as the Public School Festival emerged, offering an alternative for men to meet women in a "proper" social setting. *California Historical Society, FN-04145.*

"houses of general ill-repute," all of which did a particularly booming business on Sunday, the Christian Sabbath. Thinking back on his months in the diggings, he noted, "If my home in the mountains was not so *refined* (!) it certainly was a more *moral* one than can be found in this city."[29] A quick trip to San Francisco over the New Year's holiday revealed a similar world of commercialized leisure, and Timothy found himself lingering outside a fandango, gazing in the window to watch "several senoritas waving their handkerchiefs and dancing merrily to the music of a guitar." Timothy summed up what he saw in these various urban houses of entertainment: "All the paraphernalia of vice in its various forms was arrayed to attract and decoy the unthinking."[30]

In these diary entries, Timothy Osborn represents himself as a "thinking" man, one who could resist the temptations of gold-rush California. But other entries hint that Timothy sometimes swam happily among the decoys, ready to be shot through with desire. After four months in Stockton, for instance, he confessed to his diary:

> This evening, perhaps for the first time in my life, I attended a Spanish "Fancy Dress Ball" at the "Bella Union." About twenty young *ladies* (?) were present, dressed in every variety of costume. As is customary on such occasions, it is not incumbent upon *gentlemen* to conform to a fancy dress. Waltzed with a black eyed senorita from Market Street, and altho' by far the prettiest girl in the room, she was not a good waltzer, but apologized by a graceful "no puedo valse, senor."[31]

A few days later, he passed a French man on the street calling out, "Ici, il y a vue de Paris!" Timothy paid the asking price and then peered into a viewer, only to see "(*not*) a view of Paris," but of (and here he started writing in shorthand) "Naked men and women in all shapes in the *very act*." Switching back to conventional writing, Timothy noted, "I came to the conclusion that, after all, it *was a very good view of Paris*." And within a month he recorded having spent the evening at a "Madame Bouvier's"—no doubt a gambling saloon or a brothel—playing a "private and social game of euchre."[32]

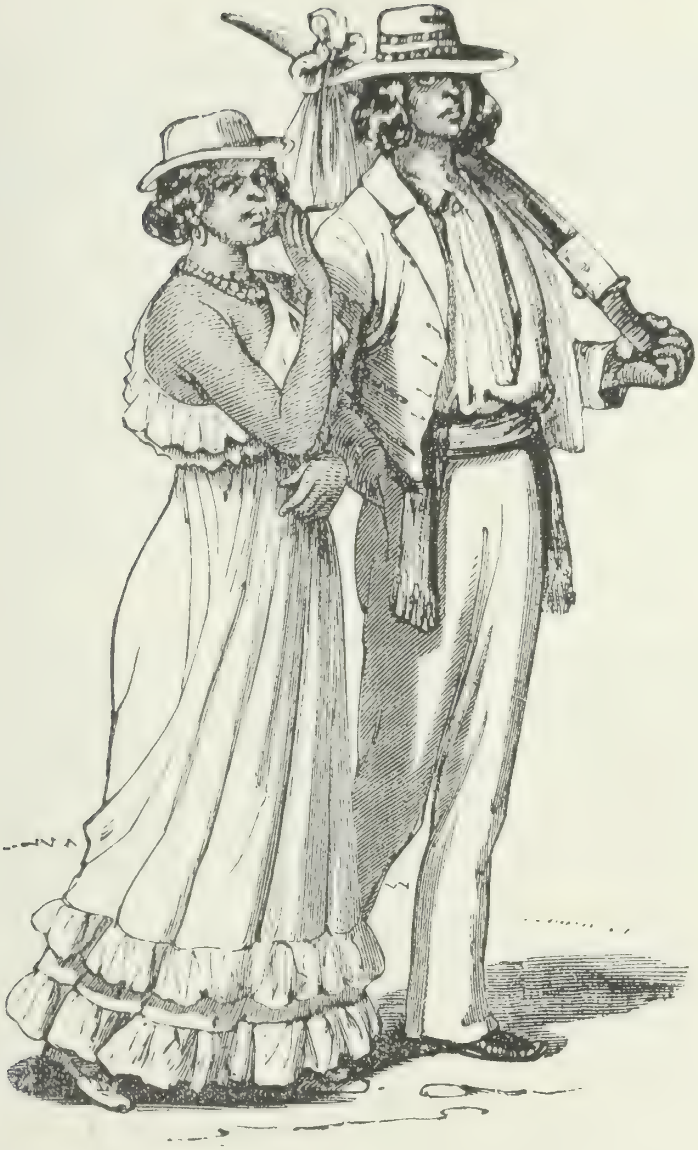
As each of these diary entries suggests, gold-rush participants such as Timothy Osborn often pursued their passions not with Anglo American women, but among women from Mexico, Chile, France, China, and other lands, including Australia. This was especially true of men who lived and worked in the Southern Mines, that region in the Sierra Nevada foothills tributary to the San Joaquin River, which included such towns as Jackson and Mokelumne Hill in the north, Sonora and Columbia in the mid-section, and Coulterville and Mariposa in the south. (The Northern Mines were located in the drainage of the lower Sacramento River, and included such towns as Placerville in the south, Nevada City and Grass Valley in the mid-section, and Downieville farther north.) Timothy spent his entire gold-rush career in the Southern Mines, by far the most demographically diverse of California's mining areas. At the end of the 1850s, for example, immigrants from outside the United States—along with some African Americans and non-California Indians, such as Cherokees—outnumbered Anglo Americans there. In the early months of the Gold Rush, the Southern Mines were known as a haven for Spanish- and French-speaking gold seekers, and that reputation did not entirely evaporate even after the Foreign Miner's Tax of 1850 drove so many out of the diggings for good. Beginning in 1852, Chinese immigrants began to pour into both the Southern and Northern mines, and even the reimposition of the Foreign Miner's Tax, this time at a lower monthly rate, did not stem that tide. Add to this polyglot population those people native to the foothills—in the Southern Mines these were mostly Miwoks along with refugees from missions along the coast and from disease in the Central Valley—and one begins to get a picture of the social world Timothy Osborn inhabited.[33]

Stockton, as entrepôt for the Southern Mines, attracted a like mix. And the streets of San Francisco, of course, Timothy found "thronged with the representatives of every nation—presenting a scene unequalled by any other city in the Union."[34]

Thus it is no accident that many of Timothy's references to sexual matters involve Mexican, Chilean, French, and Miwok women.[35] Demographics alone, however, cannot fully explain his erotic fixation on these particular female gold-rush participants. Indeed, Timothy felt especially free to think in sexual ways about women who were not white and American. We have seen this already in the way he so easily characterized women from the Atlantic states as "ladies" and others as "ladies (?)" or "females." Such characterizations were hardly unique to gold-rush California. Anglo Americans in the East had long participated in an elaborate discourse that located a voracious and unfettered female sexuality among African American and Native American women, in particular, and among poor and nonwhite women more generally. California simply provided a rich soil in which such discursive seeds could take root.

Like the "black eyed senorita" with whom he tried to waltz at a "Spanish" fancy-dress ball, Mexican and Chilean women—individually and collectively—fascinated Timothy Osborn. His first encounter came in September of 1850, when, as he put it, "a Mexican and his 'chola' senorita" stopped at Timothy's camp. As with the traveling Indians, the white men fed this Mexican couple, offering a repast of antelope meat, pea soup, baked beans, bread, flapjacks, coffee, and wine. "The secret of our extraordinary politeness," Timothy confessed, was the fact that the "fair guest was rather better looking than most 'chola' girls." He was especially taken with the way that, after dinner, she "took from her bosom . . . a little cigarette, and commenced smoking with all that nonchalance peculiar to Spanish ladies." Given that Timothy was new to California and had limited knowledge of Spanish, it is not clear what he meant by the term "chola," though he may have heard it used, derisively, by Californios to describe recent migrants from Mexico.[36] A month later, Timothy visited a tent store kept by a man named Johnson, and then noted in his diary, "Johnson has a Spanish woman whose board he pays for a *private* consideration." Then, as if it was part of the same sexualized thought, he continued, "she *certainly* is one of the best horse-riders I ever saw outside of a circus ring. She wore a large pair of spurs 'a la Mejicana' and rode without a saddle or bridle, with merely a noose around the animal's nose."[37] Such female gestures—drawing a cigarette from a dress bodice, straddling a horse bareback and urging it on with a sharp set of spurs—thrilled men like Timothy Osborn. In fact, it was the very next day that the Indian couple came calling; by that time, Timothy must have been ready to watch more than a horseback ride.

Once he moved down to Stockton, Timothy shifted his attentions from Mexican women clearly involved with other men to a Chilean woman whom he encountered by chance. That first meeting left Timothy enraptured. As he wrote in his diary,



A representation of a Chileno couple strolling arm in arm that in 1857 appeared in *Hutchings' California Magazine.* Chilean women not infrequently worked in the mines, and according to *Hutchings'* their expressive faces suggested the tale: "I am perfectly satisfied with my condition as a woman, with my cigarita in one hand, and my other hand and arm where it should be, whether the rest of man or woman kind are or not." Many American Argonauts, such as young Timothy Osborn, were taken by the beauty and poise of Spanish-speaking women and began to question long-held assumptions on ethnicity and sex. One morning two young Chilenas entered Osborn's store, "and the first glance at one of them," he wrote, "touched me as with a magic wand." *California Historical Society, FN-31546.*

"Today my mind has been uneasy, reminding me of the little canoe so beautifully represented in Cole's celebrated paintings of the 'Voyage of Life,' as it takes its departure from the smooth lake and glides on its way to the bosom of the old ocean." The heaving breast onto which he felt himself embarking was a love affair with a woman who happened by the store where he worked:

> This morning . . . two young senoritas Chilenas entered the store and the first glance at one of them touched me as with a magic wand. *Positively and without any exception, she was the most beautiful girl I ever saw!* Talk to me of "American Belles" no longer, for my beau-ideal of perfect beauty is found at last. In fact I'm head and ears in love! Habited in a pink striped white muslin—white silk hose—and kid slippers—a little *en dishabille* about the bodice of her dress, a 'manta' resting gracefully upon her snow white neck—she looked the picture of innocence and beauty! . . . Of course, in waiting upon my fair customer, my gallantry knew no limit, and the limited knowledge of Spanish I possessed was all brought into requisition.[38]

Significantly, Timothy stressed what he perceived as the whiteness of this woman, signaled not only by her fair skin but by her dress and stockings as well. Perhaps this helped him to justify straying off the Anglo American path of romance. It is unfortunate for the historian, however, that Timothy met his "beau-ideal of perfect beauty" not long before he stopped writing faithfully in his diary. A few more entries suggest that she continued to frequent Timothy's store or at least his neighborhood. One day, for example, he wrote, "Have not seen *mi querida* today—wonder ¿*adonde esta.*" Timothy frequented her neighborhood, too, as another entry shows: "Took a ramble thro' the Spanish part of town, to get a sight if possible of my inamorita."[39] But we cannot know if an intimate relationship eventually developed between the two, since the diary entries taper off shortly after they met.

What is clear, however, is that Timothy Osborn's infatuation with this "senorita Chilena," as well as his contact with other Spanish-speaking women in California, prompted him to question notions of propriety he might not have challenged back home. The very day he met his "inamorita," for example, he protested that "the easy and careless manner in which Spanish girls wear American dresses is often made the butt of ridicule from over-modest old maids and beardless young gents." In reply, he suggested that "honi soit qui mal y pense" might be just the motto for such maids and gents to ponder.[40] And, after touring the southern part of Stockton, where most Spanish-speaking residents lived, he noted, "One prominent objection often urged by the virtuous (?) against the Spaniards is their *loose* idea of *propriety* in their conduct between the sexes! May it not be as liable to be the *too contracted ideas* of the American's view of virtue! It is a difficult matter to decide."[41] It *was* a difficult matter to decide, full of question marks and exclamation points, even if the idea of looseness among Chileans and Mexicans was more Anglo fantasy than Latin real-

y. Gold-rush California tossed difficult matters onto the table every day, and often hose matters were sexual.

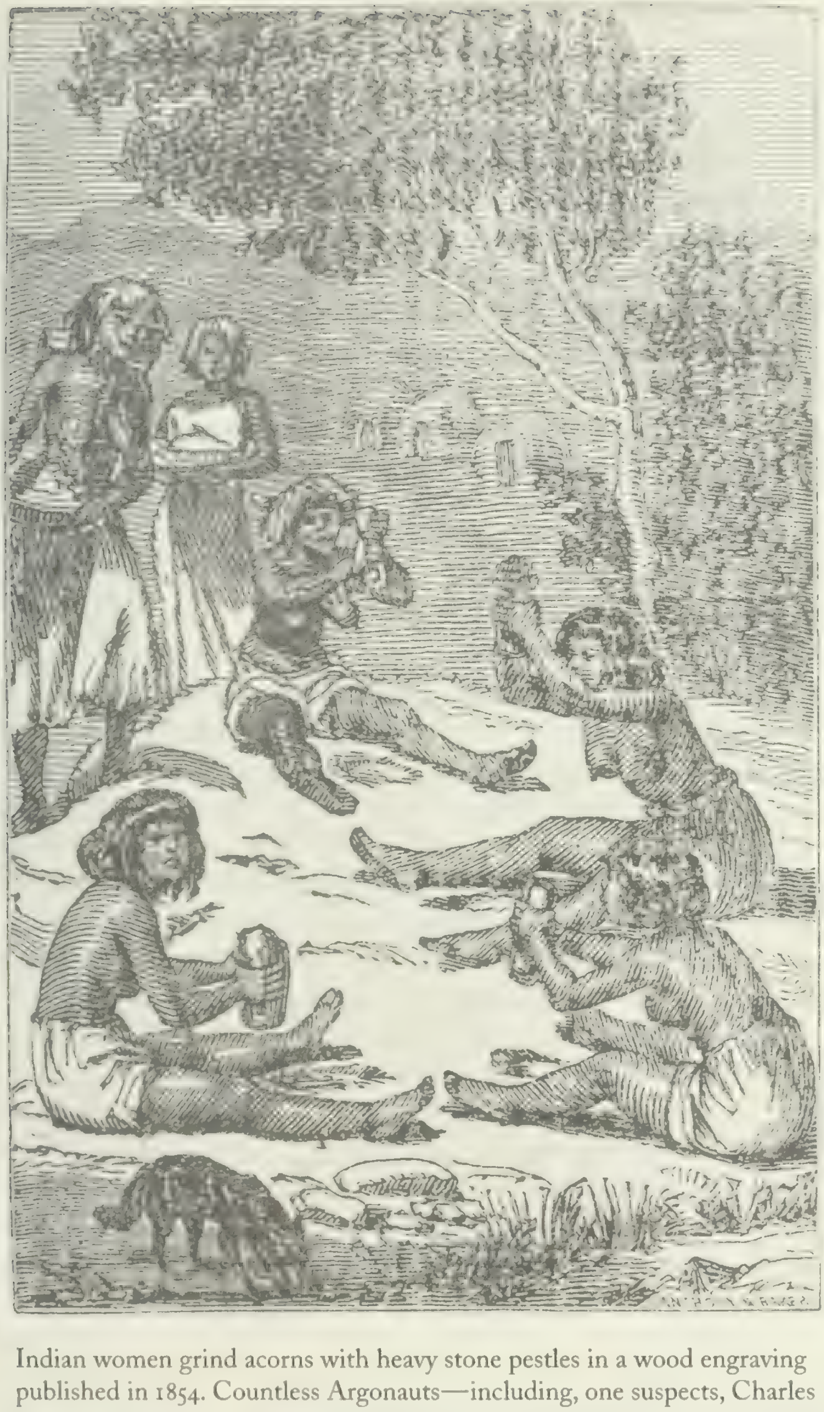
Timothy Osborn had less contact with French-speaking than Spanish-speaking vomen in the diggings. Had he encountered them, he might have learned that nany French immigrant women hailed from the demimonde of cities such as aris. They had left France in the wake of an economic depression that accomanied the Revolution of 1848. In California, and especially in the Southern Mines, rench women found work not only in brothels but also in dance halls and especially in gambling saloons. At Sonora, for instance, they seem to have held a moopoly on the local gaming tables. And in the town of Mariposa, a number of vomen with French surnames ran their own saloons.[42] But Timothy seems to have net few of these women. His most memorable episode with a French immigrant— we put aside his erotic “view of Paris” and his card-playing at Madame Bouvier's— ame on a Saturday night in Stockton when he and his business partner went vindow-peeping at a local hotel. They stood outside a window where they watched “pretty young French lady” as she prepared for bed. What they saw says as much bout life in vermin-infested gold-rush towns as it does about the history of desire n California. Writing in shorthand, Timothy described how the woman “unraided her long black hair and stripped herself of all but her undershirt and bean hunting *fleas.* How little she thought anyone was seeing her fair proportions as he slipped off the ‘shimmy’ the better to get at the little tormenters!”[43] How little his woman must have cared about how “fair” her “proportions” were as she battled hose bugs.

In what manner might a historian make sense of these references to Spanish- and rench-speaking women? Timothy Osborn no doubt grew up thinking that gender vas divided into two distinct categories, “woman” and “man.” He probably further lifferentiated these categories by race and class, which were themselves malleable ultural constructions that changed over time. In Timothy's world, the best sort of women” and “men” were “ladies” and “gentlemen.” But these were social categories losed to people who were not understood to be “white” and who seemed not to asire to the emerging middle class. Furthermore, to many antebellum white Americans, the term “American” was more or less synonymous with the term “white,” so hat even light-skinned non-Americans fit only uneasily in the category of “whiteness,” just as dark-skinned people were often banished from the category of “Amercan.” It was this set of overlapping beliefs that allowed Timothy to eroticize and exoticize French, Chilean, and Mexican women in ways he did not white American vomen. In his moral universe, even the most ladylike among Spanish- and Frenchpeaking women might not really be ladies, and so they did not evoke in Timothy he restraint he was accustomed to exercising with the “girls” back home. But, as we ave seen, the Gold Rush began to work a change in Timothy, so that the categories of which he felt so sure when he arrived in California began to blur around the edges just a few months later. What he had thought was the truth about sex might simply be "contracted ideas." It was a difficult matter to decide. In the meantime, not a few French, Chilean, and Mexican women who worked in the gold-rush world of commercialized leisure learned to profit from the deliberations of men like Timothy Osborn.[44]

About one group of California women, Timothy felt even less cause to deliberate. These were the native women of the foothills, who, where Timothy lived, were primarily Miwoks. Living among Miwok peoples were Indians who years before had left the secularized missions along the coast as well as people native to California's great Central Valley, which had witnessed a horrific malaria epidemic in the 1830s that drove many survivors up into the hill country.[45] Timothy and his cousins set up camp among this mixed native population in the summer of 1850. Drawing on an older white American discourse about Indian sexuality, Timothy indulged his erotic curiosity among native peoples with few qualms. He regularly commented in his diary, for example, about those who traveled from place to place nearly naked. Former mission Indians generally wore clothing, but Indians who had grown up in the foothills wore very little, at least in the summer. Timothy paid special attention to the women's bare chests, and often mocked the female elders, whose breasts hung low against their torsos. He found native women who had lived at coastal missions more attractive. Of one group camped nearby, he wrote, "The girls were better looking than any I have seen before, and wore head bands of bright colors, and dresses reaching from the hips to the knees."[46]

However he differentiated among Indians by age or dress or nativity, Timothy felt at liberty to regard them in overtly sexual ways. A mixed band that included some former mission Indians caught his attention, for instance, because the women "were entirely nude, with the exception of a small 'tappa.'" He went on, "Perhaps my curiosity, owing to this fact, was exercised rather more freely than strict propriety would allow under other circumstances, but *their modesty did not seem to suffer much.*"[47] Given his beliefs about native women—that sexual modesty was of little consequence to them—he remained convinced that his gaze was harmless. In another diary entry, Timothy described those beliefs, seemingly reinforced by some experience, with striking candor. In shorthand, he wrote,

> It is said by those who are supposed to know that Indian women, like the beasts of the field, have their certain times for seeking the man, and as far as my own experience goes, I am inclined to believe it to be true. I have seen Indian girls, who, when they were "in heat," would fondle around you and in every possible way would ask you to relieve them, while at other times it would be an impossible thing to get your own wishes gratified.



Indian women grind acorns with heavy stone pestles in a wood engraving published in 1854. Countless Argonauts—including, one suspects, Charles Nahl, who made the drawing for this image—found themselves tantalized by the close proximity of women who wore little or no clothing in the mining country. *California Historical Society, FN-30523.*

But the diary entry, steeped as it was in perverse white assumptions about the animal proclivities of native women, then took a curious turn: "I have seen many Indian girls whose person I have coveted but whose modest appearance forbade me ever attempting to do anything wrong."[48]

This is one of those pieces of evidence that makes the historian wish for the option of time travel. Given that option, one might swoop down on Timothy, his pen still in hand, and demand, What on earth do you mean? Do you think there is a sexual continuum among native women, from those who follow "animal" rhythms to those "whose modest appearance" stops you from trying "to get your own wishes gratified"? What are your wishes? And what do you, resident of the foothills for all of two months, understand of native women's desires? Does it occur to you that Indian women might have their own reasons for wanting sex at one time and not another? That some native women might welcome intimacy with you, for whatever reason, while others might abhor the thought? That another white man might appeal to an Indian woman, while you might repel her?[49]

Unfortunately, we are not time travelers, and Timothy will not answer our questions. Nor is there sufficient information on the meanings of sex among the native peoples of the Sierra Nevada foothills in the nineteenth century to venture an interpretation of such cross-cultural contact from an Indian point of view.[50] At the very least, however, Timothy Osborn's diary entries outline a rich field for historical inquiry, inquiry that must move beyond the discursive constraints of Anglo American assumptions about Native American sexuality. As historian Albert Hurtado has shown, the cultural and demographic cataclysm that the Gold Rush visited upon California Indians was rooted in part in the prevalence of sexual violence against native women and the disruption of native patterns of intimacy.[51] And it is crucial to remember that white Americans were not the only invaders of Indian lands in the foothills, though in the long run they did achieve an uneasy dominance in the diggings. In the meantime, however, native peoples contended with a polyglot influx of immigrants, producing any number of possible cross-cultural interactions, some of which must have been sexual. Today, a few Miwok families, for example, count Chinese or Chileans or African Americans among their forebears.[52] Likewise, one of the foremost artists of California, Harry Fonseca, describes his own ancestry not only as Nisenan-Maidu but also as Chilean and Hawaiian.[53] Scholars have barely begun to make sense of the meetings that produced such contemporary Californians.

Not all erotic moments during the Gold Rush, however, had reproductive consequences—or even reproductive potential. If sexual interactions between women and men in California have received scant attention from historians, then same-sex desire and the individual pursuit of erotic pleasure have been all but ignored. Timothy Osborn's diary, however, alludes to the possibility of both, and thus points ne way toward a history of desire in gold-rush California that moves beyond one-imensional images of lonely, sex-starved young men.

As busy as Timothy kept himself contemplating women of every description, ne might reasonably conclude that he had little time to eroticize his fellow man. And indeed, his diary is not the richest available source in documenting same-sex esire in the diggings.[54] But even a man whose sexual thoughts and dreams drifted o decisively to the bodies, gestures, and caresses of women could now and then take ensual delight in the male world he inhabited. One Sunday in August 1850, for exmple, Timothy and his cousins hosted three New York men at their camp. On uch Sundays, Timothy wrote, "we put on our 'best' and try to look as 'fascinating' s possible." One of this week's visitors, a man named Goodall, was a favorite of Timothy's, whom he described as "an excellent companion and a fellow of 'infinite est.'" Timothy also noted his friend's fetching appearance: "Goodall is a little fellow nd on Sunday dresses in white pants *a la matelot,* and looks decidedly 'cunning' as he girls would say."[55]

Read out of historical context, this statement may not seem especially erotic in ontent. But other sources show that during the Gold Rush, men frequently engaged n a kind of cross-gendering of their relationships with one another, in which varitions in size, age, strength, behavior—and sometimes race or nationality—came o be interpreted as gender differences.[56] In another camp, for example, the residents gave a "handsome youngster" the name "Sister Stilwell" because of his "fresh omplexion, lack of beard, and effeminate appearance."[57] Given that sexual relaions back home were deeply and profoundly gendered—that is, that sex was hought to occur naturally between two radically different kinds of human beings alled "women" and "men"—it was not such a long walk from cross-gendered looking to same-sex intimacy in the diggings. Then, too, Timothy's reference to Goodll's appearance as "*a la matelot*" may have had a deeper erotic resonance. Most litrally, it meant simply "in the manner of a sailor," and there is nothing particularly exual about that. But sex between seafaring men in this era was common enough hat it had its own name; the "boom cover trade" referred to the sex sailors had with ach other under the covering that protected ship masts.[58] A New England man rom a seafaring clan, Timothy might well have known this.[59] Read in historical conext, then, Timothy's description of his friend Goodall very possibly had sexual meanings.

Likewise, a handful of other diary entries hint at same-sex eroticism. In one, Timothy describes the attire of Mexican men who mined nearby: "Their peculiar dress always excites my attention—the loose bottomed under pants of snow white, and the gay woolen outside, open at the sides with long rows of brass buttons, and heir black velvet tunic so short in the waist as unable to reach the top of their pants."[60] We must use care in interpreting a reference such as this. As historian

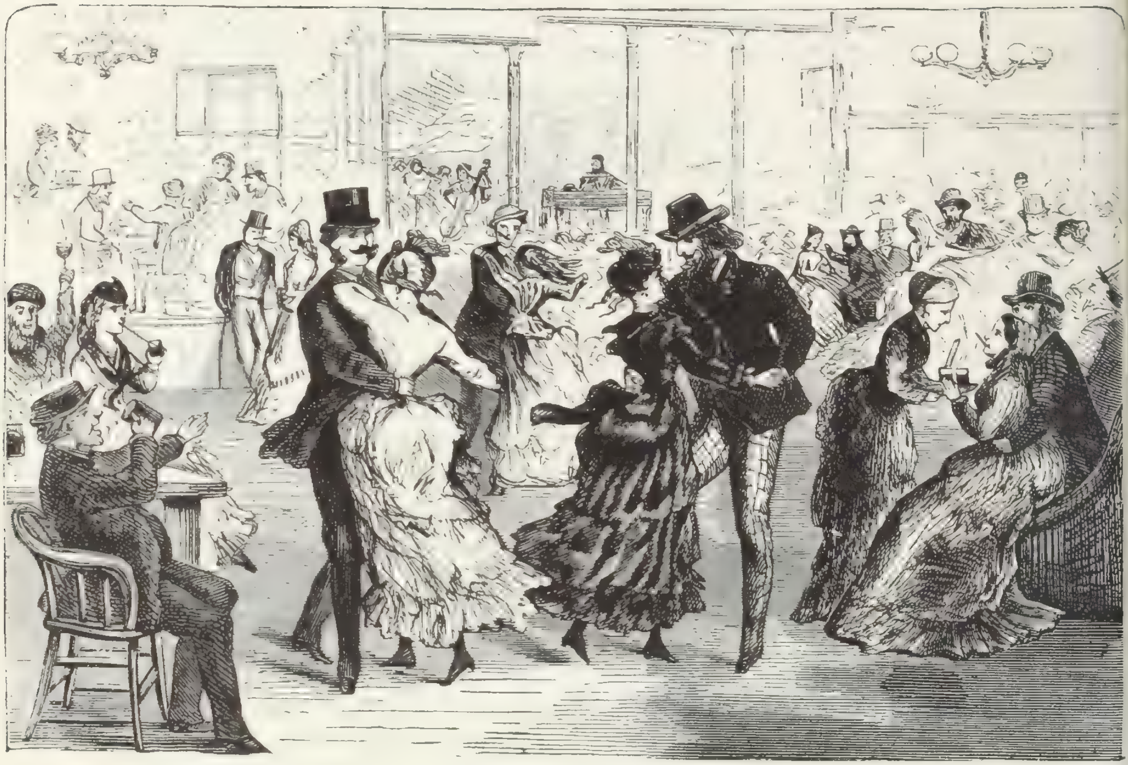
David Goodman has shown, the idea of "excitement" circulated far and wide during the Gold Rush, referring to the mental and emotional state that gold seeking evoked in men.[61] The connotations of the term "excitement" were not so overtly sexual as they are in our own day. Nonetheless, Anglo American gold-rush participants often linked economic and sexual passions, worrying (or wishing, as the case may be) that one would shade into the other in deleterious (or delicious) ways. So while getting excited about the fit of a man's pants surely did not mean then what it might mean now, neither can we discount the possibility of erotic overtones to the emphasis on "loose bottomed under pants."[62] Similarly, a white American named John Marshall Newton looked with longing upon one of his mining partners, a tall Dane named Hans, whom Newton described as "one of the most magnificent looking young men I ever saw." Hans had "massive shoulders and swelling muscles" that stood out "like the gnarled ridges of an oak tree." Newton remembered himself as a slight, soft-hearted boy who "yearned intensely for a friend" and who at first had so much trouble handling heavy mining tools that he often fainted from exertion. The magnificent Dane, then, was a perfect partner, because when Newton could not budge a boulder with a crowbar, he recalled, "Hans would . . . thrust me aside, take hold of the stone . . . and throw it out of the pit."[63] As these examples suggest, a wide range of differences among men were ripe for the erotic picking during the Gold Rush.

Finally, Timothy Osborn's accounts of men dancing together and sleeping with one another indicate, at the very least, the ubiquitous opportunities the Gold Rush offered for same-sex sexual practices.[64] Timothy's references to bed-sharing and dancing are rather elliptical, but other men's diaries, letters, and reminiscences, along with such as sources as legal records, give firmer evidence of the extent to which some men actually seized the moment (and each other) in the diggings.[65] For example, at least one gold-rush woman who followed her husband west to California after he had relocated there ended up suing her errant mate in part because "of his frequently sleeping with certain men, in the same house then occupied by her as his domicil—for the diabolical purpose of committing the crime of bugery."[66] And fuller descriptions of all-male balls in the diggings indicate that some men assumed what was customarily a woman's stance in close couple dancing, while others took the customary male pose, a practice that must have encouraged at least a few men to see the erotic possibilities in a terpsichorean embrace.[67] Timothy Osborn may not be the best guide to same-sex desire during the Gold Rush. Yet it is notable that even a man whose tongue often wearied of wagging over women's charms was not immune to those of mankind.

Timothy, however, seems to have found as much erotic pleasure in solitude as he did with other people, female or male. While mining along the Merced River, for example, his favorite spot to rest was in a hammock of Peruvian netting that he rigged p beneath an oak tree overhanging a ravine. Here, on a Sunday or after lunch on a weekday, Timothy would nap or read a borrowed novel or let his thoughts drift to women back home.[68] He may also have masturbated. In one diary entry, his description of cigar smoking in the hammock seems full of pre-Freudian double en-endres, not to mention male dreams of grandiosity. The entry begins with Timothy smoking away . . . at a third rate 'short six,'" and imagining women he knew walk-ng to church. In no time, however, he finds himself taking a pleasure "in the curl-ng smoke of an ordinary 'long nine' which the unpracticed do not know." Timothy himself must have been practiced, because he knew that a smoker was a contented nan who, "impotent of thought, Puffs away care."[69]

At other times, Timothy counted on sleep to bring him contentment. When he irst arrived in California, Timothy was frustrated that dreams of women back home had left him unfulfilled: "I never have had a 'golden dream' yet!"[70] But within a few nonths slumber began to bring results. One night, he woke a tentmate by calling out, "That's a euchre, [Annie], now pay up." Timothy had been dreaming of playing euchre with Cousin Annie. The rules dictated that for every game Timothy won, he also won a kiss, and for every game Annie won, he had to "*pay back the kiss!*"[71] From here, sleep became more and more sexual. Once, Timothy dreamed that he was in he family parlor with a young woman named Eliza Black sitting on his lap. He breathed sweet words of love into her ear" until she finally kissed him. In return, he gave her a "*long sweet kiss in the mouth.*" This he wrote in shorthand. The rest he would not commit to paper.[72] And one morning, after dreaming about hours spent alone with a woman in an Edgartown hotel, he awoke uncovered, undressed, and exposed to the December chill—but happy.[73] On yet another occasion, an afternoon nap delivered up "a romantic dream" about a young woman in Mexico City who was wealthy, worldly, and "over-anxious to see '*Los Estados Unidos.*'" Osborn was equally anxious to show her *estadounidense* valor. With sweet regret, however, he noted in his diary, "Had I not awoke by the cry of 'supper!' I should have gratified her."[74] And himself, no doubt.

Gold-rush historians, intent on the relative absence of white women and intrigued by the prevalence of sex-for-sale in California, have virtually ignored such evidence of autoerotic and homoerotic desires and practices. The evidence is often encoded, euphemized, or otherwise indirect. But then, so too is much evidence of nonmarital heteroerotic desires and practices. This is because, for men such as Timothy Osborn, all forms of sexual expression outside of marriage were morally suspect, even if they were utterly common both back home and in California—and on the high seas as well. Nonetheless, the evidence is there, if historians will only learn how to read it. Outside of gold-rush historiography, and U.S. western historiography more generally, scholars have made great strides in interpreting primary sources that document the sexual past, including autoerotic and homoerotic pasts. They



"Sunday Evening on Dupont Street," from J. H. Beadle, *The Undeveloped West* (1873), a scene from a typical San Francisco saloon, suggests that freer relations between women and men were possible on the California frontier in the boisterous years after the gold discovery. *Courtesy California State Library, photo reproduction by Nikki Pahl.*

have been careful to understand such materials within appropriate historical and cultural contexts. Few historians of sexuality, for example, would argue that gold-rush participants who engaged in same-sex intimacy were "homosexuals," knowing full well that California's gold-rush era predated the cultural construction of homosexuality by a good half-century.[75] Concomitantly, the Gold Rush predated the cultural construction of heterosexuality as well, so neither can we call men like Timothy Osborn "heterosexual."[76] And understanding masturbation in context requires a similar willingness to think historically. While there had been proscriptions against autoerotic practices among Timothy Osborn's forebears for many generations, earlier embargoes targeted masturbation because it was nonprocreative. Timothy came of age at a time when reformers were arguing that all sexual arousal was potentially dangerous because it could deplete men's vital energies—hence the call for male self-control.[77] These are among the discursive contexts in which sex and sexuality in gold-rush California must be understood.

But there is so much more. As rich as the diary of Timothy Osborn is in its em-
phasis on the erotic, there are many sexual concerns that it cannot illuminate. In the
ame manner, the diaries, letters, and reminiscences of other white American men
are of limited use—though not of *no* use—as sources for studying the sexual prac-
ices, desires, and meanings prevalent among a wider range of immigrant and Indian
peoples in California. Consider again my partial list of gold-rush participants, and
hink about what little can be learned of most of their experiences from a source like
he one I have highlighted here: Miwok and Nisenan women, Chinese men, en-
laved African Americans, Chilean peons, independent Sonoran prospectors, Anglo
American artisans, French prostitutes, Californio *patrones.* And what of Chinese,
Chilean, Mexican, and Anglo American prostitutes? What of married women of all
mmigrant groups? What of free African Americans, Chilean *patrones,* Mexican
peons? What of white Americans from the South? What of French, Miwok, and
Nisenan men? What of people who did not fit anyone's definition of "woman" or
man," "*mujer*" or "*hombre,*" such as the "Chileno *hermaphrodite*" one Anglo Ameri-
can gold seeker noted meeting along the Mokelumne River in 1852?[78] To begin to
comprehend most of these historical experiences, we must turn, for example, to
non–English language sources and to documents written or otherwise generated by
women. And we must consult materials that open up social and cultural worlds of-
en obscured in white men's personal writings—newspapers, court records, and the
oral traditions of native peoples, to name just a few.[79]

Since this call for a history of sex and sexuality in gold-rush California opened
with a story culled from a white man's diary, then, it might best close with a tale
drawn from the oral repertoire of those peoples whose roots in the Sierra foothills
run the deepest. Timothy Osborn cared about Indian sexual expressions only as a
voyeur; he watched a native couple slip into the willows in the interests of *his* desire.
Indians, of course, have told their own tales of yearning, tales designed to entertain
and instruct members of their own communities. Historians would do well to listen
to such tales, whether told by contemporary native storytellers or collected in pub-
ished volumes sanctioned by contemporary Indian collectivities. At the turn of the
twentieth century, for example, Miwok people related a great number of stories to
anthropologist C. Hart Merriam, including the legend of Ho-hā'-pe, the river mer-
maid or water woman. Merriam did not record the names of the native tellers of this
tale. But the Indians told him of the beautiful water women who lived in large
pools, especially in Wah-kal'-mut-tah, or the Merced River—the same waterway
along which Timothy Osborn met his native guests in 1850. At one place along the
Merced, Indian men from nearby Bear Valley and Coulterville came to catch sal-
mon. They dropped their net into a deep pool, but when the net was full and the
men tried to raise it, they could not pull it out. They did not know that Ho-hā'-pe
had tied the net to a rock at the bottom of the pool. When one of the men stepped

into the river to try to release the net, Ho-hā'-pe wrapped a piece of the net's rope around the man's toe. He was drawn beneath the surface and drowned. A group of men came to the riverbank and together pulled the fisherman's body out of the water. When they did, they all saw the gorgeous water woman in the pool, "her long hair floating out into the current."[80]

Far from a timeless, placeless legend, this tale was situated in a well-known waterscape at a moment after the discovery of gold in California—hence the names of immigrant settlements such as Coulterville and Bear Valley. It bespoke the power of women, the fears of men, and the dangers of desire, tying them tightly to the means by which native peoples got a living from the land—not just any land, but a particular place southern Sierra Miwoks called home.[81] Both the Indian storytellers and the diary-writing Timothy Osborn found the Merced River, Wah-kal'-mut-tah, a place of both longing and hazard. Only when we learn to read such tales alongside and against one another will we start to flesh out a history of desire in gold-rush California.

NOTES

1. Journal entry, October 10, 1850, Timothy C. Osborn Journal, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. This journal was transcribed in 1932 by Daniel Harris. The Bancroft Library holds both the original diary and the transcription.

2. The most notable exceptions include three works by Albert L. Hurtado: "Sex, Gender, Culture, and a Great Event: The California Gold Rush," *Pacific Historical Review*.68 (February 1999): 1–19; "When Strangers Met: Sex and Gender on Three Frontiers," in *Writing the Range: Race, Class, and Culture in the Women's West,* ed. Elizabeth Jameson and Susan Armitage (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 122–42; and *Indian Survival on the California Frontier* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1988). Just as this article went to press, Hurtado's new book, which incorporates some of the foregoing, appeared in print: *Intimate Frontiers: Sex, Gender and Culture in Old California* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999). See also Robert L. Griswold, *Family and Divorce in California, 1850–1890: Victorian Illusions and Everyday Realities* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1982); Jacqueline Baker Barnhart, *The Fair But Frail: Prostitution in San Francisco, 1840–1900* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1986); Benson Tong, *Unsubmissive Women: Chinese Prostitutes in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994); Judy Yung, *Unbound Feet: A Social History of Chinese Women in San Francisco* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Douglas Henry Daniels, *Pioneer Urbanites: A Social and Cultural History of Black San Francisco* (1980; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); and Tomás Almaguer, *Racial Fault Lines: The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994). Although the work of Antonia I. Castañeda focuses on California's Spanish and Mexican periods, it nonetheless constitutes essential historical and conceptual background for understanding the gold-rush era. See, for example, the following four articles by Castañeda: "Engendering the History of Alta California, 1769–1848: Gender, Sexuality, and the Family," *California History* 76 (Sum-

ner/Fall 1997): 230–59; "Sexual Violence in the Politics and Policies of Conquest: Amerindian Women and the Spanish Conquest of Alta California," in *Building With Our Hands: New Directions in Chicana Studies,* ed. Adela de la Torre and Beatríz M. Pesquera (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 15–33; "The Political Economy of Nineteenth Century Stereotypes of Californianas," in *Between Borders: Essays on Mexicana/Chicana History,* ed. Adelaida R. Del Castillo (Encino, Calif.: Floricanto Press, 1990); and "Gender, Race, and Culture: Spanish-Mexican Women in the Historiography of Frontier California," *Frontiers* 1, no. 1 (1990): 8–20.

3. John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America,* 2nd ed. (1988; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

4. Publication of the *Journal of the History of Sexuality* commenced in July 1990. Interestingly, the first issue included an extended critique of D'Emilio and Freedman's *Intimate Matters,* particularly for the book's treatment of issues of racial difference and dominance. See Ann duCille, "'Othered' Matters: Reconceptualizing Dominance and Difference in the History of Sexuality in America," and the response by D'Emilio and Freedman, *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 1, no. 1 (July 1990): 102–27 and 128–30, respectively.

5. This brief list of representative titles shows the range of topics explored by historians of sexuality. A complete list of works published in the 1990s on the history of sexuality in North America would run several pages. Full citations for the five works mentioned are: Ramón A. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500–1846* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991); Timothy J. Gilfoyle, *City of Eros: New York City, Prostitution, and the Commercialization of Sex, 1790–1920* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1992); George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890–1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994); Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy and Madeline D. Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community* (New York: Routledge, 1993); and Rickie Solinger, *Wake Up Little Susie: Single Pregnancy and Race Before Roe v. Wade* (New York: Routledge, 1992). A handful of other important works include: Allan Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War Two* (New York: Free Press, 1990); Jonathan Ned Katz, *The Invention of Heterosexuality* (New York: Penguin, 1995); Regina G. Kunzel, *Fallen Women, Problem Girls: Unmarried Mothers and the Professionalization of Social Work, 1890–1945* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993); Mary E. Odem, *Delinquent Daughters: Protecting and Policing Adolescent Female Sexuality in the United States, 1885–1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995); Sharon R. Ullman, *Sex Seen: The Emergence of Modern Sexuality in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997). For a full bibliography of earlier works in the field, see D'Emilio and Freedman, *Intimate Matters.*

6. Interdisciplinary literary scholar Krista Comer offers an intelligent discussion of the silence about sexuality in western studies generally and advances conceptual tools for speaking about desire in the West in *Landscapes of the New West: Gender and Geography in Contemporary Women's Writing* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), esp. chap. 4, "Queering Heterosexual Love: Trailer Parks, *Telenovelas,* and Other Landscapes of Feminist Desire."

7. See esp. Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality,* vol. 1, *An Introduction,* trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Pantheon, 1978); *The History of Sexuality,* vol. 2, *The Use of Pleasure,* trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Pantheon, 1985); and *The History of Sexuality,* vol. 3, *The Care of the Self,* trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Pantheon, 1986). For fine examples of the-

oretically informed scholarship that decenters European and North American histories of sexuality, see the special issue entitled “Circuits of Desire,” ed. Yukiko Hanawa, *positions: east asia cultures critique* 2 (Spring 1994); and Hanawa, “inciting sites of political interventions: queer 'n' asian,” *positions: east asia cultures critique* 4 (Winter 1996): 459–89.

8. Much of what I argue in these two paragraphs derives from my own work on the Gold Rush as well as the works cited in note 2 above. For my work, see *Roaring Camp: The Social World of the California Gold Rush* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2000); “'Domestic' Life in the Diggings: The Southern Mines in the California Gold Rush,” in *Over the Edge: Remapping the American West*, ed. Valerie J. Matsumoto and Blake Allmendinger (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 107–32; and “Bulls, Bears, and Dancing Boys: Race, Gender, and Leisure in the California Gold Rush,” *Radical History Review* 60 (Fall 1994): 4–37.

9. I say “roughly equal” in light of Hurtado's argument that violence, disease, and privation during the Gold Rush brought about a measurably larger demographic decline among native women than native men. See Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier*, esp. 188.

10. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850* (Washington, D.C., 1853), and *Population of the United States in 1860; Compiled from . . . the Eighth Census* (Washington, D.C., 1864). The Southern Mines encompassed the area of the Sierra Nevada foothills in the drainage of the San Joaquin River. In 1850, the Southern Mines included most of Calaveras, Tuolumne, and Mariposa counties. Later, part of Calaveras County split off to form Amador County. So by 1860, the Southern Mines encompassed Amador, Calaveras, Tuolumne, and Mariposa counties.

11. In addition to the works cited in note 2 above, some useful references to sexual matters appear in the gold-rush scholarship of the 1980s and 1990s. See J. S. Holliday, *The World Rushed In: The California Gold Rush Experience* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1981); Ralph Mann, *After the Gold Rush: Society in Grass Valley and Nevada City, California, 1849–1870* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982); David Goodman, *Gold Seeking: Victoria and California in the 1850s* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994); and Malcolm J. Rohrbough, *Days of Gold: The California Gold Rush and the American Nation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

12. My intended audience for this chapter is a broad range of academic historians, California history enthusiasts, and students. Historians of sexuality and theorists of desire will immediately recognize that I do not engage all of the recent conceptual, theoretical, and historiographical arguments in the field. I offer this chapter as a contribution to contemporary conversations about sex and desire, especially as those conversations deploy historical knowledge, and so I have purposely sacrificed some theoretical complexity in the interests of greater accessibility. I am interested in communication that crosses a variety of boundaries and that works to the benefit of those who historically have been marginalized by their relationship to dominant constructions of sex and desire.

13. For background on the world of Timothy Osborn's youth, see Margaret S. Creighton, *Rites and Passages: The Experience of American Whaling, 1830–1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). See also Margaret S. Creighton and Lisa Norling, eds., *Iron Men, Wooden Women: Gender and Seafaring in the Atlantic World, 1700–1920* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996); and W. Jeffrey Bolster, *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997).

14. Much of the background information on Timothy Osborn appears in an introduction to the transcribed diary written by Emma B. Harris, and in a letter from Henry Beetle

lough to Emma B. Harris, February 23, 1936, also in the Bancroft Library. The rest comes rom the Osborn Journal itself (see note 1 above). The interpretive material derives from ohnson, *Roaring Camp*.

15. Journal entry, January 13, 1851, Osborn Journal. Osborn's diary is particularly rich in its eferences to desire, but it is hardly unique. For a more complete consideration of such ources and what they suggest about the history of sex and sexuality in gold-rush California, ee my *Roaring Camp* and "Bulls, Bears, and Dancing Boys."

16. Some of this material I already have developed in *Roaring Camp*, esp. chap. 3, and Bulls, Bears, and Dancing Boys." Occasionally, I borrow sentences or phrases from these orks, as I have here.

17. I use the term "Anglo American" throughout to refer to white, English-speaking old-rush participants of northern and western European descent.

18. Journal entry, December 8, 1850, Osborn Journal. For histories of courtship and ronance among such white, aspiring middle-class men, see Ellen K. Rothman, *Hands and earts: A History of Courtship in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1984); and Karen Lystra, *earching the Heart: Women, Men, and Romantic Love in Nineteenth-Century America* (New ork: Oxford University Press, 1989). For other Americans, see, for example, Christine tansell, *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789–1860* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 986; Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), esp. 76–101; and Deborah Gray White, *r'n't I a Woman? Female Slaves in the Plantation South* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1985), esp. 42–60.

19. Journal entry, August 24, 1850, Osborn Journal (shorthand restored to prose by Daniel arris).

20. Ibid., August 18, 1850 (shorthand restored to prose by Daniel Harris).

21. Timothy also sought external approval for his romance with Annie. Once, he found newspaper article entitled "My Cousins," which he read carefully, underlining those pasages that were most meaningful to him, especially the description of the "*lady cousin*": "Here s a charming young lady . . . who will lecture you like a sister, and *treat you like a lover*—and hen, when gossip begins to wag her many-tipped tongue, 'Oh, *we're only cousins*, you know.'" bid., November 29, 1850.

22. Ibid., July 18, 1850.

23. Ibid., August 13 and December 3, 1850, and January 6, 1851.

24. For an overview of such sexual ideologies, see D'Emilio and Freedman, *Intimate Maters*, esp. 55–84.

25. See, for example, Gilfoyle, *City of Eros*.

26. See Johnson, *Roaring Camp* and "Bulls, Bears and Dancing Boys." For rich primary ources that describe such markets in pleasure at Sonora, see William Perkins, *Three Years in alifornia: William Perkins' Journal of Life at Sonora, 1849–1852*, ed. Dale L. Morgan and ames R. Scobie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964); and Enos Christman, *One Man's Gold: The Letters and Journal of a Forty-Niner*, ed. Florence Morrow Christman (New ork: Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill, 1930).

27. On Nevada City, see Mann, *After the Gold Rush*, esp. 34–67 passim; and, more generlly, Rohrbough, *Days of Gold*, esp. 146–50.

28. Journal entry, November 22, 1850, Osborn Journal.

29. Ibid., December 29 and 30, 1850.

30. Ibid., January 1 and 4, 1851.

31. Ibid., April 21, 1851. This "Fancy Dress Ball" sounds very much like the sexually charged costume balls that were so popular in New York City in the nineteenth century. See Gilfoyle, *City of Eros,* 232–36.

32. Ibid., April 25 (shorthand restored to prose by Daniel Harris) and May 18, 1851.

33. See Johnson, *Roaring Camp.*

34. Journal entry, December 31, 1850, Osborn Journal.

35. The diarist had much less to say about Chinese women because he stopped writing faithfully in his journal in 1851, the year before most Chinese began to arrive in California. I have cited his one mention of Chinese women in note 28 above. Just before Timothy left the diggings for Stockton, he mined alongside a group of early-arriving Chinese men. See journal entry, December 26, 1850, Osborn Journal.

36. Ibid., September 1, 1850. On the term "chola/o" in this period, see, for example, Leonard Pitt, *The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846–1890* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 6, 29, 53, 67, 148; and, for a broader historical context, as well as a more critical reading, see David G. Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and the Politics of Ethnicity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), esp. 13–38, 58.

37. Journal entry, October 9, 1850, Osborn Journal.

38. Ibid., January 15, 1851.

39. Ibid., January 18 and May 21, 1851.

40. The phrase meant literally, "shamed be he who thinks evil of it."

41. Ibid., January 15 and 19, 1851.

42. See Johnson, *Roaring Camp,* esp. chaps. 1, 3, and 6.

43. Journal entry, March 5, 1851, Osborn Journal.

44. For theoretical and historical considerations of all these constructions, see Johnson, *Roaring Camp* and "'A memory sweet to soldiers': The Significance of Gender in the History of the 'American West,'" *Western Historical Quarterly* 24 (November 1993): 495–517, reprinted in *A New Significance: Re-envisioning the History of the American West,* ed. Clyde Milner (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 255–78. In the latter volume, see commentary by Albert Hurtado, "Staring at the Sun," 279–83, and Deena J. González, "A Regendered, Reracialized, Resituated West," 283–88. See also Antonia I. Castañeda, "Women of Color and the Rewriting of Western History: The Discourse, Politics, and Decolonization of History," *Pacific Historical Review* 61 (November 1992): 501–33. For historical studies of "whiteness," see, for example, Alexander Saxton, *The Rise and Fall of the White Republic: Class Politics and Mass Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (London: Verso, 1990), and Neil Foley, *The White Scourge: Mexicans, Blacks, and Poor Whites in Texas Cotton Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997). On "whiteness" more generally, see Mike Hill, ed., *Whiteness: A Critical Reader* (New York: New York University Press, 1997).

45. See Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier,* and two works by George Harwood Phillips: *Indians and Intruders in Central California, 1769–1849* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993) and *Indians and Indian Agents: The Origins of the Reservation System in California, 1849–1852* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997). In the Northern Mines, most of the Indians were Nisenans.

46. Journal entries, August 8 and 14, September 17, and October 2 and 4, 1850, Osborn Journal.

47. Ibid., October 2, 1850.

48. Ibid., August 8, 1850 (shorthand restored to prose by Daniel Harris).

49. These questions are adapted from Johnson, *Roaring Camp*, chap. 3, and "Bulls, Bears, and Dancing Boys." One reason a native woman might have pursued sex at one time and not another is suggested by a conversation between a Miwok man and a Belgian immigrant recorded in the Belgian's reminiscences. A native man named Juan explained to miner Jean-Nicolas Perlot that his people tried to conceive children so that they would be born between March and June, and thus benefit in the early months of their lives from the natural abundance of spring, summer, and fall in the foothills. See Jean-Nicolas Perlot, *Gold Seeker: Adventures of a Belgian Argonaut during the Gold Rush Years*, trans. Helen Harding Bretnor and ed. Howard R. Lamar (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 230. Historians studying sexual misunderstandings in other moments of contact between native peoples and Europeans or European Americans are sketching out a way to study such conflicts in cultural meaning. See, for example, James P. Ronda, *Lewis and Clark among the Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 36–37, 62–64, 130–32, 208–10, 232–33; and Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 60–75.

50. Most of what we do understand of such meanings derives from the crucial, extensive work of Albert Hurtado; see *Indian Survival on the California Frontier*, "When Strangers Met," and "Sex, Gender, Culture, and a Great Event." Hurtado's work is especially important or its analysis of sexual violence, a topic that is underdeveloped in this essay because of scant evidence in Timothy Osborn's diary.

51. See especially Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier*, 169–92.

52. Personal communication from Craig D. Bates, Curator of Ethnography, Yosemite National Park, February 25, 1999.

53. Fonseca's family tree also includes a Portuguese and Cape Verdean branch, though this ntermarriage came after the gold-rush period. Fonseca gave a presentation on his family and, more generally, on the impact of the Gold Rush on native peoples at a session entitled "The Legacy of the Gold Rush on Diverse Peoples," Gold Fever! Symposium, Autry Museum of Western Heritage, Los Angeles, October 24, 1998. Fonseca's artwork has been exhibited nationally and internationally. Especially relevant here is the exhibit *The Discovery of Gold in California*, Oakland Museum of California, April 18, 1998–January 3, 1999. For a description, see the article by Carey Caldwell, "The Discovery of Gold in California: Paintings by Harry Fonseca," *News From Native California* 2 (Summer 1998): 4–5 (reprinted from *Museum of California Magazine*, Spring 1998). See also Fonseca's marvelous illustrations in *Legends of the Yosemite Miwok*, comp. Frank La Pena, Craig D. Bates, and Steven P. Medley (1981; Yosemite National Park, Calif.: Yosemite Association, 1993).

54. I analyze a wider variety of sources in *Roaring Camp*, chap. 3 and Epilogue, and "Bulls, Bears, and Dancing Boys."

55. Journal entry, August 4, 1850, Osborn Journal.

56. For elaboration, see Johnson, *Roaring Camp*, chap. 3, and "Bulls, Bears, and Dancing Boys."

57. Howard C. Gardiner, *In Pursuit of the Golden Dream: Reminiscences of San Francisco and the Northern and Southern Mines, 1849–1857*, ed. Dale L. Morgan (Stoughton, Mass.: Western Hemisphere, 1970), 216.

58. See discussion in Jonathan Ned Katz, "Coming to Terms: Conceptualizing Men's Erotic and Affectional Relations with Men in the United States, 1820–1892," in *A Queer*

World: The Center for Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader, ed. Martin Duberman (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 216–35, esp. 219. Katz takes the phrase from B. R. Burg, *An American Seafarer in the Age of Sail: The Erotic Diaries of Philip C. Van Buskirk, 1851–1870* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), a crucial piece of scholarship that opens up the study of homoeroticism among nineteenth-century American seafaring men. For the "boom cover trade," see esp. Burg, *An American Seafarer,* 75.

59. What Timothy probably did not know is that the word "matelot" derived from the Middle Dutch word "mattenoot," or, literally, "bedmate," from sailors' practice of sharing beds. This practice did not necessarily imply sharing sexual pleasures. But scholars have begun to study the frequency of same-sex eroticism among seafaring men in a variety of historical circumstances. See, for example, B. R. Burg, *Sodomy and the Pirate Tradition: English Sea Rovers in the Seventeenth-Century Caribbean* (New York: New York University Press, 1984); Arthur Gilbert, "Buggery and the British Navy, 1700–1861," *Journal of Social History* 10 (1976): 72–98, and "Sexual Deviance and Disaster During the Napoleonic Wars," *Albion* 9 (1977): 98–113; and Chauncey, *Gay New York,* esp. 64–97 passim, and "Christian Brotherhood or Sexual Perversion? Homosexual Identities and the Construction of Sexual Boundaries in the World War I Era," *Journal of Social History* 19 (1985): 189–212. For "matelot," see *Oxford English Dictionary,* s.v. "matelot"; [Paul Robert's] *Dictionnaire alphabétique et analogique de la langue de la Française,* s.v. "matelot"; *Merriam Webster's Collegiate Dictionary,* 10th ed., s.v. "matelot." My thanks to historian Martha Hanna for helping me think through this and for reading the French dictionary entry for me.

60. Journal entry, August 25, 1850, Osborn Journal.

61. See Goodman, *Gold Seeking,* esp. 188–219.

62. For elaboration on the conflation of things economic and things sexual, see Johnson, *Roaring Camp,* esp. chaps. 2 and 3.

63. John Marshall Newton, *Memoirs of John Marshall Newton* (John M. Stevenson, 1913), 34, 36, 38.

64. Journal entries, December 22 and 25, 1850, Osborn Journal.

65. For elaboration, see Johnson, *Roaring Camp,* chap. 3, and "Bulls, Bears, and Dancing Boys."

66. *Hanna Allkin v. Jeremiah Allkin* (1856), Calaveras County, District Court, Calaveras County Museum and Archives, San Andreas, Calif.

67. See especially J. D. Borthwick, *The Gold Hunters* (1857; Oyster Bay, N.Y.: Nelson Doubleday, 1917), 303–304.

68. Journal entries, July 7 and 11, August 24 and 25, 1850, Osborn Journal. The material in this paragraph and the next is adapted from and also expands on Johnson, *Roaring Camp,* chap. 3, and "Bulls, Bears, and Dancing Boys."

69. Ibid., September 15, 1850. A "short six" and a "long nine" are types of cigars.

70. Ibid., August 24, 1850.

71. Ibid., November 5, 1850.

72. Ibid., November 16, 1850 (shorthand restored to prose by Daniel Harris).

73. Ibid., December 19, 1850.

74. Ibid., December 10, 1850.

75. Journalists have not been as careful. On September 23, 1994, I presented a paper at the Power of Ethnic Identities in the Southwest Conference sponsored by the Huntington Library in San Marino, California. In that paper, I talked about two Anglo American men

who went to California together in 1849 and ended up living together in Tuolumne County for the rest of their lives; both died in 1903. The two may well have had an erotic relationship. But nowhere did I call these men “homosexual” or “gay.” My purpose was rather to point out the historical silence about intimate same-sex relationships—some of which might have been sexual—in the Gold Rush. Nonetheless, the next day I read of my work in the newspaper: “Johnson's mention of the legacy left by a pair of homosexual Forty-Niner gold miners raised some eyebrows among the conference audience of 75. But most seemed to feel that a little eye-opening is appropriate for those who read—and write—American history.” Elsewhere in the article, referring more obliquely to my talk, the author mentioned “gays who played a role in the California Gold Rush.” *Los Angeles Times,* September 24, 1994. For more on the two men, Jason Chamberlain and John Chaffee, see Johnson, *Roaring Camp,* chap. 1 and Epilogue. For more on the cultural construction of homosexuality, see, for example, Chauncey, *Gay New York;* and, for women, Kennedy and Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold.* See also the essays in Martin Duberman et al., eds., *Hidden From History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past* (New York: Meridian, 1989); and, for more recent perspectives, Special Issue, “The Queer Issue: New Visions of America's Lesbian and Gay Past,” *Radical History Review* 62 (Spring 1995); and Duberman, *A Queer World.*

76. For this argument, see, for example, Katz, *The Invention of Heterosexuality.*

77. D'Emilio and Freedman, *Intimate Matters,* 68–69.

78. Alfred Doten, *The Journals of Alfred Doten, 1849–1903,* ed. Walter Van Tilburg Clark, 3 vols. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1973), 1:116; emphasis in original. At the turn of the twenty-first century, some would call such a person “transgendered,” but this might bespeak the kind of anachronism historians of sexuality have tried to avoid. Nonetheless, there is much to be learned from the current literature on transgenderism. For an intelligent theoretical discussion especially applicable to a multinational event such as the Gold Rush, see Nan Alamilla Boyd, “Bodies in Motion: Lesbian and Transsexual Histories,” in *A Queer World,* ed. Duberman, 134–52. And see the courageous volume by Leslie Feinberg, *Transgender Warriors: Making History from Joan of Arc to RuPaul* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996).

79. In *Roaring Camp,* chap. 6, for example, I use divorce cases from the district court records of Amador, Calaveras, Tuolumne, and Mariposa counties to illustrate and analyze women's experiences of intimacy in the 1850s. Although they do not focus on sexual matters, three recent dissertations that study gold-rush-era California within a longer chronological framework suggest the extraordinary potential for work based in a broader range of research materials. See Miroslava Chavez, “Mexican Women and the American Conquest in Los Angeles: From the Mexican Era to American Ascendancy” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1998); Mary L. Coomes, “From Pooyi to the New Almaden Mercury Mine: Cinnabar, Economics, and Culture in California to 1920” (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1999); and Amelia María de la Luz Montes, “‘*Es Necesario Mirar Bien*’: Letter Making, Fiction Writing, and American Nationhood in the Nineteenth Century” (Ph.D. diss., University of Denver, 1999).

80. This story first appeared in print in C. Hart Merriam, *Dawn of the World: Weird Tales of the Mewan Indians of California* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1910), now reprinted as *The Dawn of the World: Myths and Tales of the Miwok Indians of California* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), see esp. 228–29. I have taken it from the *Legends of the Yosemite*

Miwok, 53 (and see Harry Fonseca's accompanying illustration, 52), particularly because this volume has been reviewed by the American Indian Council of Mariposa County (see the Foreword by Les Jaimes, vii).

81. According to Merriam, Nisenans at the turn of the twentieth century told a similar tale, but in the Nisenan version, two young women were walking along the American River when they heard a baby's cry. They found the infant on the riverbank, but when one of them reached for it, the baby became the river mermaid and then dragged the young woman into the water. See *Dawn of the World,* 229–30. This Nisenan version perhaps bespeaks a different set of desires.

Contributors

STEVEN M. AVELLA is associate professor and chair, department of history, Marquette University. He holds a Ph.D. from the University of Notre Dame. He is the author of *This Confident Church: Catholic Leadership and Life in Chicago* (1992). He has devoted considerable attention to the role of religion in shaping urban culture in California.

SUCHENG CHAN received her B.A. in economics from Swarthmore College, her M.A. in Asian studies from the University of Hawaii, and her Ph.D. in political science from the University of California, Berkeley. After participating in the Third World Student Strike at U.C. Berkeley in 1969, which led to the establishment of ethnic studies programs, she became a specialist in the emerging field of Asian American history. She has received more than a dozen awards for her scholarly work, teaching, and community service, including the J. S. Holliday Award given by the California Historical Society.

IRVING G. HENDRICK is professor emeritus of education at the University of California, Riverside, where he has served since 1965. He led the School of Education as its dean through a highly innovative and productive period between 1987 and 1998. Currently he is serving as Assistant Vice Chancellor of Development. Most of Professor Hendrick's historical writings have centered geographically on California, and topically on historical studies of teacher education, minority group education, and special education. A native of Los Angeles, his formal education was all completed in California, including A.B. and M.A. degrees from Whittier College and an Ed.D. degree from UCLA.

SUSAN LEE JOHNSON is an assistant professor of history at the University of Colorado at Boulder. She has published essays in *Western Historical Quarterly* and *Radical History Review*. She is the author of *Roaring Camp: The Social World of the California Gold Rush* (W. W. Norton, 2000).

ANTHONY KIRK, who received his Ph.D. in American history from the University of California, Santa Barbara, is an authority on western art and has written extensively on nineteenth-century California painting. He serves as a consultant to corporations, government agencies, nonprofits, and individuals, providing a range of research, writing, and litigation-support services, particularly in the fields of cultural and environmental history. He has worked for Sony, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, the National Park Service, and the California Historical Society, among others. He is a resident of Santa Cruz, California.

MICHAEL KOWALEWSKI is an associate professor of English and American studies at Carleton College in Northfield, Minnesota. He is the author, among other works, of *Deadly Musings: Violence and Verbal Form in American Fiction* (Princeton University Press, 1993). He has edited a collection of essays entitled *Reading the West: New Essays on the Literature of the American West* (Cambridge University Press, 1996). He is also the editor of the anthology *Gold Rush: A Literary Exploration* (Heyday Books, 1997), which was the centerpiece of the California Council for the Humanities' Sesquicentennial Project. A native Californian who grew up in Redding, he is currently the president of the Western Literature Association.

GARY F. KURUTZ serves as Director of Special Collections for the California State Library and manages the publication program of The Book Club of California. His research interests include the California Gold Rush and the iconographic history of California and the American West. He is the author of *The California Gold Rush: A Descriptive Bibliography of Books and Pamphlets Covering the Years 1849–1853*, *The Architectural Terra Cotta of Gladding McBean*, and *California Books Illustrated with Original Photographs*, along with several articles and keepsakes. He has been the recipient of the Oscar Lewis Award of The Book Club of California and the Award of Merit from the Sacramento County History Society.

RICHARD J. ORSI is professor of history at California State University, Hayward. A graduate of Occidental College in Los Angeles, he received his doctorate from the University of Wisconsin, Madison. He is the coauthor (with Richard B. Rice and William A. Bullough) of *The Elusive Eden: A New History of California*, 2nd ed. (McGraw-Hill, 1996), and coeditor (with Alfred A. Runte and Marlene Smith-Baranzini) of *Yosemite and Sequoia: A Century of California National Parks* (University of California Press, 1993). He is nearing completion of another book, "A Railroad and the Development of the American West: The Southern Pacific Company, 1860–1930." Since 1988, he has been editor of *California History*, the quarterly of the California Historical Society.

ROBERT PHELPS is an assistant professor in United States history at California State University, Hayward, where he specializes in the history of California, urban history, and the history of the United States during the Progressive Era. He received his Ph.D. from the University of California, Riverside, in March 1996, and is currently conducting research on the history of factory towns in southern California. Professor Phelps is author of "The Search for a Modern Industrial City: Urban Planning, the Open Shop, and the Founding of Torrance, California," which appeared in the *Pacific Historical Review* in November 1995, and "The Manufacturing Suburb of Los Angeles: Henry Huntington, Alfred Dolge, and the Building of Dolgeville, California," in *Southern California Quarterly* (forthcoming).

MALCOLM ROHRBOUGH is professor of history at the University of Iowa. His most recent book is *Days of Gold: The California Gold Rush and the American Nation* (University of California Press, 1997).

JAMES A. SANDOS, Farquhar Professor of the Southwest at the University of Redlands, earned his Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley, in 1978, where he studied with Woodrow Borah. Within Borderlands history he has had an ongoing interest in Indian-white relations in California since 1769. His essay "Between Crucifix and Lance: Indian-White Relations in California, 1769–1848" appeared in *Contested Eden: California Before the Gold Rush*, the first volume of the California History Sesquicentennial Series.

MARLENE SMITH-BARANZINI, associate editor of *California History* since 1990, is editor of *The Shirley Letters from the California Mines, 1851–1852* (Heyday Books, 1998). She is coauthor (with Howard Egger-Bovet) of the USKids History Series, which includes *Book of the American Indians* (1994), *Book of the American Colonies* (1995), *Book of the American Revolution* (1994), *Book of the New American Nation* (1996), and *Book of the Civil War* (1998), published by Little, Brown.

San Francisco-born **KEVIN STARR**, State Librarian of California, is also professor of history at the University of Southern California and the author of the notable Oxford University Press history series "Americans and the California Dream," which includes *Americans and the California Dream* (1973) and *The Dream Endures: California Enters the 1940s* (1997).

NANCY J. TANIGUCHI is professor of history at California State University, Stanislaus. Her focus is on American history after the Civil War in a variety of areas, including women, law, the American West, and California. She recently published a legal history, *Necessary Fraud: Progressive Reform and Utah Coal.*

Index

Achik, Long (Chinese merchant), 75
Act for the Government and Protection of Indians (1850), 94, 98
Adelaide (ship), 51
African Americans, 5, 6, 14, 44, 67, 68, 70, 71, 72, 77, 115; and education, 236, 237, 239; as entertainers, 295; in San Francisco, 260; photo of, 69; religion and, 269; sources on, in California, 48; women, 157, 161, 162
Agua Fria, 288
Aguirre, José Antonio, 176
Aguirre, Rosario Estudillo, 176
Ah Toy (Chinese prostitute), 153, 154
Alemany, Joseph Sadoc (Catholic bishop), 262, 263, 270
"'All hands have gone downtown': Urban Places in Gold Rush California," by Robert Phelps, 17, 113–140
Allen, Jane Bushton , 160
Allmendinger, Blake, 212
Alonzo Delano's California Correspondence (1952), 216
Alta California (newspaper), 52, 66, 181
Amat, Thaddeus (Catholic bishop), 258–259
American Home Missionary Society, 15, 21, 277
American River, 90, 128, 173
Anderson, Douglas Firth (historian), 264
Angels Camp, 75, 125
Anglo-Americans, 6, 14, 48, 57, 69, 79, 145; sexuality and, 318, 320, 328
Antonio, Juan (Cahuilla Indian), 99
Apron Full of Gold (1949), by Mary Jane Megquier, 216
Architecture, in gold rush, 133, 134, 135
Arriola, Fortunato (artist), 195
Arroyo de los Negros, 68
Art: argonauts support, 170; arrival of artists during gold rush, 171; commercial motive and, 179; from foreign countries, 181, 182; varying quality of, 176–177
"'As jolly as a clam at high water': The Rise of Art in Gold Rush California," by Anthony Kirk, 19, 169–203
Asians, 5, 8; education and, 239; religion and, 253. See also Chinese
Asing, (As-sing) Norman, 75, 77, 153
Atherton, Gertrude (writer), 45
Atkins, Mary, 242
Atwater, J. B. (actor), 290
Auburn, 75
Australians, 53, 54
Avella, Steven M., 14, 15, 17; author of "Phelan's Cemetery: Religion in the Urbanizing West, 1850–1869, in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Sacramento," 250–279

Aventamiento ("dry washing"), 56
Avery, Benjamin (historian), 179, 182, 188, 189, 198
Ayres, Thomas (artist), 189, 190, 309

Backus, Charlie (entertainer), 295
Bacon, Beans, and Galantines, by Joseph Conlin, 48
Baer, Warren (playwright), 212
Baker, Alexina (actor), 21, 279
Baldwin, Joseph (author), 19
Balfour (ship), 53
A Ball in the Mines, by J. D. Borthwick, 174
Ball, Mary, 11, 148, 149, 150, 156, 157, 159, 160
Ballou, Mary, 151, 159
Bancroft, Hubert Howe (historian), 6, 10, 45, 56, 88, 96, 117, 149, 287, 298
The Bandit Chief; or, The Forest Spectre (play), 290
Banks, John (argonaut), 284, 297
Baptists, 261, 262
Barbieri, Leonardo (artist), 176
Barnes, James, 29
Barth, Gunther (historian), 118, 266
Bartlett, Lt. Washington A., 176
Barton's Bar, 150
Basques, 62
Bates, Mrs. D. B. (writer), 216
Battle of San Pascual, 10, 106
Bean, Walton (historian), 47
"'Because he is a liar and a thief': Conquering the Residents of 'Old' California, 1850–1880," by James A. Sandos, 6, 86–112
Beck, William (historian), 47
Beecher, Lyman (minister), 15
Bell, Philip (editor), 77
Benicia, 121
Benton, Rev. J. A., 269
Bevington, Perry, 100
Bickham, William (argonaut), 293, 296, 303
Bidwell's Bar, 92
Bidwell, John, 90, 92, 94; photo of, 93
Bierce, Ambrose (writer), 222
Bierstadt, Albert (artist), 196, 198
Big Trees Grove, 306
Bigler, Gov. John, 75, 77
Billington, Ray (historian), 58
Bingham, C. E. (playwright), 293
Birch, Billy (entertainer), 295
Biscaccianti, Elisa (singer), 21, 290, 294
Black Snake Hill, 37
Blessing, Patrick (historian), 264
Board of Land Commissioners, 102
Boessenecker, John (historian), 303
Bombastes Furioso (play), 212
Booth, Edwin (actor), 291
Booth, Junius (actor), 21, 289, 291
Boring, Rev. Jesse, 261
Borthwick, J.D. (artist/author), 13, 40, 54, 73, 177, 217, 284, 296, 302; experiences in California, 174; lithograph by, 175
Boxing, 303
Boyhood Days (1895), by Ygnacio Villegas, 216
Bradford, William (artist), 196
Brannan, Sam, 50, 261
Brewer, William, 146
Brookes, Samuel M. (artist), 195
Browere, Alburtus D. O. (artist), 189
Brown, Charles J., 299
Brown, Jared (blacksmith), 281
Browne, J. Ross (author), 19, 216
Brownlee, Robert (argonaut), 288
Bruff, J. Goldsborough (diarist), 37, 216
Bryant, Edwin, 121
Buck, Franklin A. (writer), 216
Buffum, Edward Gould (writer), 19, 216
Bull fights, 302–303
Bull-and-bear fights, 301, 302
Bullough, William (historian), 47
Burnett, Gov. Peter, 229, 270
Burns, Jeffrey (historian), 259
Butman, Frederick (artist), 191, 192, 195
Butterfield, Benjamin F., 158

Cahuilla Indians, 99
Calaveras River, 64
The California Teacher (journal), 243
California (ship), 58
California Art Union, 193

California as It Is, and as It May Be (1849), by Felix Wierzbicki, 216–217
The California Gold Rush (1997), by Gary Kurutz, 207
California Gold, by Rodman Paul, 47
California In-Doors and Out (1856), by Eliza Farnham, 11, 216
California News, by William Sidney Mount, 27
California School of Design, 198
California Sketches With Recollections of the Gold Mines (1850), by Leonard Kip, 216
California Supreme Court, 71
California Teachers Association (CTA), 243
California Wesleyan University (University of the Pacific), 246, 247
California: The Great Exception (1949), by Carey McWilliams, 45
Californian (newspaper), 53
Californias, 147, 149
Californios, 44, 50, 88, 90, 120; impact of Gold Rush on, 102–108; utilize Indian labor in mines, 90; women, 149. See also Hispanic Californians
Camp Pendleton, 90
Canby, Gen. Edward, 86, 88
Canfield, Chauncey, 125
Captain Jack (Modoc warrior), 86, 87, 88
Carson Pass, 55
Catholics. See Roman Catholics
Cattle drives, 103–104
Caughey, John (historian), 45, 47
Cendrars, Blaise (writer), 222
Central Pacific Railroad, 141
Century of Dishonor (1881) by Helen Hunt Jackson, 108
Chan, Sucheng, 4, 6, 8, 47, 253; author of "A People of Exceptional Character: Ethnic Diversity, Nativism and Racism in the California Gold Rush," 44–85
Chapman, Charles (historian), 45
Chapman, Uncle Willy (actor), 291
Charleston Mining Company, 177
Chauncey, George (historian), 317
Chen, Yong (historian), 267
Chico, 92
Chile, as a source of Argonauts, 51, 52
Chilenos. See Hispanics
China Camp, 125
Chinese, 5, 6, 8, 45, 49, 57, 67, 69, 72, 77, 325; and sexuality, 318; arrive in gold regions, 56; art of, 181; assert rights, 76; assimilated, 78; education and, 235, 239; gather in Chinatowns, 75, 131; in San Francisco, 260, 263; initially allowed in mines, 74; photo of, 46; religion and, 255, 259–260, 263, 266, 267; sketch of, 73; take over placer mines, 73; theaters of, 291; women, 144, 152, 153, 154, 157
Chinese Camp, 74
Chinese Exclusion Act, 74
Chinese Joss House (Weaverville), 17
Christman, Enos (journalist), 302
Chumash Indians, 100
Chun-chuen, Lai (Chinese merchant), 77
Cian, Fr. Thomas, 266–267
Clappe, Louise A. K. S., 4, 8, 10, 20, 145, 150, 151, 177, 209, 215, 297
Cleland, Robert (historian), 45, 102
Cloud, Roy W., 238
Cockneys in California (1849), by J. Stirling Coyne, 212
Coffin, Annie, 320, 322
Coit, Daniel Wadsworth (artist), 171
Cole, Thomas (artist), 188
College of California, 244
Colman, Samuel (artist), 196
Coloma, 54, 64, 75, 90, 125, 141, 142, 288
Colton, John B., photo of, 321
Colton, Walter, 65, 149, 150, 216
Columbia, 74, 75, 325
Committee on Mines and Mining Interests (Calif. legislature), 76
Congregationalists, 261, 264, 269
Conlin, Joseph (historian), 48
Conness, John (assemblyman), 233
Contra Costa Academy, 244
Coolbrith, Ina (poet), 20, 218
Coon Hollow, 174
Coronel, Antonio, 90, 106, 108; photo of, 107

Correro de Talcahuano (ship), 51
Cota, Manuelito (Luiseño Indian), 99
Coulterville, 75, 325
Couts, Cave (Indian agent), 98
Coy, Owen (historian), 47
Coyne, J. Stirling (writer), 212
Crabtree, Lotta (actress), 21, 154, 156, 289, 291; photo of, 292
Crain, William (architect), 271
Crescent City (ship), 172
Crocker, Judge E. B., 195
Cronon, William (historian), 117
Crusoe's Island (1864), by J. Ross Browne, 216
Cruz, Gilbert R. (historian), 117
Cullumah (Maidu village), 9. See also Coloma
Cummings, George (architect), 18
Cupeño Indians, 99

D'Emilio, John (historian), 317
Dame Shirley. See Clappe, Louise A. K. S.
Dana, Richard Henry (author), 147
Dances, 295–297
The Danites in the Sierras (1877), by Joaquin Miller, 213
Davis, Madeline (historian), 317
Davis, Morgan (librarian), 300
Davis, Rev. James, 29
Days of Gold, by Malcolm Rohrbough, 47
de la Guerra de Ord, Angustias, 149
de la Guerra, José Antonio, portrait of, 176
de Massey, Ernest (writer), 217
de Russailh, Albert Benard, 287, 289
Del Tridente (newspaper), 53
Del Valle family, 100, 106, 108; photo of, 105
Delano, Alonzo (author/artist), 19, 177, 205, 212, 213, 214, 216, 217, 293
Delavan, James, 288
Demarest, D. D., 113, 115, 127
Dennis, George (slave), 161
Dennis-Benston, Mrs. Margaret L., 161
Denny, Gideon J. (artist), 195
DeQuille, Dan (author), 20
Derby, George Horatio (John Phoenix, John P. Squibob) (writer), 19, 217, 218
DeWitt, Howard (historian), 47
The Diary of a Forty-Niner (1906), 216
Diego y Moreno, Francisco Garcia (Catholic bishop), 258
Diegueño (Kumeyaay) Indians, 99
Donner Pass, 55
Douglas, Rev. John W., 261, 269
Dowd, Augustus, 306
Downey, Gov. John, 191
Downie, William, 54, 115, 148
Downieville, 10, 54, 115, 148, 291
The Duke of California (1856), by Warren Baer, 212
Duncan, Joseph C. (art dealer), 182
Durant, Henry (educator), 244, 245, 246
Dwinelle, John W. (state rep.), 243

E. W. McIlhany, 49er, by Thomas Moore, 177
Eagle Theatre (Sacramento), 11, 156, 289, 290
Edelman, Rabbi Wolf, 259
Education, 227, 230; and the 1849 Constitution, 227; establishment of higher education, 243, 244, 247; in larger towns, 230; legislation of free public education, 238; normal school system, 234, 241; party politics and, 235–236, 240; racism and, 233, 235, 239; state legislature (1850s) and, 229; taxation and, 232
Eifler, Mark (historian), 268
El Comercio (newspaper), 53
El Dorado (San Francisco gaming house), 285, 288
El Escorpión Rancho, 100, 103
Eldredge, Zoeth (historian), 45
Ellery, Epes (bookseller), 298
Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 205, 206
Emmert, Paul (artist), 190
Engh, Michael (historian), 256
English, Thomas (architect), 271
Episcopalians, 261, 269
Ethnic diversity, 4, 5, 48, 49, 131, 208; and

religion, 251, 266; geography, order of arrival, and locational pattern, 50–56; sexuality and, 325
Evans, Aunt Lucy, 162
Ewer, Ferdinand (author), 19, 20, 188
Ex parte Ah Pong, 77

Fandango. See Dances
Farnham, Eliza W. (writer), 11, 144, 216
Fast Folks; or the Early Days of California (1858), by Joseph Nunes, 212
Feather River, 92, 123
Fender, Stephen, 209
Fifteenth Amendment, 71
Fillmore, Pres. Millard, 98
Fitzgerald, Rev. O. P., 240
Fogelson, Robert (historian), 118, 259
Foley, William H. (clown), 294
Fonseca, Harry, 332
Food, eaten by miners, 48
Forbestown, 116
Foreign Miners' Tax, 55, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 74, 76, 77, 78, 325
Foreign-born, in California, 49
Forrest, Edwin (actor), 21, 289, 291
Forster, John , 88, 106
Fort Miller, 97, 98
Fort Tejon, 98
'49: The Gold-Seeker of the Sierras (1884), by Joaquin Miller, 213
Foster's Bar, 74
Foucault, Michel (intellectual), 318
Frankiel, Tamar (Sandra) Sizer (historian), 253
Freedman, Estelle (historian), 317
French, 57, 60, 61, 62, 63, 66, 69; sexuality and, 329; theaters of, 291
A Frenchman in the Gold Rush (1927), by Ernest de Massey, 217
Fresno, 97
Fresno River, 146
Friedlander, Isaac, 132
"From Indifference to Imperative Duty: Educating Children in Early California," by Irving G. Hendrick, 6, 20, 226–249
A Frontier Lady: Recollections of the Gold Rush and Early California (1932), by Sarah Royce, 216
Fugitive slave law, 71, 78

Gabrielino Indians, 100
Gambling, 281–287
Gardiner, Howard (argonaut), 300
Garra, Antonio (Cupeño Indian), 99
Garrick, Annie, 157
Gaynor, John (architect), 195
George, Henry (historian), 17
Germans, 57, 60, 261, 264, 306
Gerstäcker, Friedrich, 181, 289
Gilfoyle, Timothy (historian), 317
Gillespie, Sarah B., 11, 152, 157
Glanz, Rudolf (historian), 158
Glendale, 102
Goddard, George H. (architect), 132
Gold: discovery, 1842, 53; discovery, 1849, 25, 141
Gold (1925), by Blaise Cendrars, 222
Gold Seeker (1985), by Jean Nicolas Perlot, 217
Golden Era (journal), 210
Golden Gate (ship), 32
Goodman, David (historian), 334
Gordon, George, 132
Gould, Janice (poet), 222
Granice, Rowena, 156
Grass Valley, 75, 118, 131, 154, 218, 260, 286, 295
Grayson, Andrew Jackson (artist), 181, 188
Greever, William (historian), 47
Guan Yu (Guan Gong) cult, 263
Gunn, Elizabeth, 152
Gutiérrez, Ramón (historian), 317
Gwin, U.S. Sen. William M., 96, 132
Gymnastics, 304

Hale, Augustin, 92
Hall, Hiland, 256–257
Hall, John Linville, 1, 2, 3, 4
Hamilton, James (artist), 196
Hanchett, William (historian), 253, 254
Har Wa (Chinese merchant), 75

Hardrock mining, 75
Harris, Mary Ann (slave), 162
Harte, Bret, 7, 10, 20, 141, 208, 209, 210, 213, 218, 219, 221; photo of, 220
Hartford Union Mining and Trading Company, 1, 3, 4, 8
Hauptman, Laurence (historian), 96
Hawaii, as a source of Argonauts, 51, 52, 171
Hawaiians, 51, 115
Hawes, Horace, 175
Hayes, Kate (singer), 21, 294
Heade, Martin Johnson (artist), 196
Hebrew Society, 250
Helper, Hinton Rowan (writer), 19, 280, 281, 288, 301
Hendrick, Irving G., 6, 8, 20; author of "From Indifference to Imperative Duty: Educating Children in Early California," 226–249
Henry Lee (ship), 1, 3, 4
Heron, Matilda (actor), 21, 291
Hertz, Henri (pianist), 294
Heydenfeldt, Elcan (state senator), 229
Higham, John (historian), 58
Hill, Thomas (artist), 195
Hispanic Californians, 8, 44. See also *Californias,* Californios
Hispanics, 5, 55, 56, 63, 66, 145, 152, 302; and sexuality, 318, 326, 328; Chilenos, 51, 52, 53, 57, 59, 63, 64, 65, 69, 327; Mexicans, 51, 64, 65, 69, 147; Peruvians, 49, 53, 64; Sonorans, 52, 53, 55, 57, 59, 63, 64; women, 144, 147–149
Historical Society of Southern California, 106
Hite, John (argonaut), 163
Hite, Lucy (Miwok Indian), 163
Hittell, John S. (historian), 182
Hittell, Theodore (historian), 45
Hodghton, Ann (missionary), 157
Holliday, J.S., 47
Hombre (occasional publication), 210
The Home Missionary (journal), 264
Homosexual behavior, 14, 318, 332, 333, 334
Hornitos, 75
Houston, James D., 205
Howe, Charles E. B. (playwright), 212, 293
Hubbell, Jay B. (literary scholar), 207
Hubbs, Paul (Supt. of Public Inst.), 232, 24
Hudson River School, 188
Humboldt Bay, 97
Hunt, Rev. Timothy Dwight, 15, 261
Hunt, Rockwell (historian), 45
Hupa Indians, 144
Hurtado, Albert (historian), 146
Hutchings, James M. (writer/publisher), 16, 22, 189, 298, 305, 306, 308, 309

Illinois House (San Francisco), 293
Incidents on Land and Water, or Four Years on the Pacific Coast (1858), by Mrs. D. B. Bates, 216
Indian Bar, 297
Indian Peak Ranch, 163
Indians. See Native Americans
Ingoldsby, Fr. John, 271
Inman, Henry, 186
Irish, 261, 264
Ishi (Yana-Yahi man), 95, 96

J.R.S. (ship), 51
Jackson, 125, 325
Jackson, Alfred T. (diarist), 216
Jackson, Helen Hunt, 108, 109
Jackson, Joseph Henry, 210
Jenny Lind Theater (San Francisco), 156, 291
Jewett, William S. (artist), 35, 175, 178, 179, 188, 189
Jewish immigrants, 48, 57; women, 158
Joaquin Murieta de Castillo, the Celebrated California Bandit (1858), by Charles E. B. Howe, 212
Johnson, Eliza Jane Steen, photo of, 143
Johnson, Susan Lee, 13, 14; author of "'My own private life': Toward a History of Desire in Gold Rush California," 316–346
Johnston, William (artist), 179, 181
Joint-stock companies, 62
Jones, Sandy (slave), 71
Jordan, Terry (geographer), 104

uanita, hanging of, 148, 291
udaism, 14, 255; in Los Angeles, 259; in Sacramento, 270; in San Francisco, 263

Kearney, William "Woolly" (boxer), 303
Keene, Laura (theater manager), 156
Keith, William (artist), 196
Kellogg, Martin (professor), 244
Kelly, William (argonaut), 285
Kennedy, Elizabeth (historian), 317
Kientipoos (Modoc warrior). See Captain Jack
Kimball, Charles (bookseller), 298
King, Clarence (writer), 222
King, Rev. Thomas Starr, 261
Kings River, 146
Kinney, Abbot, 108
Kip, Leonard (writer), 216
Kip, Rev. William Ingraham, 261
Kirby, Sarah (theater manager), 11, 156
Kirk, Anthony, 19; author of "'As jolly as a clam at high water': The Rise of Art in Gold Rush California," 169–203
Kirker, Harold (historian), 134
Kitanemak Indians, 100
Klamath Indians, 86
Klamath River, 54, 97, 125
Knights Ferry, 75
Know Nothing movement, 15, 77, 264
Kowalewski, Michael, 19, 20; author of "Romancing the Gold Rush: The Literature of the California Frontier," 204–225
Kroeber, Alfred L., 95, 96
Kurutz, Gary F. (historian), 21, 207; author of "Popular Culture on the Golden Shore," 280–315

Lambayeque (ship), 53
Land Act of 1851, 8
Larsen, Lawrence (historian), 117
Latham, Capt. Eben, 26, 28
Latin Americans. See Hispanics
Lavender, David (historian), 47
Le Conte, Joseph (geologist), 245
Le Journal des Débats (newspaper), 60
Le Meuse (ship), 60
Lecomptonites (pro-slavery Democrats), 233
Lee, Archie (slave), 71
Lee, H. C. (circus owner), 294
Lee, James (saloon keeper), 286
Leese, Jacob, 149
Letts, John (writer), 216, 286, 296
Levy, Daniel, 158
Levy, JoAnn (historian), 125
Libraries, 298–300
Life Amongst the Modocs: Unwritten History (1873), by Joaquin Miller, 216
The Life and Adventures of Joaquín Murieta, the Celebrated California Bandit (1854), by John Rollin Ridge, 211
The Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth (1856), 216
Life on the Plains and Among the Diggings (1854), by Alonzo Delano, 216, 217
Lilly, Chris (boxer), 303
Limerick, Patricia (historian), 115
Lincoln Grammar School (San Francisco), 231
Literature of the California frontier; bibliography of, 207; influenced by East, 208, 209; later exponents of, 221–223; nonfictional prose, 214–218; poetry, fiction, and drama, 210–214
Little, John T. (hotel owner), 188
Loeser, Lt. Lucien, 53
Logan, "Big" Bill, 148
London, Jack (writer), 222
The Loneliest Road in America (1997), by Roy Parvin, 222
Long Bar, 115
Los Angeles, 52, 119, 123, 133, 135; description of, 128; religion in, 253, 255–260; sketch of, 1850s, 134
Lotchin, Roger (historian), 118, 131
Louise (ship), 51
Loyola Marymount University, 247
Luckingham, Bradford (historian), 117
Luiseño Indians, 99, 108, 109
Lux, Charles, 132

MacKenna, Benjamin Vicuña (argonaut), 285
Maffly-Kipp, Laurie (historian), 253
Maguire, Tom (actor), 21, 289, 290, 291
Maidu Indians, 9, 90, 93, 94, 144, 252; photo of, 95
Manifest Destiny, 59
Manly, William Lewis (writer), 19, 214
Mann, Ralph (historian), 118, 131
Mariposa, 163, 325
Marks, Paula (historian), 47
Marple, William (artist), 196
Marryat, Frank (author/artist), 19, 35, 152, 179, 181, 217; illus. by, 180
Marshall, James, 9, 25, 50, 51, 130, 141, 142
Marshall, John R. (circus owner), 294
Martin, E. Hall (artist), 178
Marvin, Judge John Gage, 229, 231
Marysville, 115, 134, 135, 150, 260, 286, 290; serves northern settlements, 123
Mason, Biddy, 162
Mason, Col. Richard, 50, 53
Masonic order, 15, 250
Massett, Stephen (composer/vocalist), 290, 294
Mayfield, Thomas Jefferson, 146
McCabe, John B. (historian), 290
McCoppin, Frank (S.F. mayor), 264
McCunn, Ruthanne Lum (writer), 222
McEnnis, Sr. Frances Assisiu, 11, 157
McGroarty, John (historian), 45
McWilliams, Carey (attorney/journalist), 45, 47, 106, 108, 117, 118
Mechanics' Institute of San Francisco, 186, 194, 196
Mechoopda Indians, 93, 94
Megquier, Mary Jane, 11, 19, 154, 156, 159, 216, 305
Menken, Adah Isaacs, 291
Mercantile Library Association (San Francisco), 300
Merced River, 320
Merriam, C. Hart (anthropologist), 337
Mesa Grande (Digueño village), 99
Methodists, 269
Mexicans. See Hispanics
Meyers, William (artist), 190
Migration: to California, 25; by sailing ship, 30–34, 57; overland, 34–37, 58
Miller, Joaquin (writer), 213, 216, 218
Mills College, 242
The Miners' Ten Commandments, by James M. Hutchings, 16, 296
Mines, Rev. Flavel S., 261
Mining camps, 38, 41
Mining companies, 39–40
Mission Dolores, 209, 262, 305, 306
Mission Indians, definition of, 112
Mission San Fernando, 100; photo of, 101
Mission San Luis Rey, 99
Missouri Compromise, 70
Miwok Indians, 163, 316, 325, 330, 332
Modoc Indians, 86, 88
Moerenhout, Jacques, 60, 65
Mokelumne Hill, 75, 125, 325
Money, in California, 38
Monitor (newspaper), 265
Monkkonen, Eric, 119
Monroe, John A., 241
Monroy, Douglas (historian), 102
Monterey, 123, 135
Montez, Lola, 11, 21, 154, 156, 289, 291; photo of, 155
Montgomery Block, 18
Montgomery, John, 146
Moore, Thomas (artist), 177
Morefield, Richard (historian), 64
Mormon Bar, 74
Mormons, 251, 255, 261, 263
Morrill Act (1862), 243, 244, 245
Morrissey, John (boxer), 303
Moulder, Andrew J. (Supt. of Public Inst.), 20, 232, 233, 234, 235, 243
Mount, William Sidney (artist), 27
Mountain Democrat (newspaper), 76
Mountain Jack and a Wandering Miner, by E. Hall Martin, 178, 179
Mountains and Molehills, or Recollections of a Burnt Journal (1855), by Frank Marryat, 217
Mt. Shasta and Shastina, by Frederick Butman, 191

Muir, John (writer/naturalist), 222, 305, 307
Mules, as a transportation mode, 53
Mulford, Prentice (author), 19, 26, 30, 218
Mulligan, Billy (boxer), 303
Mumford, Lewis (historian), 117
Murderer's Bar, 303
Murieta, Joaquin, 212, 293
Murphys, 234, 306
Music, 294–295
"My own private life': Toward a History of Desire in Gold Rush California," by Susan Lee Johnson, 13, 316–346

Nahl, Charles (artist), 178, 182–186, 187, 188, 211, 213, 219, 282, 297
Napa, 123
National Academy of Design, 172, 175, 186
Native Americans, 7, 23, 44, 50, 68, 77, 86, 115, 212; education and, 239; fights with whites, 91, 95, 97; in central and southern California, 97–100; in northern California, 90–97; population decline, 96; religion and, 252, 254; reservations system and, 92, 93–94, 95, 97, 98; sexuality and, 318, 326, 330, 331, 332; women, 144, 145–147, 163
Nativism, 56–67
Nevada City, 75, 118, 125, 126, 131, 134, 135, 169, 260, 286, 290, 323; chart of occupational make-up, 124
New Helvetia, 51
New York Freeman (newspaper), 250
New York Tribune (newspaper), 173
New York Volunteers, 170, 171
New Zealanders, 53, 54
Newhall, 100, 103
Newmark, Joseph (lay rabbi), 259
Newton, John Marshall (journalist), 298, 334
Nigger Bar, 68, 151
Nigger Hill, 68, 69
'No boy's play: Migration and Settlement in Early Gold Rush California," by Malcolm Rohrbough, 3, 4, 25–43
Norris, Frank (writer), 222, 245
Norton, Emperor, 141
Norton, Henry (historian), 45
Nunes, Joseph (playwright), 212

Oakes, Mrs. A. T. (artist), 186, 188
Oakland, 103, 136, 237
Oatman family, 293
Odd Fellows, 250
Old Block. See Delano, Alonzo
Olin, Spencer (historian), 47
Omi, Michael (sociologist), 78
Onion Valley, 177
Oregon, source of Argonauts, 51, 54, 90, 91
Orsi, Richard (historian), 47
Osborn, Timothy (diarist), 319, 323, 336; homosexuality and, 333; joins rush to California, 320; longings for cousin, 322; non-Anglo women and, 326, 328; views on Native American women, 330, 332; visits San Francisco, 324
Osborn, William and James, 320
Osgood, Samuel S. (artist), 172, 173, 175
Overland Monthly (journal), 210, 218–219
Owen, Rev. Isaac, 261

Pacheco, Romualdo, 10
The Pacific (newspaper), 264, 266
Pacific Mail Steamship Company, 32, 58, 128
Panama, 33, 34
Panama (schooner), 178
Pantalon, Marie, 150
Panto, José (Diegueño Indian), 99
Parke, Charles Ross, 284
Parvin, Roy (writer), 222
Patton, William (architect), 265
Paul, Rodman (historian), 47
Pearl (steamer), 17, 250
Pedestrianism, 303, 304
Pelton, John C. (educator), 20, 230, 231
Pen Knife Sketches, or Chips from the Old Block (1853), by Alonzo Delano, 213, 217
"A People of Exceptional Character: Ethnic Diversity, Nativism, and Racism in the California Gold Rush," by Sucheng Chan, 4, 44–85
People v. *Hall*, 76, 78

People's Party, 264
Pequot Indians (Connecticut), 97
Peralta family, 103
Perkins, Carter and Robert (slaves), 71
Perkins, Robert F. (state senator), 236
Perkins, William (diarist), 19, 152, 284, 286, 295, 298
Perlot, Jean-Nicolas (writer), 217
Perry, E. Wood (artist), 195
Peru, 53
Peruvians. See Hispanics
Petaluma, 123
Peter Quivey and the Mountain Lion, by Charles Nahl, 186
Peter, William B., 287
Peterson, Richard (historian), 64
"Phelan's Cemetery: Religion in the Urbanizing West, 1850–1869, in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Sacramento," by Steven M. Avella, 14, 250–279
Phelan, Gregory J. (physician), 250, 251, 272
Phelps, Robert, 17; author of "'All hands have gone downtown': Urban Places in Gold Rush California," 113–140
Phoenix, John. See Derby, George Horatio
Pico, Andrés, 89, 106
Pico, Pío, 88, 90, 106
Picpus Fathers, 262
The Pioneer (literary monthly), 188, 210, 219
Piru Creek, 100
Pitt, Leonard (historian), 64, 102, 149, 257
Placer Times (newspaper), 291
Placerville (Hangtown), 32, 36, 40, 75, 124, 174
Pleasant, Mary Ellen, 11, 161
Poetry, in gold rush, 210–211
Poker Flat, 219
Polk, Pres. James K., 26, 172
Pollock, Rev. D. W., 261, 269
Polynesian (newspaper), 51, 53
"Popular Culture on the Golden Shore," by Gary F. Kurutz, 21, 280–315
Population; 1848, 50; impact on religion, 252
Portuguese, 69
Pratt, Parley P., 263
Precious Dust, by Paula Marks, 47
Prendergast, John (artist), 171; sketch by, 172
Presbyterians, 261, 264, 269, 270
The Promised Land, by William Jewett, 188
Prostitution, 38, 318, 325
Protestants; in Los Angeles, 256, 259; in San Francisco, 261, 264
Publishing, during gold rush, 210

Quigley, Rev. Hugh, 15

Racism, 67
Ramirez, José Antonio (carpenter), 258
Ramona (1884) by Helen Hunt Jackson, 109
Rancho Camulos, 100, 105, 106, 108
Rancho Chico, 92, 94; photo of, 93
Rancho San Fernando. See Hispanics
Rancho San Rafael, 102
Rancho Sespe, 103
Rawls, James (historian), 47
Ray, Mr. and Mrs. Henry (actors), 290
Red Gulch, 219
Relief Valley, by Thomas Ayres, 190
Religion, 14; in pioneer California, 250–279; women's role in, 157
Religious Aid Bill of 1853, 233
Reps, John W. (historian), 118
Rhone (ship), 181
Rice, Richard (historian), 47
Rich Bar, 145
Ridge, John Rollin (author), 19–20, 211, 212
Roaring Camp, 219
Robinson, David G. ("Doc") (playwright), 212
Robinson, Dr. D. G. "Yankee" (impresario), 290
Rodriguez, Richard, 212
Rogers, James A., 230
Rohrbough, Malcolm (historian), 3, 4, 47; author of "No Boy's Play: Migration and Settlement in Early Gold Rush California," 25–43
Rolle, Andrew (historian), 47

Roman Catholics, 15, 30, 34, 60, 144; in Los Angeles, 256, 257, 258, 259; in Sacramento, 270, 272; in San Francisco, 261, 262, 263, 264; population influx and, 254, 255
Roman, Anton (bookseller), 218, 298
"Romancing the Gold Rush: The Literature of the California Frontier," by Michael Kowalewski, 19, 204–225
"Rooted in Barbarous Soil: An Introduction to Gold Rush Society and Culture," by Kevin Starr, 1–24
Rosales, Vicente Pérez (writer), 216
Roske, Ralph (historian), 47, 48
Rossi, Giovanni (magician), 293
Rough and Ready, 74, 125, 126, 294; chart of occupational make-up, 127
Roughing It (1872), by Mark Twain, 204
Round Valley Indian Reservation, 94
Rowe, Joseph Andrew (circus owner), 293, 294
Royce, Josiah (historian), 17, 45, 222, 245
Royce, Sarah, 10, 157, 159, 216
Rubio, Fr. Gonzales, 262
Russ, Emanuel, 306
Ryan, William Redmond (artist), 169, 170, 199

Sacramento, 38, 103, 115, 125, 134, 135, 286; description of, 127, 128–130; education in, 230; flooding in, 129, 130, 268, 290; religion in, 253, 268–272; serves central settlements, 123; ship explosion in, 250
Sacramento Pioneer Associates, 250
Sacramento River, 123
St. Joseph's Academy, 272
Saint Vincent's Orphan Asylum (San Rafael), photo of, 228
Saloons, 286, 287–289
San Andreas, 13, 125
San Antonio Rancho, 103
San Bernardino, 123, 162
San Diego, 113, 123, 133, 176
San Diego Herald (newspaper), 218
San Francisco, 113, 132, 135, 324; as example of urbanization, 118; Chinatown in, 131; city grid established, 127; description of, 1848–50, 133; development of, 128; education in, 230; gambling halls in, 38; metropolis of the gold-rush urban system, 120; patronizes fine arts, 192, 193, 196; photo of, 1850s, 114; religion in, 253, 254, 260–268; saloons in, 287; sketch of, 1847, 122
San Francisco Art Association, 198
San Francisco Bulletin (newspaper), 7
San Francisco Californian (newspaper), 142
San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin (newspaper), 141
San Francisco Daily Herald (newspaper), 142
San Francisco Monitor (newspaper), 264
San Francisco Morning Call (newspaper), 269
San Joaquin River, 123
San Jose, 119, 266
San Pascual, 99
San Pedro, 123
Sánchez, Juan Ramón, 51
Sanchez, Nellie (historian), 45
Sanderson, Jeremiah B. (educator), 237
Sandos, James A., 6, 8; author of "'Because he is a liar and a thief': Conquering the Residents of 'Old' California, 1850–1880," 86–112
Santa Barbara, 176
Santa Clara, 158
Santa Clara College, 246
Santa Clarita Valley, 103
Santa Cruz, 158
Santa Fe Railroad, 136
Santa Margarita Rancho, 90, 106
Santa Rosa, 123
Sargent, Aaron Augustus, 135
Satan's Bassoon (occasional publication), 210
Savage, James, 90
Scanlan, Fr. Patrick, 272
Schaeffer, Luther (diarist), 294, 295
Schlesinger, Arthur, Sr. (historian), 117
Scott, Mel (historian), 118
Seeing the Elephant (play), by David G. Robinson, 212
Seise, Marie, 152, 153

Sequoias, 306, 307
Serrano Indians, 100
Sexuality, 13, 14, 317; as revealed in diaries, 320; commercialized, 323; male sexuality, 19th century theory of, 322, 336; masturbation, 335; scarcity of women affects, 319; skepticism towards study of, 317; study of in gold-rush era, 318. See also Homosexual behavior
Sharp, Joseph, photo of, 2
Shaw, Stephen (artist), 195
Shed, Charles D. (ship chandler/artist), 188
Sherman, William Tecumseh, 121, 122
Sherwood, Winfield S. (attorney), 227
The Shirley Letters, by Louise Clappe ("Dame Shirley"), 215
Sierra Nevada, 35, 55
Sierraville, 5
Silliman, Prof. Benjamin (educator), 240
Silvie DeGrass (ship), 122
Sinclair, Catherine (actor), 21, 291
Sisters of Charity, 11, 15, 230
Sisters of Mercy, 266, 271
Sisters of Notre Dame, 266
Six Months in the Gold Mines (1850), by E. G. Buffum, 216
Slavery, 70, 71
Smiley, Albert K., 109
Smith, Gen. Persifor F., 58
Smith, Thomas (artist), 190
Snow, Horace (correspondent), 144
Snyder, Gary (writer), 222
Solano (Indian chief), 94
Solinger, Rickie (historian), 317
Sonora, Calif., 55, 63, 75, 124, 152, 286, 325
Sonorans. See Hispanics
South and Southwest (1925), by Jay B. Hubbell, 207
South Park (San Francisco), photo of, 132
Spanish Flat, 12
Speer, Rev. William, 266
Sports, 300–305
Squatters, 102–103
Squibob, John P. See Derby, George Horatio
Stanford, Gov. Leland, 234
Staniford, Edward (historian), 47
Stanislaus River, 64
Stark, James (theater manager), 156, 291
Starr, Kevin, 118, 207, 253
Starr, Kevin, "Rooted in Barbarous Soil: An Introduction to Gold Rush Society and Culture," 1–24, 47
State Convention of Colored Citizens of California (1865), 236
Stegner, Wallace (writer), 205
Stevenson, Col. Jonathan D., 170, 175
Still Life, by Samuel M. Brookes, 195
Still, John Hamilton (book seller), 298
Stockton, 38, 69, 103, 135, 237, 260, 323, 325, 326; description of, 127; serves southern settlements, 123
Stoddard, Charles Warren (author), 20, 21
Stokes, Rev. Darius, 68
Storer, Tracy (author), 301
Streeter, William, 148
Sullivan, Yankee (boxer), 303
Sutter's Fort, 128, 268
Sutter's Mill, 26, 64
Sutter, John, 51, 90, 130, 149, 268; commissions portrait, 173, 179
Sutterville, 130
Swain, William (argonaut), 205
Swett, John (Supt. of Public Inst.), 20, 236, 237, 238, 239, 241
Sydney Morning Herald (newspaper), 53
Szasz, Ferenc and Margaret Connell (historians), 251

Taniguchi, Nancy J., 10, 13; author of "Weaving a Different World: Women and the California Gold Rush," 141–167
Tataviam Indians, 100
Taylor, Bayard (writer), 17, 19, 173, 208, 209, 289, 290, 298
Taylor, Rev. William, 261
Tehachapi Mountains, 98
Teisseire, Armand (artist), 195
Tejón Ranchería, 100
Temecula, 97, 99, 108

'emple Emanu-el, 265
evis, Lloyd, 132, 301
heater, 289–294
'hompson, George (boxer), 303
'horeau, Henry David, 206
'housand Pieces of Gold (1981), by Ruthanne Lum McCunn, 222
'hree Years in California (1850), by Walter Colton, 216
'hree Years in California (1857), by J. D. Borthwick, 174, 217
'imbuctoo, photo of, 126
'irrell, George (artist), 191
'rade, in the Gold Rush, 51, 54
'rask, George L. (promoter), 307
'reaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848), 102
'rinity River, 54
'ule Lake, 86
'urner, Frederick Jackson (historian), 96, 116
'urnverein Association, 306
'wain, Mark, 20, 204, 210, 218, 219
'wo Men of Sandy Bar (1876), by Bret Harte, 213

'niontown (Arcata), 7
'niversity of California, 244–247
'rbanization, 17, 115, 116, 117, 135; definition of urban environment, 119, 120; fires and, 134, 135; in California's Spanish/Mexican eras, 119; Urban centers in California, 1850–1860, 121; Urban centers in California, 1850–1870, 129

'ail, Capt. David, 1, 3
'allejo de Leese, Rosalia, 149
'allejo, Mariano, 149, 216
'alparaiso, Chile, 52
'an Mehr, Rev. Jean L., 261
'ance, James E. (geographer), 118
'erdugo, Julio, 102
'iaje a California: Recuerdos de 1848, 1849, 1850 (1878), by Vicente Pérez Rosales, 216
'iew of Clear Lake, by William Marple, 196
View of Sacramento, by George Tirrell, 191
View of Stockton, by Alburtus D. O. Browere, 189
View South from Sonoma Hills toward San Pablo Bay and Mount Tamalpais (painting), 195–196
Vigilance Committees, 15, 187, 264
Villegas, Ygnacio (writer/rancher), 216

Wade, Richard (historian), 117
Walker, Franklin, 208, 219
Wallace, David Rains (writer), 222
Wandesforde, Juan B. (artist), 195
Ward, Sam (author), 19
Warner, J. J., 97, 98
Washington City Company, 37
Washington Hall (San Francisco), 290
Weaver Creek, 40, 174
Weaverville, 17, 154, 159
"Weaving a Different World: Women and the California Gold Rush," by Nancy J. Taniguchi, 10, 141–168
West, Ray B. (historian), 117
Wharton, James (saloon keeper), 286
What Cheer House (San Francisco), 195, 299
Wheeler, Rev. Osgood Church, 261
Whipple-Haslam, Mrs. Lee, 144
Whiting, Mrs. Jane Elizabeth (slave), 161, 162
Wierzbicki, Felix (doctor/writer), 216
Willey, Rev. Samuel Hopkins, 21, 244, 261
Williams, David (historian), 47
Williams, Rev. Albert, 261, 269
Williams, Virgil (artist), 195, 196, 198
Wilson, Benjamin D. (pioneer/Indian agent), 98
Wimmer, "Aunt Jenny" (Elizabeth J. Bays), 141, 142
Wimmer, Peter (pioneer), 142
Winant, Howard (sociologist), 78
Wine, Women, and Song Journal, 210
Winema (Modoc), 88
Winslow, Mary P. (reporter), 141
Wintun Indians, 93, 94

Wise, James (artist), 191
Women: as educators, 240–241; divorce and, 163; exert moral influence, 157; in the mines, 149–152, 286; Indian, 142; proportion to males, 143, 144; role of in 19th century, 144; sexual roles, 326, 329; use domestic work for income, 159–162
Wood's Creek, 74
Woods, Daniel (writer), 284
Woods, Rev. James, 256, 257
Woodward's Gardens, 306
Woodward, Robert B., 195, 196, 299
Woolbridge, Rev. Sylvester, 261, 269
Wright, Doris (historian), 48
Wright, Louis B. (historian), 2
Wright, William. See DeQuille, Dan
Wyatt, David (historian), 47
Wynn, Rev. A. M., 261
Wysinger v. *Crookshank*, 72

Yahi Indians, 95
Yana Indians, 93, 94, 95
A Yankee Trader in the Gold Rush (1930), by Franklin A. Buck, 216
Yerba Buena Cove, 169
Yokut Indians, 144, 146
Yosemite Valley, 22, 308, 309
You Bet (gold camp), 125
Young, Otis, Jr. (historian), 47
Yreka, 124
Yuba River, 115, 148
Yuba River Camp, 74

Zanjani, Sally (historian), 150

he California Historical Society gratefully acknowledges the generous members and donors who have made ifts of $250 or more over the past 12 months ending March 31, 2000.

NDIVIDUALS

,000 *and up*

nonymous
Ir. Robert G. Adams, Orinda
Ir. & Mrs. Reid W. Dennis, Woodside
Irs. Michele du P. Goss, San Francisco
Irs. Walter A. Haas, San Francisco
Ir. Alfred C. Harrison, Jr., San Francisco
Ir. & Mrs. Austin E. Hills, San Francisco
Iaribelle B. Leavitt, San Francisco
Ir. Francis Martin, III, San Francisco
Irs. Nan Tucker McEvoy, San Francisco
Iiss Alicia McEvoy, San Francisco
Ir. John T. Olds, San Francisco
Ir. Paul F. Pelosi, San Francisco
r. A. Jess Shenson, San Francisco
Ir. John A. Traina, Jr., San Francisco
Irs. Alice Whitson, Willow Creek

,000 - *$4,999*

nonymous
Irs. Judith Avery, San Francisco
Ir. & Mrs. Gerson Bakar, San Francisco
Ir. & Mrs. John B. Bates, Piedmont
Ir. & Mrs. W. Richard Bingham, San Francisco
Ir. & Mrs. Johan Blokker, Woodside
Ir. George M. Bowles, San Francisco
Ir. Carl G. Brown, Jr., San Rafael
Ir. & Mrs. John Edward Cahill, San Rafael
Ir. & Mrs. William Cahill, Ross
Ir. & Mrs. David M. Chamberlain, San Francisco
Ir. & Mrs. A. W. Clausen, Hillsborough
Marie B. & Leonard Collins, Piedmont
Dr. Lin Yeiser Coonan, San Francisco
Ms. Carol Cravens, San Francisco
Donald D. Crawford, Jr., Novato
Mr. Richard M. Davis, San Francisco
Mr. Donald W. Davis, Belvedere
Mr. Richard T. Dobbins, Alamo
Mrs. Morris M. Doyle, San Francisco
Mr. Rudolph W. Driscoll, Palo Alto
Ms. Bettye Poetz Ferguson, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Robert Friend, Belvedere
Mr. & Mrs. Launce E. Gamble, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. Kenneth D. Gardner, Jr., Albuquerque, NM
Mrs. Gloria Gordon Getty, San Francisco
Mr. Harry R. Goff, Palo Alto
Mr. Richard N. Goldman, San Francisco
Mrs. William Goodan, Pasadena
Mrs. Constance M. Goodyear, San Francisco
Mrs. Henry B. Grandin, Jr., Sausalito
Mr. & Mrs. Peter Haas, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. George Haberfelde, Pacific Palisades
Mr. Bernard P. Hagan, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Bill Hambrecht, San Francisco
Mrs. Charlene Harvey, San Francisco
Ms. Ann M. Hatch, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Paul Hazen, Belvedere
Mr. Louis H. Heilbron, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. F. Warren Hellman, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. George F. Jewett, Jr., San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. William R. Kimball, Belvedere
Mr. & Mrs. Hugh W. Klebahn, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. A.M.D. Lampen, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Melvin B. Lane, Menlo Park
Mr. & Mrs. George Link, Los Angeles

Mr. & Mrs. Edmund W. Littlefield, Burlingame
Mrs. Robert Livermore, Danville
Mr. & Mrs. J. Patterson McBaine, San Francisco
Mr. John N. McBaine, San Francisco
Mr. Charles C. McGettigan, San Francisco
Mrs. Elaine McKeon, San Francisco
Thomas O. and Jane H. McLaughlin, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Andrew C. McLaughlin, III, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Donald C. McNear, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. James Keith McWilliams, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Keith B. McWilliams, Burlingame
Mr. Arthur Mejia, Jr., Ph.D., San Francisco
Mr. Russell R. Miller, San Francisco
Mr. Robert Folger Miller, Hillsborough
Mrs. Gail Bliss Moore, San Francisco
Mr. Peter Johnson Musto, San Francisco
Mrs. Diana Crocker Nouri, New York, NY
Mr. & Mrs. Wulfrin Oberlin, Corte Madera
Mr. & Mrs. Michael A. O'Hanlon, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Kenneth J. Paige, San Francisco
Miss Mary E. Pike, Pasadena
Edith and George Piness, Mill Valley
Mr. & Mrs. Malcolm Post, San Francisco
Mrs. Susan S. Robertson, Shaw Island, WA
Mr. & Mrs. Gary Rogers, Oakland
Mr. & Mrs. B. H. Rose, III, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Adolph Rosekrans, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Richard M. Rosenberg, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. George W. Rowe, San Francisco
Mr. David Rumsey, San Francisco
Mr. John Schram, San Francisco
Mr. Donn Schroder, Piedmont
Mr. Porter Sesnon, Jr., Borrego Springs
Mr. Charles J. Soderquist, Sacramento
Mr. & Mrs. Philip Spalding, San Francisco
Kevin Starr, Ph.D., San Francisco
Mr. Don Stephens, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Ellis M. Stephens, Ross
Mr. & Mrs. Thomas F. Stephenson, Atherton
Mr. & Mrs. Stephen L. Taber, Esq., San Francisco
Ms. Carole C. Terry, Las Vegas, NV
Mr. and Mrs. Morley Thompson, Woodside
Ms. Suzanne Tucker, Sausalito
Mr. & Mrs. Stephan P. Vermut, San Francisco
Mr. A. W. B. Vincent, San Francisco
Mr. Daniel G. Volkmann, Jr., San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Brooks Walker, Jr., San Francisco
Patti & Tim Warner, San Francisco
Mr. Paul L. Wattis, Jr., Paicines
Mrs. Paul L. Wattis, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Frank S. Whiting, Pasadena
Mr. & Mrs. Michael Wilsey, Atherton
Mr. & Mrs. Alfred S. Wilsey, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Lee Zeigler, San Francisco

$500 - $999

Mr. & Mrs. William Adams, San Francisco
Mr. Victor K. Atkins, Jr., Southampton, NY
Mr. & Mrs. Peter Avenali, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Guilford C. Babcock, San Marino
Mr. & Mrs. Dennis J. Bark, Stanford
Mr. Lawrence R. Barker, Napa
Mr. & Mrs. Frank Bauman, Colusa
Mrs. Geraldine Grace Benoist, San Francisco
Mr. Benjamin F. Biaggini, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Richard Blackman, San Rafael
Mr. David A. Blanton, III, Sausalito
Mr. & Mrs. Dix Boring, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Bill Brinton, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Al Brounstein, Calistoga
Mr. & Mrs. John M. Bryan, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. William Bucklin, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Richard Cahill, Ross
Mr. & Mrs. James E. Caldwell, Woodside
Dr. & Mrs. John N. Callander, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Lyman H. Casey, San Francisco
Ms. Donna Miller Casey, San Francisco
Mrs. Clyde H. Charlton, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Herman Christensen, Jr., Atherton
Mr. & Mrs. William Clayton, Jr., San Marino
Mr. & Mrs. R. Warren Cleary, Laguna Beach
Mr. Norman Coliver, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Robert S. Colman, Sausalito
Mr. & Mrs. Newton A. Cope, San Francisco
Mrs. Carol G. Costigan, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Frank E. Cummings, Sonoma
Princess Genevieve di San Faustino, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Ray Dolby, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. William H. Draper, III, Atherton
Mr. & Mrs. Frederick K. Duhring, Los Altos Hills
Mr. & Mrs. Robert S. Dulin, Bayfield
Mrs. Delia Ehrlich, San Francisco
Robb & Linda Evans, Bakersfield
Dr. & Mrs. Douglas Fenton, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Gordon Fish, Pasadena
Mr. & Mrs. George H. Fitch, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. George C. Fleharty, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. David Fleishhacker, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. William S. Floyd, Jr., Portola Valley
Mr. & Mrs. Hugh W. Foster, San Francisco
Miss Muriel T. French, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Maynard Garrison, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Milo S. Gates, Woodside
Mr. George Gibson, Sacramento
Mr. & Mrs. Richard W. Goss, II, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. James H. Greene, Jr., Hillsborough
Mr. & Mrs. Douglas W. Grigg, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. Gerold M. Grodsky, San Francisco
Ms. Lyn Guittard, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Timothy J. Hachman, Stockton
Mrs. John A. Hagosian, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. George N. Hale, Jr., San Francisco

Ir David W. Hall, Belvedere
Ir & Mrs. H. William Harlan, Oakville
Ir. & Mrs. Neil E. Harlan, San Francisco
Ir. Paul Hastings, San Francisco
)orothy & Edward Helfeld, San Francisco
Ir. & Mrs. Alfred E. Heller, Kentfield
Is. Deirdre H. Henderson, San Francisco
Ir. Benjamin J. Henley, Jr., San Francisco
Is. Marcia T. Hill, San Francisco
Ir. & Mrs. Michael Hooker, San Francisco
Ir. & Mrs. David B. Hudnut, Tiburon
Is. Elaine Hudson, St. Helena
Ir. & Mrs. George H. Hume, San Francisco
Irs. Richard Hyde, Woodside
. Bradford & Dorothy Jeffries, San Francisco
Irs. Douglas Johnson, Belvedere
Ir. & Mrs. Natan Katzman, San Francisco
Ir. & Mrs. David Kehl, St. Helena
Is. Dorothy Knecht, San Francisco
Ir. & Mrs. Richard Kramlich, San Francisco
Is. Karen J. Kubin, San Francisco
Ir. & Mrs. William J. Langelier, San Francisco
Ir. & Mrs. Derek Lemke-von Ammon, San Francisco
Ir. Edward Lobrano, San Francisco
Ir. & Mrs. William L. Lowe, Redwood City
Ir. & Mrs. Charles F. Lowrey, San Francisco
Is. Judy MacDonald, San Francisco
Ir. & Mrs. Hugh L. Macneil, Pasadena
Ir. & Mrs. Robert Marcus, San Francisco
Ir. & Mrs. Thomas H. May, Oakville
Ir. & Mrs. James Briggs McClatchy, Sacramento
Ir. & Mrs. Colin McRae, Berkeley
Ir. Alexander R. Mehran, San Francisco
Ir. & Mrs. Steven L. Merrill, San Francisco
Ir. & Mrs. Burnett Miller, Sacramento
Ir. Harry E. Miller, San Francisco
Ir. & Mrs. William Mittendorf, San Francisco
Irs. S. S. Monjauze, Menlo Park
Ir. & Mrs. Robert W. Morey, Bel Tiburon
Ir. & Mrs. Michael Moyle, Sausalito
Ir. William G. Myers, Santa Barbara
Irs. Irene Simpson Neasham, Hillsborough
Ir. & Mrs. J. E. C. Nielsen, Mill Valley
Irs. Russell D. Niles, Carmel
Ir. & Mrs. Peter J. O'Hara, San Francisco
Ielen F. & Paul A. O'Leary, San Francisco
Ir. & Mrs. Steven Oliver, San Francisco
ıdge & Mrs. William H. Orrick, Jr., San Francisco
Ir. Charles H. Page, San Francisco
Ir. & Mrs. Julian Peabody, San Francisco
Ir. & Mrs. Christopher Peacock, St. Helena
rland Petersen & Tere Massa, San Francisco
Ir. & Mrs. Richard H. Peterson, San Francisco
Is. Elizabeth Spenser Pfau, San Francisco
Ir. & Mrs. Geoffrey W. Picard, Pebble Beach
Ir. & Mrs. David N. Plant, San Francisco
Ir. & Mrs. David Potter, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. H. Frost Prioleau, Piedmont
Mr. & Mrs. Martin Quinn, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Richard W. Reinhardt, San Francisco
Mr. B. T. Rocca, Jr., San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Thomas P. Rohlen, San Francisco
Mr. William M. Roth, Princeton, NJ
Mr. Paul Sack, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. Rolf G. Scherman, Greenbrae
Ms. Marilyn Schlangen, Kenwood
Mr. Bernard Schulte, Jr., Orinda
Mr. William F. Sharon, El Cerrito
Mr. & Mrs. John Sias, San Francisco
Mrs. Thomas Siebert, Fresno
Rev. & Mrs. Martin V. Skewes-Cox, Sonoma
Mr. & Mrs. H. Russell Smith, Pasadena
Mr. Douglas H. Smith, San Marino
Carol & Ned Spieker, Atherton
Ms. Christina Stephens, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Craig Sullivan, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. W. Clarke Swanson, Jr., Oakville
Mr. & Mrs. Steven L. Swig, San Francisco
Mr. Paul J. Ten Doesschate, Tiburon
Carter and Mary Thacher, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Calvin B. Tilden, San Francisco
Mr. Roger Trinchero, St. Helena
Mr. & Mrs. Robert M. Tuller, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. J. Gordon Turnbull, San Francisco
Bruce & Fran Walker, San Francisco
Mr. Richard C. Warmer, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Paul Wattis, III, San Francisco
Mr. Frank A. West, Carmel
Mr. & Mrs. John C. Williams, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Douglas Wolf, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Robert Young, San Francisco

$250 - $499

Anonymous (2)
Mr. & Mrs. Cliff Abbey, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. William Appler, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Vince Arroyo, Calistoga
Mr. Michael H. Arthur & Ms. Molly McGettigan, Bel Tiburon
Mr. Scott C. Atthowe, Oakland
Dr. & Mrs. Barry Baron, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. George D. Basye, Sacramento
Mrs. Dorothy Beatty, Portola Valley
Mr. & Mrs. Joachim Bechtle, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Jay Benton, Hillsborough
Mr. & Mrs. David Berelson, Tiburon
Mr. & Mrs. Kenneth G. Berry, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Paul A. Bissinger, Jr., San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. Alvin Lee Block, Napa
Mr. Johnson S. Bogart, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Andrew E. Bogen, Santa Monica
Mrs. Armand D. Bosc, San Francisco
Mr. Douglas Boshardt, San Francisco
Mr. Frederic W. Bost, Bel Tiburon

Ms. Barbara Bottarini, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Norman H. Bouton, San Francisco
Mr. Richard Bowman, Piedmont
Mr. & Mrs. John T. Boyle, San Marino
Mrs. Gabrielle W. Bradley, Hillsborough
Mr. & Mrs. Richard Bradley, St. Helena
Mrs. William Bransten, San Francisco
Ms. Jean Miller Brownell, San Francisco
Ms. Caroline & Mr. Philip Norfleet Bryan, Lafayette
Mr. & Mrs. Barry Bunshoft, San Francisco
Mr. S. F. Burmeister, Concord
Mrs. Dewitt K. Burnham, San Francisco
Mr. Edgar Buttner, Piedmont
Mr. Ted Buttner, Alameda
Mr. Lewis Byington, San Anselmo
Mr. & Mrs. Charles Candau, San Francisco
Dr. Frank Cantrell, Fresno
Ms. Jeanne Carevic & Mr. John Atwood, San Jose
Ms. Lisa Carey, Napa
Mr. & Mrs. Fred L. Carroll, San Francisco
Ms. Ann E. Case, San Francisco
Mrs. Park Chamberlain, Woodside
Mr. Richard L. Chew, Redwood City
Mrs. Jean Chickering, San Francisco
Ms. Eleanor A. Clayton, San Francisco
Mrs. Henry H. Clifford, Pasadena
Ms. Alice E. Collins, Grass Valley
Mr. & Mrs. Edward J. Conner, San Francisco
Charles H. & Nancy Curley, Larkspur
Mr. & Mrs. Thomas Dailey, Suisun
Mrs. Richard L. Dakin, Kentfield
Ms. Renee Danson, San Jose
Mrs. Leonore Daschbach, Atherton
Mr. Richard M. Davis, Nicasio
Mr. & Mrs. Robert Davis, Santa Clara
Mr. Lloyd De Llamas, Covina
Mrs. W. E. Dean, II, Glen Ellen
Dr. & Mrs. Howard E. Denbo, San Francisco
Mrs. Sandra deRoulet, San Francisco
Mr. R. Dick, Healdsburg
Mr. & Mrs. R. James Diepenbrock, Sacramento
Mr. Keith Doerge, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Dixon Doll, San Francisco
Mrs. Sandra Donnell-Faggioli, Belvedere
Mr. & Mrs. Paul Downey, Healdsburg
Mr. Fred Drexler, San Francisco
Mr. Philip S. Ehrlich, Bel Tiburon
Mr. Charles Elliott, San Francisco
Christian & Jacqueline Erdman, San Francisco
Laura & Paul Escobosa, Peidmont
Dr. Charles Faulhaber, Berkeley
Mr. & Mrs. Paul B. Fay, Jr., San Francisco
Ms. Katherine Fay-Hammonds, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. George Fesus, San Francisco
Mr. Harold A. Fick, Hillsborough
Mr. & Mrs. John Fisher, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Morgan Flagg, Atherton
Mr. & Mrs. Peter M. Folger, San Francisco
Dr. John Douglas Forbes, Charlottesville, VA
Mr. & Mrs. Charles A. Fracchia, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Phil Frank, Sausalito
Mr. & Mrs. Robert Friese, San Francisco
Elizabeth K. Gardner, Ph.D., Belvedere Tiburon
Richard & Peggy Garlinghouse, San Francisco
Mr. John Garzoli, San Rafael
Mr. Albert E. Gedman, Middletown
Mr. Thomas R. Gherini, San Mateo
Mr. Avraham V. Giannini, San Francisco
Mr. Harry R. Gibson, III, So. Lake Tahoe
Dr. Richard C. Gilman, Pasadena
Dr. & Mrs. Michael Goldfield, Hillsborough
Mr. & Mrs. John Goldman, Livermore
Mr. & Mrs. Lou Golm, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. David Graves, Napa
Mr. Daniel P. Gregory, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Richard M. Griffith, Jr., Belvedere
Mr. J. Lowell Groves, San Francisco
Ms. Adrienne Kent Gunst, Hillsborough
Mr. & Mrs. Michael A. Hall, Yountville
Mr. & Mrs. Stephen Halprin, Portola Valley
Mr. & Mrs. Jack Hamilton, Oakville
Mr. Thomas J. Hammer, Jr., Sacramento
Mr. & Mrs. William Hammonds, San Francisco
Mrs. Kathleen Harper, Atherton
Miss Mary Jane Harris, San Francisco
Ms. Elizabeth E. Harris, Rolling Hills Estates
Mr. & Mrs. Robert C. Harris, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. Robert Hass, Atherton
Mr. & Mrs. Andrew T. Hass, Jr., Alamo
Mr. Douglas D. Hastings, Lafayette
Mr. Stanley Hayes, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. William Alston Hayne, Saint Helena
Mr. Warren Heckrotte, Oakland
Mrs. Margaret E. Henderson, San Rafael
Ms. Libby Henrich, Moraga
Mr. & Mrs. Kenneth G. High, Jr., San Francisco
Mr. Kenneth E. Hill, Rancho Sante Fe
Mr. & Mrs. Loren Hinkelman, Napa
Mr. & Mrs. John Richard Hofmann, Jr., Belvedere
Janice & Maurice Holloway, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Robin Hood, Aptos
Mr. & Mrs. Richard Hotaling, Pasadena
Mr. & Mrs. John F. Hotchkis, Pasadena
Ms. Theresa Hove, San Francisco
Ms. Helen Howe, Stratford
Mr. & Mrs. Henry P. Huff, III, Portola Valley
Mr. Henry F. Hunte, La Jolla
Mrs. Clark Hunter, Pasadena
Mr. & Mrs. Harold J. Hunter, San Marino
Mrs. Margaret G. Huntington-Merrits, Piedmont
Dr. & Mrs. W. Turrentine Jackson, Davis
Mr. Jere A. Jacobs, Santa Rosa
Mr. & Mrs. Rudy Jacuzzi, Lafayette
Krist & Laurie Jake, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. William Jansen, Glen Ellen
Mr. Douglas B. Jensen, Fresno

Carol Heinecke Johnson, Redwood City
& Mrs. C. Russell Johnson, San Rafael
Lynne C. Johnston, Redwood City
& Mrs. Richard W. Jones, Pasadena
& Mrs. Scott Jones, Mill Valley
ak & Anne Kasanin, Belvedere
Robert L. Katz, Portola Valley
Claudia Kelly, Sausalito
& Mrs. Van Rensselaer Kelsey, Los Angeles
& Mrs. Charles Kenady, San Francisco
r. & Mrs. Stanley Kennedy, Jr., Sonoma
r. & Mrs. William Kieschnick, Napa
uane & Cathy Kirkpatrick, San Francisco
s. Kathryn Klar, Richmond
r. & Mrs. Mike Kleine, Pacifica
rs. John Andrew Knoll, San Rafael
dge & Mrs. Thomas Kongsgaard, Napa
Susan Giorgi Koutsoukos, Ross
Sara Kozel, Atherton
r. & Mrs. Boyd Krout, Los Angeles
r. & Mrs. Matthew L. Larrabee, San Francisco
r. & Mrs. Jude P. Laspa, San Francisco
izabeth & Phillip A. Lathrap, Lafayette
r. & Mrs. David Lawrence, Berkeley
r. & Mrs. Hans Lehnhoff, Moraga
r. & Mrs. Edward Leonard, San Francisco
ll & Lillian Leung, San Francisco
r. & Mrs. Jules A. Levaggi, San Francisco
r. & Mrs. John G. Lilienthal, San Francisco
r. Putnam Livermore, San Francisco
r. Donald S. Lucas, San Francisco
r. & Mrs. James J. Ludwig, San Francisco
r. John R. Luongo, Hillsborough
drian Lurssen & Mary Kennedy, San Francisco
Leslie L. Luttgens, San Francisco
r. Robert S. MacFarlane, Olga, WA
rs. Maurice A. Machris, Los Angeles
Ir. Tim Madsen, Santa Cruz
Ir. Peter E. Marble, Pebble Beach
Ir. & Mrs. Charles Marshall, Atherton
Ir. Cloyd Masengill, Oakland
Irs. Peter McBean, Hillsborough
ephen McClellan & Judith Hamilton,
San Francisco
Ir. Michael McCone, San Francisco
Ir. John McCoy, San Carlos
Irs. David Jamison McDaniel, San Francisco
Ir. & Mrs. Nion T. McEvoy, San Francisco
Is. Sandra McGaughey, Tahoe City
Ir. & Mrs. Tom McGowan, Richmond
Irs. John H. McLoon, San Rafael
Ir. & Mrs. Gardner W. Mein, Yountville
Is. Katherine Meister, Sacramento
r. Knox Mellon, Jr., Riverside
Ir. Tom Merle, San Francisco
Ir. Dwight L. Merriman, Jr., Kentfield
Ir. & Mrs. Robert Meyer, Berkeley
Ir. & Mrs. Owens O. Miller, Huntington Beach

Mr. & Mrs. Frank R. Miller, Jr., Santa Barbara
Frank & Gail Miller, Sonoma
Mrs. G. Everett Miller, Beverly Hills
Mr. & Mrs. Bruce T. Mitchell, Hillsborough
Mr. & Mrs. James R. Moberg, Hillsborough
Mr. & Mrs. Frederick Moller, Jr., San Francisco
Mrs. James S. Moser, Walnut Grove
Mr. & Mrs. Richard Murray, Ross
Mr. & Mrs. Donald Murray, Napa
Mr. Michael D. Newman, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. John F. Nicolai, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. Morris Noble, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Richard Odgers, Mill Valley
Mr. & Mrs. Joseph E. Oeschger, Palo Alto
Mr. & Mrs. Charles E. Osthimer, III,
San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Richard C. Otter, Belvedere
Mrs. George Otto, San Francisco
Dr. Douglas K. Ousterhout, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. George Pasha, III, San Rafael
Mrs. Paul Patton, Kentfield
Mr. & Mrs. David W. Pettus, San Francisco
Ms. Laurie Poett, Kentfield
Dr. & Mrs. John O. Pohlmann, Seal Beach
Mr. Anthony Price, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Paul C. Pringle, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Herbert C. Puffer, Folsom
Mr. & Mrs. Russell L. Quacchia, Los Altos
Mr. & Mrs. Phil Quigley, Hillsborough
Mr. & Mrs. Charles M. Reed, Huntington Beach
Mrs. Genelle Relfe, San Francisco
Mrs. Marie Rich, San Francisco
Mrs. Barbara H. Riggins, Walnut Creek
Ms. Jo K. Riggs, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. Brunno Ristow, San Francisco
Richard & Sarah Rivers, Atherton
Mr. Douglas W. Robbins, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Dennis Robbins, Sausalito
Mr. & Mrs. Hadley Roff, San Francisco
Mr. Robert E. Ronus, Los Angeles
Mr. Tom Rothgiesser, San Francisco
Mrs. James J. Rudden, San Francisco
Mrs. George V. Russell, Santa Barbara
Mr. & Mrs. Alan Schaevitz, San Rafael
Mr. & Mrs. Earl F. Schmidt, Jr., Palo Alto
Mr. Edward J. Schneider, III, Atherton
Mr. John Schnorr, San Francisco
Mr. Michael D. Schroeder, Cupertino
Mrs. J. F. Schulz, Santa Rosa
Mr. & Mrs. Edwin J.Schwartz, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. John Scully, Ross
Rev. Thomas L. Seagrave, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Edwin A. Seipp, Jr., Atherton
Mr. & Mrs. George Sheldon, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Dale Sheldon, Napa
Mr. & Mrs. Thomas J. Shephard, Stockton
Mr. & Mrs. Dewey Shepherd, San Francisco
Mrs. Eugene A. Shurtleff, San Francisco

Mr. Rocco C. Siciliano, Beverly Hills
Mr. & Mrs. John Siegel, San Francisco
Mr. Alan Sieroty, Los Angeles
Mrs. Mollie M. Sinclair, Fremont
Mr. & Mrs. David Sliptzin, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Robert A. Smith, Moraga
Ms. Jeanne M. Smith, Walnut Creek
Mr. Kendall B. Smith, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. Robert Smith, Alamo
Mr. & Mrs. Edward Snedeker, San Mateo
Mr. Charles D. Sooy, Berkeley
Mr. & Mrs. James C. Soper, Piedmont
Mr. & Mrs. Thomas Sparks, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Jack Stark, Claremont
Mr. Moreland L. Stevens, Newcastle
Mr. Jay Stevens, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Raymond R. Stewart, Napa
Mr. & Mrs. Don Stoker, Napa
Jo Wunderlich & Dennis Stradford, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Myron Sugarman, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Robert Sulpizio, Kentfield
Dr. Nate Sumner, Mill Valley
Dr. & Mrs. George P. Susens, San Francisco
Ben & Lizanne Suter, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Tom Swift, San Francisco
Mrs. Roselyn C. Swig, San Francisco
Mr. Thomas A. Techentin, Pasadena
Mr. James F. Thacher, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Wes Thollander, Calistoga
Mr. & Mrs. Peter K. Thomsen, Belvedere
Mr. & Mrs. Charles Thornton, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Joseph O. Tobin, II, San Francisco
Mr. Charles Tuffree, Placentia
Mr. & Mrs. Norm Tuttle, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Thomas L. Uniack, San Anselmo
The Hon. John K. Van de Kamp, Pasadena
Mr. & Mrs. Lorin Vogel, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. James Walsh, Los Gatos
Mr. Peter S. Wantuch, Hillsborough
Mrs. Richard C. Waugh, Los Altos Hills
Ms. Virginia Welsh, San Bruno
Mr. Thomas C. Whelan, Alameda
Messrs. Whitcomb & McCarthy, Redwood Valley
Mr. Warren R. White, San Francisco
Mr. Thomas F. White, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Myron A. Wick, III, San Francisco
Mr. Peter Wiley, San Francisco
Mrs. Edwin H. Williams, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Milton Wilson, St. Helena
Anne & Kirke Wilson, San Francisco
Mr. Mark L. Woodbury, Oakland
Ms. Cynthia W. Woods, San Francisco
Ms. Nancy C. Woodward, Carmichael
Mrs. Edward Taylor Young, Oakland
Ms. Deborah Zepnick, Calabasas

CORPORATIONS AND FOUNDATIONS

$5,000 and up

Bank of America, San Francisco
The Barkley Fund, Corona Del Mar
The Eva Benson Buck Charitable Trust D, San Francisco
The California Supreme Court Historical Society, San Francisco
The Ira & Leonore Gershwin Trust, San Francisco
Grants for the Arts/San Francisco Hotel Tax Fund, San Francisco
KRON-TV, San Francisco
The Stanley S. Langendorf Foundation, San Francisco
McClatchy Newspapers, Sacramento
Mericos Foundation, South Pasadena
The J. P. Morgan Charitable Trust, Princeton, NJ
San Francisco Chronicle, San Francisco
Silver Giving Foundation, San Francisco
The L. J. Skaggs & Mary C. Skaggs Foundation, Oakland
The Transamerica Foundation, San Francisco

$1,000 - $4,999

The Arata Brothers Trust, Sacramento
The Automobile Club of Southern Calif., Costa Mesa
The Elizabeth & Stephen Bechtel, Jr. Foundation, San Francisco
General Atlantic Development, San Francisco
The Samuel S. Johnson Foundation, Redmond, OR
The Ron Kaufman Companies, San Francisco
Macromedia, San Francisco
The Northern Trust Company, Chicago, IL
The Pfund Family Foundation, Sacramento
Sacramento Trust for Historic Preservation, Sacramento
The Setzer Foundation, Sacramento

$500 - $999

The Robert and Alice Bridges Foundation, San Francisco
Cypress Lawn Memorial Park, Colma
John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, NY

$250 - $499

The Hass Family Fund, San Jose
Limoneira Company, Santa Paula
Plant Construction Company, Inc., San Francisco
Public Policy Institute of California, San Francisco

IE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY is a statewide membership based organization designated by the Leg iture as the State Historical Society. Its mission is to engage the public's interest and participation in collecting, preserving, d presenting art, artifacts, and written materials relevant to the history of California and to support historical research, pub ation, and educational activities.

quarterly journal published by CHS since 1922, *California History* features articles by leading scholars and writers focusing on heritage of California and the West from pre-Columbian to modern times. Illustrated articles, pictorial essays, and book re ws examine the ongoing dialogue between the past and the present. Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and in xed in *Historical Abstracts* and *America: History and Life*.

FFICERS

aribelle B. Leavitt, San Francisco
President
onn R. Schoenmann, San Francisco
Vice President
orge W. Rowe, San Francisco
Treasurer
ter J. Musto, San Francisco
Secretary
tsy Leland Link, Ph.D., Los Angeles
Regional Vice President
by Rose, San Francisco
Regional Vice President
arles J. Soderquist, Ph.D., Sacramento
Regional Vice President

RUSTEES

dge Marie Bertillion Collins, Piedmont
onald D. Crawford, Jr., Sea Ranch
arold A. Fick, Hillsborough
arles A. Fracchia, San Francisco
arry R. Goff, Palo Alto
lward Helfeld, San Francisco
adrew C. McLaughlin III, Ph.D., San Francisco
issell R. Miller, San Francisco
an T. Olds, San Francisco
elen Rodriguez, San Francisco
an A. Schram, Kenwood
Jess Shenson, M.D., San Francisco
an A. Traina, Jr., San Francisco
an K. Van de Kamp, Arcadia
tricia R. Warner, San Francisco
ice Whitson, Willow Creek

MERITI

ouis Heilbron, San Francisco
President Emeritus
. Holliday, Ph.D., Carmel
Executive Director Emeritus
avid B. Hudnut, Tiburon
President Emeritus
lith L. Piness, Ph.D., Mill Valley
President Emerita
phen L. Taber, Esq., San Francisco
Trustee Emeritus

STAFF

Michael Duty, *Executive Director*
Catherine Adams, *Rights & Reproductions Assistant*
Brenda Baldwin, *Library Cataloger*
Larry D. Campbell, *Deputy Director*
Diana Daniels, *Fine Arts Registrar*
Judith Deaton, *Director of Operations*
Tanya Hollis, *Assistant Librarian*
Patricia Keats, *Director of the Library*
Margaret Kelley, *Receptionist*
Kathryn Kowalewski, *Photography Assistant*
Cristina Magpantay, *Accounting Manager*
Chelsea Pickslay, *Education & Outreach Coordinator*
Mitsu Overstreet, *Store Clerk*
Ray Rengo, *Membership & Development Associate*
Judy Sakaguchi, *Store Clerk*
Scott Shields, *Curator of Fine Arts*
Marlene Smith-Baranzini, *Associate Editor, California History*
Larisa Somsel, *Strategic Initiatives Coordinator*
Marian Ueki, *Graphic Design*
Emily Wolff, *Curator of Photography*

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL FOUNDATION

David B. Hudnut, Tiburon
President
George H. Link, Esq., Los Angeles
Vice President
David J. Clark, Esq., Lafayette
Treasurer
Dr. Francis Rigney, San Francisco
Secretary
George Basye, Esq., Sacramento
DeWitt F. Bowman, Mill Valley
Mrs. William Goodan, Pasadena
Mrs. Maurice A. Machris, Los Angeles
William G. Myers, Santa Barbara
Mrs. Julian Peabody, San Francisco
Edith L. Piness, Ph.D., Mill Valley
Richard Rosenberg, San Francisco
Donn R. Schoenmann, San Francisco
William Sharon, El Cerrito
Thomas A. Techentin, Los Angeles

CONSULTANTS

Diane DeBruno, Retail Operations
Jennifer Kaiser, Marketing/Public Relations
Sandra Madison Reinhardt, Finance

CALIFORNIA HISTORY

Published quarterly 2000 © by CHS

$40.00 of each membership is designated for California Historical Society membership services, including subscriptions to *California History* and the *California Chronicle.*

ADMINISTRATIVE HEADQUARTERS/
NORTH BAKER RESEARCH LIBRARY
678 Mission Street
San Francisco, California 94105-4014
(415) 357-1848
FAX (415) 357-1850
Website: www.calhist.org

Manuscripts for publication and editorial correspondence should be sent to Richard J. Orsi, Editor, *California History,* Department of History, California State University, Hayward, CA 94542. Manuscripts should be typed, double spaced, with notes on separate sheets, and submitted in duplicate with a stamped and addressed return envelope. The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or opinions of the authors. Books for review should be sent to James Rawls, Reviews Editor, California Historical Society, 678 Mission Street, San Francisco, CA 94105-4014.

LC 75–640289/ISSN 0162–2897

Periodicals Postage PAID at San Francisco and at additional mailing offices. Publication number 084180

POSTMASTER
Send address changes to:
California History
678 Mission St.
San Francisco, CA 94105-4014

Design in Southern California

Landscapes of Desire
Anglo Mythologies of Los Angeles
William Alexander McClung

"An imaginative and provocative interpretation of the meaning of Los Angeles, carefully thought out and beautifully written."
—Robert Winter, editor of *Toward a Simpler Way of Life: The Arts and Crafts Architects of California*

$35.00 cloth

Eden by Design
The 1930 Olmsted-Bartholomew Plan for the Los Angeles Region
Greg Hise and William Deverell
Afterword by Laurie Olin

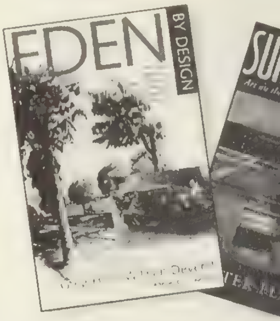
"An essential document for understanding the history of the West's largest city. Los Angeles had the opportunity to become an extraordinarily beautiful environment, a Paris in the desert. The editors make clear why, sadly, it did not; but also they hold out hope that portions of this brilliant but neglected plan might still be recovered."
— Donald Worster, author of *Nature's Economy: A History of Ecological Ideas*

$45.00 cloth, $19.95 paper

Sunshine Muse
Art on the West Coast, 1
Peter Plagens
In paperback with a new Introd the Author

"*Sunshine Muse* combines histor sonal observation, and some of bits are very fine.... A remarkab ber of artists are accorded brie very sharp critical profiles.... Pla what makes Los Angeles a wor
—Hilton Kramer, *New York Time*

$19.95 paper



At bookstores or order (800) 822-6657
University of California Press
www.ucpress.edu

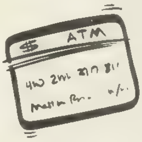
A History of California Currency

1769
▼
Beads to trade

1849
▼
Gold rushes in

1886
▼
Foreign coins flood market

1929
▼
Food is as good as gold



1978
▼
Advent of the ATM

199
▼
Bil ar redesi

Proud to be a part of California history.

CAL FE

©2000 California Federal Bank, F.S.B. Memb

GAZINE OF THE CALIFORNIA

3 9042 05165933 9

CALIFORNIA HISTORY

FALL 2000

THE NORTHERNE PART OF AMERICA
NEWE BRITTAINE
THE ATLANTICKE
THE OCEAN
THE NORTH SEA
THE SOUTH SEA
THE PERUVIANE SEA
THE PACIFICKE SEA
SOUTHERNE PART OF AMERICA
THE UNKNOWNE WORLD
AMERICA

BURLINGAME
JAN 29 2001
LIBRARY ✓

RICHARD J. ORSI

Dr. Richard J. Orsi.
Photo courtesy Dolores Orsi.

Richard J. Orsi, newly named Professor Emeritus of History at the California State University, Hayward, and since 1988 Editor of California History, *stepped down from his post as Editor on September 1, 2000. Whatever sadness there was that day on the part of the California Historical Society and its members, and there was a great deal, it was overshadowed by the gratitude everyone felt for the extraordinary job he did and the pleasure and knowledge we gained from his stewardship.*

California History, *in continuous publication since 1922, has always been known for its portrayal of the incredible variety and richness of the California experience. Besides continuing this established tradition of scholarship, Dick Orsi at the same time introduced a vitality to the mix of articles, a keen eye for complementary photographs and illustrations, and called upon a full range of scholars from all corners of the state (and beyond) representing a rich diversity of backgrounds and disciplines.*

The quarterly not only read well, it looked great, and what a pleasure it was to read and keep every issue.

Dick commented once on his choice of a life's work. "I have been fascinated with history and historical narratives since I was a small child. My decision to become a professional historian was an outgrowth of the deep interest in humanistic issues I developed when I was a college undergraduate. I chose history because I see it to be the broadest of all disciplines, with greater capacity for comprehending the complex totality of human behavior, for integrating the many realms of knowledge."

From this thoughtful and solid foundation, Dick became a consummate historian: enthusiastic in approach, inquiring and discerning in thought, probing and engrossing in writing. He brought these qualities to his editing, constantly working with his authors to clarify both their thinking and their writing. In the 48 issues that bear his name (the fourth volume in the Sesquicentennial series will appear in the Fall of 2001), one can "sense" that here is California, from Crescent City to the Imperial Valley. California is big, very big, home to a rich diversity of people, an incredible variety of geological forms, and most everything else that grows from the soil. He presented it all.

Dick's idea of a special Sesquicentennial series of expanded editions of the quarterly over a four year period was his crowning achievement. Covering California before 1848, the discovery of gold, the Gold Rush, and statehood, these four volumes—books, not just journals—have collected the best judgment of some fifity of the state's finest scholars on the meaning of early California history, particularly from the perspective of the present.

What stands out in Dick Orsi's career is the solid progression and integrity of his beliefs, which he expressed in a recent interview: "Without historical understanding, the contemporary world makes no sense whatsoever . . . After the development of language and communication, history is the most fundamental of the intellectual disciplines, because without history we do not know who we are individually and collectively, where we have been, where we are now, what direction we are heading, or where we are likely to wind up. At its most basic, the study of history is an endlessly intriguing examination of ourselves, of the potentials and limitations of the human species."

The California Historical Society, its members, trustees, and staff are grateful beneficiaries of the beliefs Dick Orsi stuck to from his days as a "small child" to the evolution of those beliefs which he applied directly to his work. One can only marvel at the steadfastness and integrity of his thinking, which culminated in words he wrote in the Preface to the first volume of the Sesquicentennial series:

"The victories and torments of modern California, which actually reflect those of much of the rest of the nation and the world, though perhaps in bolder relief, can be understood only in the context of the state's history. The origins of an ambiguous present lie not simply in yesterday but also in pioneer days."

The California Historical Society thanks Richard J. Orsi, who as a scholar, teacher, editor, and friend made a lasting contribution not only to the Society but to the understanding of the vigorous, monumental, diverse, complex, competitive, contested, and contradictory land that is the State of California.

MICHAEL MCCONE
Retired Executive Director,
California Historical Society

COVER: John Speed. *America, 1626. California Historical Society, gift of Mrs. Eugene Shurtleff.* FN-31949

[illegible] (TOP) Official Souvenir of Ground Breaking by President Taft for the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, San [illegible] *California Historical Society,* Artist John Coleman Terry. FN-32221 (BOTTOM) Shreve & Co. *PPIE Spade,* 1911. Ster- [illegible] redwood, 38 in. long. *California Historical Society acquisition.*

THE MAGAZINE OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

CALIFORNIA HISTORY

VOLUME LXXIX No. 3

Fall 2000

MICHAEL DUTY
Executive Director

LARRY D. CAMPBELL
Editor

MARLENE SMITH-BARANZINI
Associate Editor

JAMES J. RAWLS
Reviews Editor

CHARLES N. JOHNSON
Checklist Editor

THE ARTHUR H. CLARK COMPANY
Design/Production

Editorial Consultants
GORDON M. BAKKEN
JACQUELINE BARNHART
LONNIE G. BUNCH III
LARRY E. BURGESS
ROBERT W. CHERNY
RICHARD W. ETULAIN
JAMES N. GREGORY
JUDSON A. GRENIER
RICHARD GRISWOLD DEL CASTILLO
ROBERT V. HINE
LANE R. HIRABAYASHI
DAVID HORNBECK
LAWRENCE J. JELINEK
PAUL J. KARLSTROM
HARRY KELSEY
HIM MARK LAI
RUDOLPH M. LAPP
LAWRENCE B. LEE
R. JEFFREY LUSTIG
SANDY LYDON
CLEMENT MEIGHAN
SALLY M. MILLER
IRENE MORAN
GEORGE H. PHILLIPS
LEONARD PITT
MICHAEL SMITH

Editorial Assistants
ZAC BARANZINI
HEATHER HAWLEY
PETER ORSI
JOSHUA PADDISON
K. CHRISTIE VOGEL

94

102

120

90 Annual Report: Fiscal Year 2000

102 A Portfolio of Exhibitions
California 1900: . . . on the Threshold of a New Century
America's Concentration Camps: Remembering the Japanese American Experience

124 Financial Highlights: Fiscal Years 1999 and 2000

126 Reviews

137 California Checklist

138 Donors
Donors for the Fiscal Year
Donors for July-September 2000
Donors to the Annual Fund
Donations to the CHS Collections

147 New Members

California History (ISSN 0612-2897 LC 75-640289) is published quarterly by the California Historical Society (CHS), 678 Mission Street, San Francisco, CA 94105. Subscription: Regular annual membership is $50.00. Second class postage is paid at San Francisco, CA and additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: send address changes to CHS, 678 Mission Street, San Francisco, CA 94105

ANNUAL REPORT

July 1999 - June 2000

An Overview of Fiscal Year

The California Historical Society is, fundamentally, an educational institution. While it is known for its collections of art, books, maps, photographs and the many other objects that constitute a physical record of the history of the state, *it is the way these materials are used that makes CHS a living body rather than a mere repository*. During the 1999/2000 Fiscal Year, CHS demonstrated that it is very much alive, utilizing its collections to shed light on the many facets of California's history. Not only was there a concerted effort to be inclusive in the stories that were told, CHS also continued to reach out to engage all people, seeking a broader geographic and ethnic involvement in its programs and membership.

The Society began the year by welcoming a new executive director, Michael W. Duty, who assumed the post on August 16, 1999, following the nine-year tenure of Michael McCone. Duty, whose professional career has been primarily with museums dedicated to the art and cultures of the American West, was given a mandate by the CHS Board to make the organization more statewide and more representative of all California. In June 1998, the CHS trustees had concluded some long-range planning workshops, affirming that education was to be the primary purpose of the organization. This was supported with a revised mission statement, approved by the Trustees on March 16, 2000, which reads: *The California Historical Society is a statewide membership-based organization. Its mission is to engage the public's interest and participation in collecting, preserving, and presenting art, artifacts and written materials relevant to the history of California and to support historical research, publication, and educational activities.*

Focusing on the ways in which CHS could deliver information to serve the public, Duty immediately worked with the staff to identify ways in which CHS could be more effective. The Society as a statewide institution was the underlying platform, and the Society as a representative of the state, reflecting the composition of the state's inhabitants, was the goal. With these two objectives in mind, CHS has sought during the past year to improve its services to the public. Steps have been taken in both areas that represent significant progress for the institution.

How to reach and serve people throughout California is a large challenge, particularly as the majority of the CHS collections are located at its headquarters in San Francisco. Exhibitions created at CHS were sent to other museums for the first time in decades, the last traveling CHS exhibition having been *Executive Order 9066* about the internment of Japanese Americans in World War II, which had traveled in the early 1970s. The exhibition *Stay East Young Man: California Gold Rush Letter Sheets* was presented at the Santa Barbara Historical Museum from July 1 through September 15, 1999. The exhibition *Sunset Magazine: A Century of Western Living 1898-1998,* was presented at the Museum of History and Art in Ontario, California, from September 1 through October 31, 1999, and at the Turtle Bay Museums and Arboretum on the River at Redding from November 12 through January 16, 2000. CHS is indebted to the California Council for the Humanities, which sponsored the travel itinerary of the *Sunset* show.

CHS, in turn, presented an exhibition originated by a sister institution, the Japanese American National Museum (JANM) of Los Angeles. From March 21 to June 18, 2000, the entire museum space at CHS was devoted to *America's Concentration Camps: Remembering the Japanese American Experience.* Harkening back to CHS's own pioneering effort to bring this story to the attention of the public, the presentation of this moving exhibition in San Francisco involved a large community advisory committee and was an active collaboration between CHS, JANM, and the organizations and individuals

Minidoka guard tower.
Collection of the Bainbridge Island Japanese American Community Archives (NRC 1998.20.1). Reproduced by permission.

that advisory committee. A corps of over 100 vol-
teers, many of them former internees, assisted
roughout the presentation of the exhibition, serv-
; as docents, giving tours, and personalizing the
np experience for the thousands of visitors who
ne to CHS. An exhibition attendance record was
with this show. During its thirteen-week run,
70 people saw the exhibition, including 1,744 stu-
nts who came in groups for a docent-led tour.
The exhibition also received media sponsorship, the first for a CHS exhibition at 678 Mission Street. *The Chronicle*, San Francisco's leading daily newspaper, together with KRON-TV, BayTV, and SF Gate, provided coverage, publicity and advertising during the run of the exhibition. CHS is grateful to them for helping us make this exhibition the success it was. CHS is no less grateful to the Japanese American National Museum, its executive director, Irene Hirano, and the many members of its staff, whose unstinting efforts contributed to the exhibition's suc-

cess, and special thanks also go to the members of the community advisory committee and all the volunteers who assisted during the period of the exhibition.

A benchmark has been set with this exhibition, which CHS will strive to surpass in the future. The collaboration with the originating museum (JANM) and the advisory group shows how CHS can work with many organizations and with representatives of a particular constituency in order to present a story with relevance to all Californians. The promotion of the exhibition, and the high attendance that resulted, has put CHS at a new level of public awareness. Several organizations of the advisory group co-sponsored programs that related to the exhibition. A list of these programs is provided in the next section, which discusses the exhibitions that were presented.

During the year, Duty and staff laid the groundwork for future collaborations between CHS and other history-minded institutions around the state. Not only will CHS continue to travel its exhibitions to different cities in California, it will seek to be partners with others in the presentation of programs. To reach a far-flung constituency, CHS also began preparing to enhance what it can make available through its Web site (www.calhist.org). New educational programs and services are currently being developed, which will come to fruition in the next fiscal year.

The main accomplishments of the year were increased outreach to different peoples, the involvement of other organizations, the development of materials aimed particularly at the student of California history (without overlooking the interests of the general public), an examination of the ways in which information could be disseminated effectively, and a heightened visibility for CHS. In the following pages, more details about specific aspects of the organization are provided, followed by the Portfolio of Exhibitions, a record of the exhibitions presented at CHS during the Fiscal Year.

THE YEAR'S EXHIBITIONS

The fiscal year began with an exhibition that had opened June 9, 1999, at the close of the prior fiscal year, and remained on view until October 2. *Interpreting California: The Art of History* provided a comprehensive survey of the collections of the Society and sought to explain how history is gleaned and interpreted, particularly using non-written sources. The exhibition was divided into three sections: earl inhabitants and settlers, commerce and industr and the California landscape. With these, it trace California's history up to the turn of the 19th centur The text of the brochure that accompanied the exh bition was included in *California History*, Vol. 78, N 2 (Summer 1999), which contained the Annu Report of Fiscal Year 1998/99.

The subsequent exhibition, which coincidentall began where *Interpreting California* conclude opened on October 20 and continued through Feb ruary 19, 2000. *California 1900: On the Threshold of New Century* was a look at the state on the eve of new century. All of the state's 58 counties were rep resented by objects selected by the county's leadin historical institution and materials from the CHS co lection. When they were invited to participate, eac organization was asked the following question When, from what, and by whom was the objec made? What is the subject matter? Why did yo choose this object? The exhibition was a large under taking for CHS's curator of fine arts, Scott Shields and his assistant, Bo Mompho, who began thei work more than a year in advance.

Some of the objects were familiar. A pair of origi nal longboards were sent by Plumas County, wher skiing got its start in California. The Pasadena His torical Museum (representing Los Angeles County sent a photograph taken January 1, 1900, at the Tour nament of Roses. While this was not the first of thos parades (it began in 1890), it was the first time th parade was filmed, presaging the industry tha would dominate that county throughout the century Marin County provided a 1904 Curved Dash Oldsmobile (stretching our 1900 parameter a little) the first automobile to travel the roads of Marin.

Some of the objects were unusual. Ventura County sent a dress made of fabric on which the local news paper had been printed. The History Museum of Sar Jose, representing Santa Clara County, sent a pho tograph collage of the first San Jose Orchestral Soci ety. According to the story, there was only one forma dress suit available, so each man in the orchestra pu it on and had his picture taken. Then all these indi vidual photographs were assembled to depict th entire band, as a group, with an artful decoration o drapes and palms painted to make it appear as though the group had posed in an elegant room.

Taken as a whole, the many objects gave a clea picture of a state involved in a wide range of com merce, enterprise, and social activity. The exhibitio

Olds Motor Works. *Curved Dash Oldsmobile*, 1904.
Marin County Historical Society.

oke of achievement and optimism. It also showed beginnings of new forces that would become minant, such as the automobile and the film indus- . To help us understand the significance of the turn the last century, Prof. Robert W. Cherny of San ancisco State University spoke on November 4, 99, as part of the Thursdays at CHS lecture series. IS is grateful to Beverly Bastian, whose original a inspired this exhibition, and especially to the ny organizations that loaned material for this nos- gic view of California 100 years ago.

Mention has already been made in the first sec- n of this report about the exhibition that followed: *erica's Concentration Camps: Remembering the Japan- American Experience*. It was clear at the opening eption, held on March 19, 2000, that it would be ecial. As a joint presentation of CHS with the orig- tor of the exhibition, the Japanese American tional Museum, members of both institutions were invited to a preview and reception, held on a Sunday prior to the public opening, which took place on March 21. Late in the afternoon there was a program in which local television anchor Wendy Tokuda served as a graceful master of ceremonies. After the reading of a poem by San Francisco poet laureate Janice Mirikitani (a very personal meditation on the meaning of the internment camp experience), comments were made by the executive directors of both institutions, followed by George Takei (actor of television fame), who is Chairman of the Board of Trustees of JANM, and United States Senator Daniel K. Inouye, Chairman of the JANM Board of Governors. Each gave a moving account of his personal association with the events depicted in the exhibition.

The purpose of presenting the exhibition was not only to ensure that this dark page of history not be overlooked, but, more importantly, to call attention

Boys by fence.
Japanese American National Museum. Gift of Kimie Nagai. (92.125.12) Reproduced by permission.

to it so that similar injustices will not be repeated. Special extended hours were allowed, keeping the museum open late Thursday evenings as well as on Sundays. A number of public programs explored aspects of the experience. With the co-sponsorship of the Consulate General of Japan, a lecture by Kimi Hill discussed the art produced by her grandfather, Chiura Obata, during his years in the camps where he conducted art classes for the young. A presentation of readings by participants in Brian Komei Dempster's "Internment Autobiography Workshop" was co-sponsored and presented at the Japanese Cultural and Community Center of Northern California (JCCNC). JCCNC also allowed CHS to partne with them in presenting their annual Kodomo N Hi (Children's Day), which was sponsored by Metreon / A Sony Corporation with special funding from Kristi Yamaguchi's Always Dream Foundatio for a .5K run for children. A film series of thre evenings, each featuring commentary by the filmmaker, was made possible by the National Asia American Telecommunications Association; the films were *Children of the Camps, Rabbit in the Moon,* and *Of Civil Wrongs and Rights: The Fred Korematsu Story* We are indebted to Metreon for having provided the screening room for these presentations and for its ssistance in promoting the series. Finally, a panel discussion entitled "Protecting Our Civil Rights: Lessons of the Japanese American Incarceration for Americans Today" was presented with the co-sponorship of the American Civil Liberties Union, Northrn California. This rich variety of offerings stablished a model for future exhibition programming at CHS.

See the section "A Portfolio of Exhibitions" on page 02 for more about these exhibitions.

THE CHS COLLECTIONS

All the CHS collections benefited from the houghtful donations of many individuals and organizations whose contributions of materials made permanent additions to the CHS collections. A complete st of donors to the fine arts and library are given on pages 145–46. We are extremely grateful to each of them.

NORTH BAKER RESEARCH LIBRARY

The past year the North Baker Research Library ad increased use both by members and the research ommunity. Some incredible collections were donated by patrons, enhancing the research materils we offer, and some staff changes took place to erve the public better. At the end of the year, our library director, Patricia Keats, left to head the library at the Society of California Pioneers. The California Historical Society owes an enormous debt to Patriia for her dedication to the CHS library collections, nd her constant efforts at making them known throughout the state for their scope and value to the history of California. She will be greatly missed.

Staff changes have enabled us to serve many more patrons and have helped increase the Library's presence among the other top research institutions in the tate. With the addition of full time cataloger, Brenda Baldwin, (formerly our grant cataloger) and reference librarian, Tanya Hollis, many functions in the library have been streamlined. This allows the staff o spend more time on essential services: assisting patrons, processing our collections, and most importantly increasing electronic access to our holdings for patrons outside the Bay Area.

Our continued contributions to statewide databases such as MELVYL have allowed access to the library from anywhere in the world. We continue to load finding aids into the Online Archive of California (OAC), an inclusive database administered by UC Berkeley, which allows international searching of manuscript holdings. We will soon be providing access to CHS manuscripts via larger catalogs online such as MELVYL through funding provided by a grant from the National Historical Publications and Records Commission. It is a two and one-half year project to catalog some 600 of our manuscripts that have their finding aids entered into OAC, with the catalog record linked to the Finding Aid on the OAC, further integrating search capabilities. Thus researchers will be able to search these manuscripts through our catalog online, through MELVYL, and through the OAC.

We also began work on two digitization projects in conjunction with other institutions. The JARDA (Japanese American Relocation Digital Archive) Project calls for the creation of a distributed digital archive of content related to Japanese American Relocation. Textual and visual material relating to the relocation of Japanese Americans is being drawn from nine collections from around the state, plus audio content drawn from oral histories. CHS will be contributing manuscript material. The eight other participating institutions are: UC Berkeley, UCLA, the Japanese American National Museum, CSU Fullerton, CSU Sonoma, the University of the Pacific, USC, and the California State Archive.

Our other digitization project, a Library of Congress Ameritech grant for Chinese in California: 1850-1920, is a two year project originated by the UC Berkeley Bancroft Library that involves all the CHS collections and the Bancroft Library collections. When completed, the digitized records will be mounted on the Library of Congress's *American Memory* website and will also be accessible via MELVYL. We also completed the cataloging of 500 posters thanks to the support of the Parsons Foundation. Those records are now available in Melvyl and RLIN.

Patrons from all areas of research are using the library at an increasing rate. Recent examples include: a patron researching Fort Gunnybags for a developer of the site; graduate students researching social services to women in the early part of the 20th century, early sailors' benevolence societies and unions, and images of Chinese in early San Francisco; the Director of the Buffalo Bill Museum researching Main & Winchester – an early saddle and tack maker; a tour guide from the Cliff House working on a new tour of the area; and a patron researching the German wine industry in California for a German wine magazine. Inquiries via phone, mail and e-mail have included requests from PBS, the History Channel, National Geographic Magazine, genealogists, historians, and architects, and people researching their families and homes.

The library received a number of wonderful manuscript collections, each furthering the library's aim to expand its holdings of 20th century materials. Among the many donations were scrapbooks of the writings and collected items of Jack McDonald, a sports writer from San Francisco; the papers of W. Donald Fletcher, co-founder of the Coro Foundation; the papers of Michael Hamel-Green, a private investigator who worked in San Francisco mainly researching court cases; and Dr. Albert Shumate's collections of ephemera and manuscript material on various areas of San Francisco and topics of California history. The collection of the late Dick Dobbins, baseball historian and expert fan *extraordinaire*, was donated by his family and his wife, Mrs. Judith P. Dobbins, who also gave funds to process the materials. It encompasses programs, ephemera, photographs, and baseball cards from the Pacific Coast League, the bulk covering the years 1902-1957.

Among the other manuscripts received were the George Stimmel Papers; The Women's Club of Palo Alto Minutes and summaries, 1894-1920; a set of scrapbooks of the bylines of Arthur Hoppe; the Ross E. Case Papers, a collection of ephemera, clippings and manuscript material related to the early years of the People's Temple; a wonderful collection of letters written by Shirley Quimby; and a large collection of papers by composer and concert pianist Emmet Pendleton. Billheads and papers from Towne and Bacon; correspondence, records, and photos from the Woodmen of the World Applewood Camp, and three maps depicting California as an island were other significant additions. The maps are by Henry Hondius of Amsterdam (1636), John Speed of London (1676), pictured on the front cover of this issue, and Johann Jansson of Amsterdam (1650) and are the first "California as an island" maps in the CHS collections.

Among new photographic material received for the CHS collections, we note some early glass slides of San Francisco subjects donated by Nancy Fuller and an early photo postcard of a tour train bound for the Cliff House donated by Mrs. Dorothy L. Creely.

Materials were loaned to the Los Angeles County Museum of Art for their exhibition "Made in California, 1900-2000"; the Autry Museum in Los Angeles for their show on the Chinese in America, and the New York Public Library for their exhibit on utopias.

Tanya Hollis,
Librarian

FINE ARTS COLLECTIONS

The purchase of a significant artifact, a silver spade used to inaugurate the Panama Pacific International Exposition of 1915, was a major addition this year. A spotlight on this object, which is pictured on the back cover of this issue, is provided on the facing page. The California Historical Society would like to thank the following individuals and organizations for their contributions to the spade fund:

The American Decorative Arts Forum; Michele Goss; Richard Tuck; Hon. L.W. Lane, Jr.; Peter Musto; Dr. Kenneth D. and Dorothy Rowe Gardner in memory of Eugene E. Rowe and Charles Walter Gardner; Stephen and Maribelle Leavitt; Kenneth and Dorothy Paige; Toby Rose; Dr. A. Jess Shenson; Stephen L. Taber, Esq.; George and Edith L. Piness; Rhoma Young; Nancy and Roger Boas; Carl G. Brown, Jr.; Michael McCone; Silver Magazine, Inc.; Hanna Regev; Dimitris M. and Susan Giorgi Koutsoukos; Thomas Anthony Buckley; Herbert and Mary C. Graw.

In the past year funds were donated to purchase two frames and conserve an existing frame for three works from the Society's fine arts collection. Two wonderful, period-style frames for the Society's William Hahn, *Horses Grazing, Berkeley, California*, and for Carl Von Perbandt's *San Francisco Bay* were purchased, and the frame for Raymond Dabb Yelland's *Ferry Boat on San Francisco Bay*, was conserved, re-gilded, and fitted with a new liner. These appropriate moldings significantly enhance the overall appearance of these very important paintings.

The conservation of nine historically important California lithographs was made possible thanks to the generosity of Mr. Reid Dennis. These rare images include early rural scenes of wheat threshing, Yosemite Falls, and the Mammoth Tree Grove; nineteenth-century city views of Sacramento, Stockton, San Francisco, and San Diego; and disasters such as the Sacramento Flood of 1850 and the great fire following the San Francisco earthquake of 1906. These lithographs were in an active state of deterioration and were unable to be displayed in their current condition. These prints will be cleaned, repaired, and removed from acidic backing. We are grateful to Mr. Dennis for enabling us to have these highly important images conserved.

THE PANAMA PACIFIC INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION SILVER SPADE

On October 14, 1911, President William Howard Taft came to San Francisco to break ground for the upcoming Panama Pacific International Exposition. During the groundbreaking, he used a sterling silver and redwood spade that Shreve & Co. created especially for the occasion. This spade is one of the most important surviving artifacts from the Exposition, and is one of the few sterling silver shovels ever made in the United States.

Not only is the Taft Exposition spade historically important, but it also represents the technical virtuosity of California's foremost silversmiths. The handle is embossed with the crest and motto of the city of San Francisco depicting a phoenix rising from the flames above the motto *Oro En Paz, Fierro En Guerra* (Gold in Peace, Iron in War). The blade is embossed with the monogram "PPIE" and the following presentation: "Used by William Howard Taft, President of the United States October 14, 1911—in Turning the First Spadeful of Earth for the Panama Pacific International Exposition to be Held in San Francisco 1915." California poppies, laurel leaves, and oak leaves surround the inscription, which surmounts a radiant sun setting over the Golden Gate.

When President Taft arrived in San Francisco he was given a hero's welcome. He had been a strong advocate for selecting San Francisco in favor of New Orleans as the site for the great event, and the city was appreciative. However, exactly where the fair was to be held within the city was still a matter of controversy. The Exposition's Board of Directors debated possible sites for the Exposition, which included Lake Merced, the waterfront, and Golden Gate Park with a connecting boulevard to Lincoln Park. Attempting to appease the proponents of as many locations as possible, the Board temporarily decided upon a composite site that included sections of Golden Gate and Lincoln Parks, the waterfront, and the Harbor View-Presidio site—the location that was ultimately chosen. Because at the time of the groundbreaking ceremony it was still believed that sections of the fair would be held in Golden Gate Park, it was there, in front of thousands of spectators gathered at the Park stadium, that President Taft used the silver spade to turn the first earth for the Exposition.[1]

After the groundbreaking ceremonies the spade, along with a gilded cask used to hold the excavated earth, was carefully preserved in a glass case in the tapestry room of the St. Francis Hotel. The spade was considered so important that, according to the *Daily Morning Call*, it was necessary to keep it under guard of a "big policeman." Justifiably proud of their work, Shreve & Co. kept the spade in their possession until the 1960s. The company also used a photograph of the spade as the frontispiece for their catalogues for the next several years.

Two years after the Exposition spade was created, Shreve & Co. made one other large-scale silver spade—this one to celebrate the building of the new City Hall. Although nearly identical in size to the PPIE spade, it was instead decorated with an image of the proposed City Hall, accented by stylized trees and statuary. This spade also bore a presentation acknowledging James Rolph, Jr., Mayor of San Francisco, who broke ground for City Hall on April 5, 1913.

In 1915, Shreve & Co. returned to the design of their original Taft spade in order to make miniature replicas to be sold as Exposition souvenirs. Only four inches long, these tiny spades are close copies of the larger version, bearing the complete inscription and decoration of the original. These miniature spades were available in silver with a variety of finishes, and also in 14K gold. They were popular among visitors, and were considered the official souvenirs of the Exposition.

Scott Sheilds
Curator of Fine Arts

---

[1] Marjorie M. Dobkin, "A Twenty-Five-Million Dollar Mirage," in Burton Benedict, *The Anthropology of World's Fairs: San Francisco's Panama Pacific International Exposition of 1915* (London and Berkeley: The Lowie Museum of Anthropology in association with Scolar Press, 1983), 84-86.

In 1887, artist Emil Carlsen moved to San Francisco to assume the position of director at the California School of Design. One of the most important American still-life painters of the period, Carlsen spent four years in San Francisco. The California Historical Society is fortunate to have two paintings by this artist but, unfortunately, both were in need of conservation before they could be properly displayed. Thanks to Vance Jordan Fine Art in New York, the most important of the Society's Carlsens, *Still Life with Ducks*, was conserved and subsequently exhibited in the gallery's highly acclaimed exhibition, *Quiet Magic: The Still-Life Paintings of Emil Carlsen*.

The Society loaned objects for a variety of exhibitions during the year. These loans were to:

- The Society of California Pioneers, San Francisco
  Objects from the Panama Pacific International Exposition for "Kiss of the Oceans: Commerce and Culture at the 1915 World's Fair"
- Autry Museum of Western History, Los Angeles
  3 engravings for "On Gold Mountain: A Chinese American Experience"
- Napa Valley Museum, Yountville
  Paintings by William Marple and Jules Tavernier to "The Idyllic Landscape: Early California Artists Discover the Napa Valley"
- Triton Museum of Art, Santa Clara
  Eight paintings to "Theodore Wores: Works from the California and Japan Years"
- California State Lands Commission, Sacramento
  Painting of the *Brother Jonathan* to an exhibit "The Brother Jonathan: A California Treasure Ship"
- Union Bank of California, San Francisco
  Gold Rush objects for their semi-permanent installation

Scott Shields,
Curator of Fine Arts

EDUCATIONAL SERVICES

Work on materials for teachers and students to assist in learning more about California history, preparation of educational materials that complemented the exhibitions during the year, and maintaining a full schedule of docent-led tours were the primary focus of the education department. Our tours were extremely well attended this past year. A total of 5,737 visitors came through CHS on group tours including 4,346 school children. This more than doubles the previous year's group attendance. In addition to the successful tour program we also offered some programs related to the exhibition *America's Concentration Camps: Remembering the Japanese American Experience*, which were described in detail earlier in this report. We were especially pleased to co-coordinate the successful Children's Day Festival with the Japanese Community and Cultural Center of Northern California and the Yerba Buena Center for the Arts.

This past year the Education Department had changes of personnel. Larisa Somsel, Education and Outreach Coordinator, was promoted to Strategic Initiatives Coordinator, assisting CHS with technical needs and website management. We also bade farewell to Janelle Graves, CHS's first Director of Education, who left to live on the East Coast with her new husband. It is my great honor to continue the wonderful education program that she established and to expand our outreach and programming efforts to a statewide audience.

A huge thank you is extended to all of the docents and volunteers who assisted the Education Department—there wouldn't be a tour program without them. In addition to CHS's long-time dedicated docents, the Japanese American National Museum recruited over 100 volunteers for the America's Concentration Camps exhibition. Many of these new volunteers had experienced incarceration during WWII and shared their very personal stories with our visitors and school children.

Our volunteers this past year are given opposite.

Chelsea Pickslay,
Director of Education

SPECIAL PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES

The regular lecture series, Thursdays at CHS, presented many authors whose new books emphasized popular western figures (General Vallejo, Wyatt Earp) with a substantial number of books devoted to the history of women in the west. The evolving history of different ethnic groups was the subject of two lectures. Lani Ah Tye Farkas, whose recent book *Bury My Bones in America* traced her family's history from the arrival of family patriarch Yee Ah Tye during the Gold Rush (not understanding Chinese usage, Californians used his first name as his last name), spoke of the development of a Chinese American family. Former CHS Trustee Shirley Ann Wilson Moore spoke about the African American community in Richmond, California, which she has documented in her book *To Place Our Deeds*.

Volunteers, 1999-2000

Sandra Adams
Amey Aizawa
Hats Aizawa
Roy Ashizawa
Jayme Burton
Stephanie Burns
Michael Carson
Tracy Carr
Maria Conlon
Elaine Danforth
Stephanie DeLancey
Florence Dobashi
Gil Francis
Helen Friedman
Mas Fuji
Steve Fujioka
Nobusuke Fukuda
Mutsumi Mitzi Hada
Mike Hamachi
Lark Harris
Sato Hashizume
Cynthia Hawkins
Nikki Hikari
Keiko Hirabayashi-Quan
Yo Hironaka
Bill Hirose
Harlan Hirschfeld
Sumi Honnami
Sachi Ishida
Naoko Ito
Chizu Iyama
Ernie Iyama
Ted Jitodai
Ted Jorgensen
Paul Kageyama
Katja Kaiser
Sachi Kajiwara
Hiroshi Kashiwagi
Hatsue Katsura
Mas Kawaguchi
Cal Kitazumi
Larry Kocher
Mits Kojimoto
Sadame Kojimoto
Dale Komai
Monica Kurihara
Ibuki Lee
Barbara Libretti
Mei Lin
Ken Maeshiro
Greg Marutani
Diana Mason
David McCarthy
Diane Melloy
Milton Momita
June Momita
Penny Morimoto
Tak Nagata
Florence Nakamura
Harry Nakano
Kei Nakano
Jean Nakaso
Mihoko Nakatani
Don Nelson
Haruye Ng
Keith Nomura
Haru Oda
Paul Ohtaki
Jewel Okawachi
Ruth Okimoto
Ken Onishi
Kay Onishi
Alice Oshima
Fumi Quong
Grayce Regan
Hanna Regev
Peter Reque
Katherine Reyes
Margaret Saito
Georgianna Salz
Bill Sato
Caroline Satoda
Daisy Satoda
Nathan H. Segal
Harumi Serata
Tak Shirasawa
Maye Shirasawa
Karen Stafford
Amy St. John
Monica Soto
June Sugihara
Marshall Sumida
Tats Sumida
Yoko Sumida
Lorraine Suzuki
Harry Suzuki
Asaye Takagi
Shogi Takata
Edith Tanaka
Michiko Tashiro
Irene Tekawa
Kate Timbers
Joe Tondo
Himeo Tsumori
Lilly Vallee
Judy Vaughn
Emie Yamate
Hideo Yonenak

Looking at the history of institutions, lectures were given by Dr. John McCosker (the history of San Francisco's Steinhart Aquarium, of which he was the director for many years), and by Dr. Moses Grossman, who recently completed a history of San Francisco General Hospital. To commemorate the Gold Rush, CHS Executive Director Emeritus J. S. Holliday spoke on January 27 (gold was discovered on January 24, 1848). Earlier in the fiscal year, at the beginning of October, CHS sponsored a three-day trip to the Mother Lode led by Gary S. Holloway, whose frequent walking tours of neighborhoods of the Bay Area are very popular with CHS members.

The CHS Store

In February 2000, the California Historical Society assumed the management of its store, which had been operated since 1995 by a joint agreement with the Golden Gate National Park Association. We are grateful to GGNPA for having helped us get the store started in the first years in our new headquarters. Our initial agreement was for a three-year term, and GGNPA graciously extended it until we were ready to provide our own management.

We began with the part-time assistance of a buyer, Diane De Bruno, whose expertise in store management has helped us address everything from the range of products available to store layout. A full-time store manager was still being recruited as of June 30. The first months of the store under CHS management coincided with the exhibition about the Japanese American internment. The store experienced a high volume of business, as visitors selected books, video tapes and other mementos of the exhibition. In the future, CHS will begin to create its own products in order to offer the public unique items that celebrate California history.

PUBLIC SUPPORT

Two very successful fund-raising events during the year raised nearly $150,000 to support CHS programs and services. On October 20, 1999, the annual *Hats Off!* luncheon honored Bay Area philanthropist Phyllis Wattis. The popular event, held at the historic Palace Hotel in San Francisco, featured San Francisco Art Commissioner Stanlee Gatti as keynote speaker. His fond reminiscences of Mrs. Wattis set the warm tone of the event and his sentiments were obviously shared by all who attended. On June 28 and 29, 2000, CHS Trustee Patti Warner again staged a musical that was presented as a dinner/theater evening. Cole

Porter's popular *Kiss Me, Kate* was the show, presented at the Ira and Leonore S. Gershwin Theater at the University of San Francisco. The program was also repeated on July 1 at the St. Helena High School Auditorium. Special thanks go to Patti Warner and her cast and orchestra of dedicated volunteers who provided much enjoyment for all who attended.

We also wish to thank our many members who supported CHS by joining at levels above the regular membership level and by contributing to the Annual Fund. Their extra generosity makes it possible for CHS to serve a broad public with information about California's history. We are indebted to them and acknowledge them in the listing of supporters beginning on page 143.

Corporations and foundations are always an important source of support for CHS programs. A complete list of our funders begins on page 141. We also want to acknowledge the generous support of the City of San Francisco and its Grants for the Arts / San Francisco Hotel Tax Fund, which increased its support of our exhibitions for the public. We are also indebted to the following corporations and organizations for the donation of goods and equipment that have been of help to the Society: Adobe Corporation, Aeronet, Compumentor, Gifts in Kind Foundation, Macromedia, and the San Pablo Historical Society.

We are lucky to have a dedicated, loyal membership of individuals and institutions all around the state. CHS members are found in other states as well, and a number of international institutions (such as the British Library and the Spanish Naval Academy) maintain memberships in order to receive our quarterly journal, *California History*. During the year CHS welcomed 583 new members. A list of these new members begins on page 147 and following.

GOVERNANCE

The California Historical Society is governed by a Board of Trustees comprised of individuals representing many different parts of the state. The 23-member Board was led by Maribelle Leavitt, who inaugurated her second term as President. She

Hats Off! honoree Phyllis Wattis and CHS Development Chair Toby Rose.
Photo: Ray "Scotty" Morris

George and Charlotte Shultz with Hats Off! Honorary Co-chairs Evelyn Haas and Charlene Harvey at the luncheon honoring Phyllis Wattis. *Photo: Ray "Scotty" Morris*

presided over the annual meeting of CHS, which was held at the 678 Mission Street headquarters on November 18, 1999.

New members joining the Board for the year were:

Russell R. Miller, Chairman of Russell Miller, Inc., investment banking;

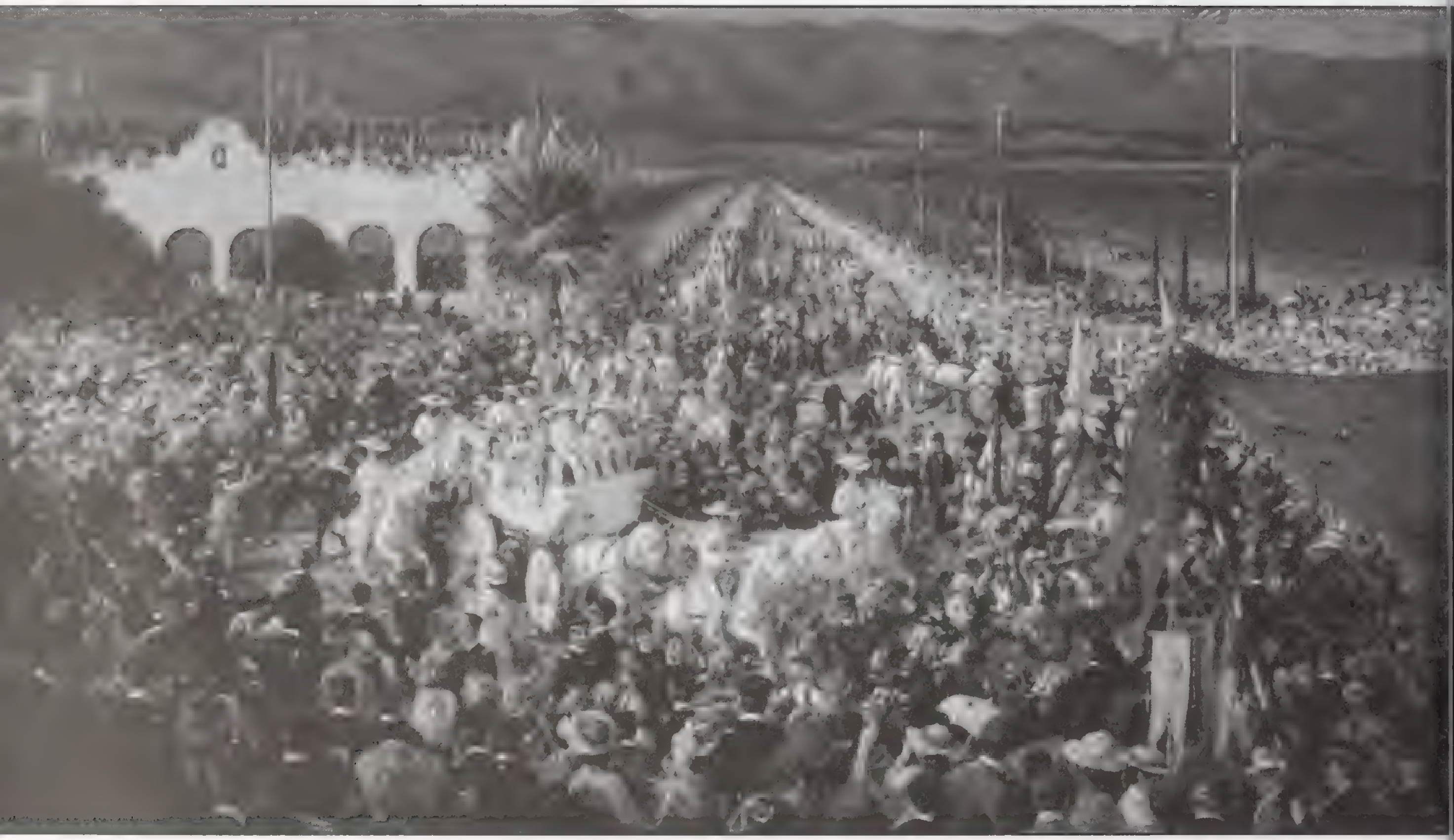
George W. Rowe, Retired Managing Director, of J.P. Morgan & Company and currently President of J.P. Morgan California and Senior Advisor to the firm;

John A. Traina, Jr., author and collector;

John K. Van de Kamp, former Attorney General of the State of California, President of the Thoroughbred Owners of California and Partner and Of Counsel of Dewey, Ballantine.

Members who retired from the Board this year were Judge Marie Bertillion Collins, Harold A. Fick, Harry R. Goff, Patricia R. Warner, and Alice Whitson. The California Historical Society extends is sincere gratitude to them for their service as Board members. The complete list of the current CHS Trustees is found on the last page of this publication.

The Society is fortunate to have an endowment fund that is overseen by the California Historical Foundation, a group of 15 people who are appointed by the CHS Trustees. New to the group this year was DeWitt F. Bowman of Mill Valley. The complete list of the foundation members is found on the last page of this publication. Thanks to prudent management and a favorable investing climate, the CHS endowment grew in value during the year by nearly $330,000, putting the total fund value just under $6 million.



On April 26, 1908, crowds of people gathered along the Santa Barbara coast to see the "Great White Fleet," which was traveling the world and would soon be docking in Santa Barbara. This flotilla of American naval warships was meant to assert America's military strength and consisted of sixteen great battleships and 14,000 men. Because the coming of the fleet had been widely publicized, elaborate preparations were made in the community to welcome it. One of the major events was a huge "Battle of the Flowers" parade with floats, bands, and the Navy drum and bugle corps. Members of old Spanish families wearing traditional costumes, and thousands of sailors sporting bouquets in the muzzles marched up State Street to the cheers of an enthusiastic crowd.

Alexander Harmer (1856-1925). Battle of the Flowers, Fleet Festival, April 1908. *Oil on canvas. Santa Barbara Historical Society, gift of Glenn E. Idleman.*

CALIFORNIA 1900

. . . on the Threshold of a New Century

Turn-of-the-century art, artifacts, and photographs from around the state

October 21, 1999—February 19, 2000

The turn of the century was a period of transition and momentous change. These years witnessed the beginning of some of the great innovations and themes of the twentieth century, and in these, California was an active participant, contributor, and leader. Automobiles were taking to the roads, advances were being made in industry and agriculture, cities were being illuminated with electricity, the arts were shaking loose of long-held ideals, and conservationists were becoming increasingly concerned about the environment. California was assuming a larger place on the national stage and was helping the United States to become a leader in world affairs. By the turn of the century, California was a major player in agriculture, commerce, industry, and the arts. The state's population increased significantly as well, and the Golden State was now home to nearly one-and-a-half million people. San Francisco, the state's most populous city, had reached nearly 350,000, and Los Angeles surpassed 100,000.

California cities were transformed by innovations in power, construction, and transportation. Because of its gold-rush-era development and larger population, turn-of-the-century San Francisco far exceeded Los Angeles in commerce and manufacturing. San Francisco had become an industrial city by 1880, whereas Los Angeles did not become industrialized until the early twentieth century. During this period, however, migrants were moving to Los Angeles in great numbers, and by 1910 the city's population swelled to 300,000 people. Migrants to southern California were less diverse than those who had rushed to San Francisco during the Gold Rush. In the early years of the twentieth century, Los Angeles had relatively few foreign-born residents, with most new settlers coming from the eastern United States or from within California.

One of the most visible technological advances in California cities just before the turn of the century was the coming of electricity. A symbol of progress and the future, electricity illuminated the new era as it gradually replaced gas lighting. While the state's largest cities began receiving electricity first—San Francisco as early as 1879—the business districts of smaller communities were being electrified in the years around 1900. The great pride and excitement caused by electricity was frequently commemorated with festivals and other events. When a long-distance power line was connected between Folsom and downtown Sacramento in 1895, for instance, Sacramento celebrated by hosting a Grand Electric Carnival, which became an annual community event.

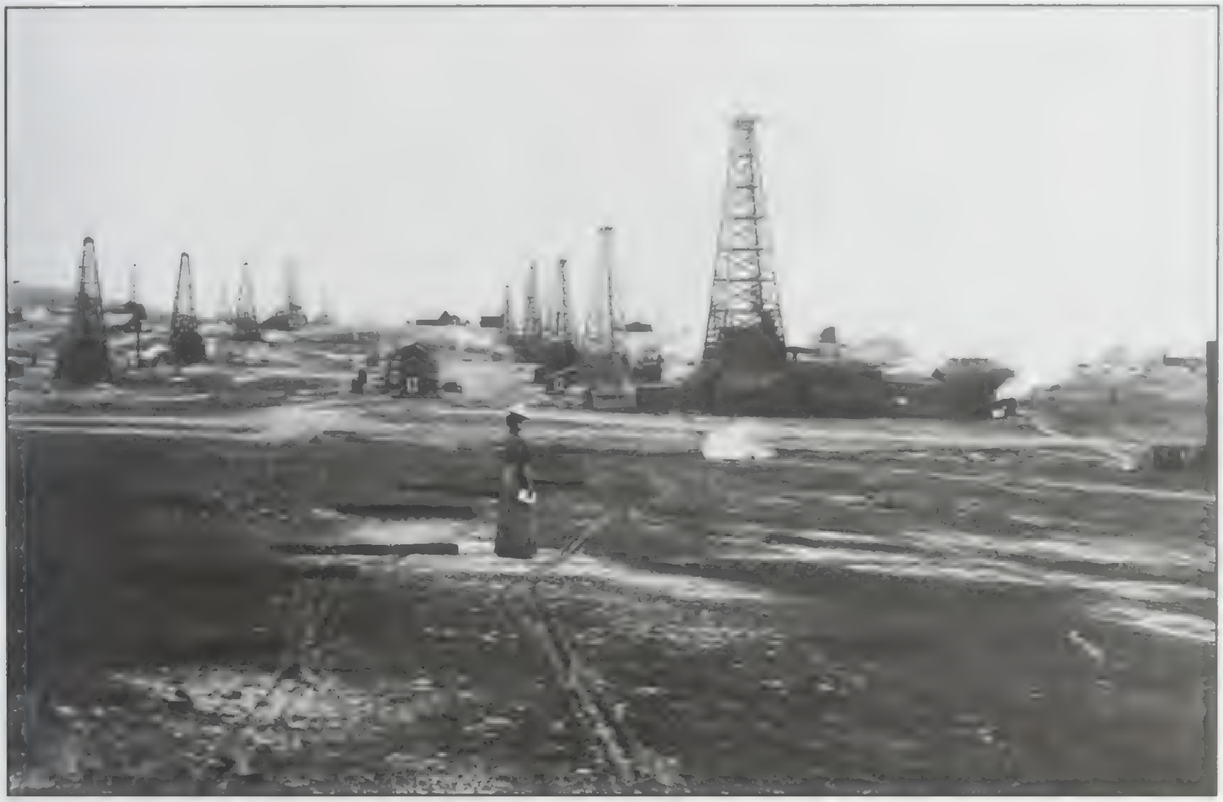
California cities were centers of resources, transportation, communications, and labor. Long hours and harsh working conditions in California industries led workers in the second half of the nineteenth century to organize into unions. These unions gained significant power by the early 1900s, and while Los Angeles remained one of the country's least unionized cities until well into the twentieth century, San Francisco became a union stronghold. In the summer of 1901, there was a great waterfront strike in San Francisco in which teamsters joined with sailors and longshoremen in tying up the city's port for several weeks. When police were used to help break the strike, the Union Labor party of San Francisco was organized. Eugene Schmitz, who ran on the Union Labor party ticket, was elected mayor in 1901, 1903, and 1905. In 1905, a Union Labor candidate filled every seat on the city's board of supervisors.

Female workers in San Francisco also organized and became labor activists. In 1885, they established the Ladies Assembly of the Knights of Labor, and in the 1890s many women's unions were established. In the early twentieth century waitresses, laundry workers, and chocolate makers went on strike. Even though their salaries were usually dramatically lower than men's, more women than ever were entering California's workforce. Women were also becoming increasingly involved in politics and aimed to correct restrictive laws and policies. Many were interested in social and political reform and fought for suffrage. The California legislature first approved a woman suffrage amendment in 1896, which was rejected by voters; it was not until 1911 that California women were granted the vote.

In 1900 the most powerful corporation in California was still the Southern Pacific Railroad. It was the state's largest employer and landowner, and it had an overt influence on politics. Californians at this time, however, were increasingly discontented with the railroad's economic and political control, and with its monopoly on transportation, which extended to river and ocean steamship lines. Not until the San Francisco and San Joaquin Valley Railroad was built (completed 1898) was there any alternative to the dominant Southern Pacific in the Central Valley, and only the Santa Fe provided competition in the south. Anti-railroad sentiment was expressed by important figures like Adolph Sutro and William Randolph Hearst, and was dramatically portrayed in Frank Norris's novel *The Octopus* (1901), a story of struggle between California wheat farmers and the powerful Southern Pacific. By 1911 Governor Hiram Johnson had removed railroad supporters from state offices, and the "octopus" began to loosen its hold on California.

As railroad influence declined, the importance of

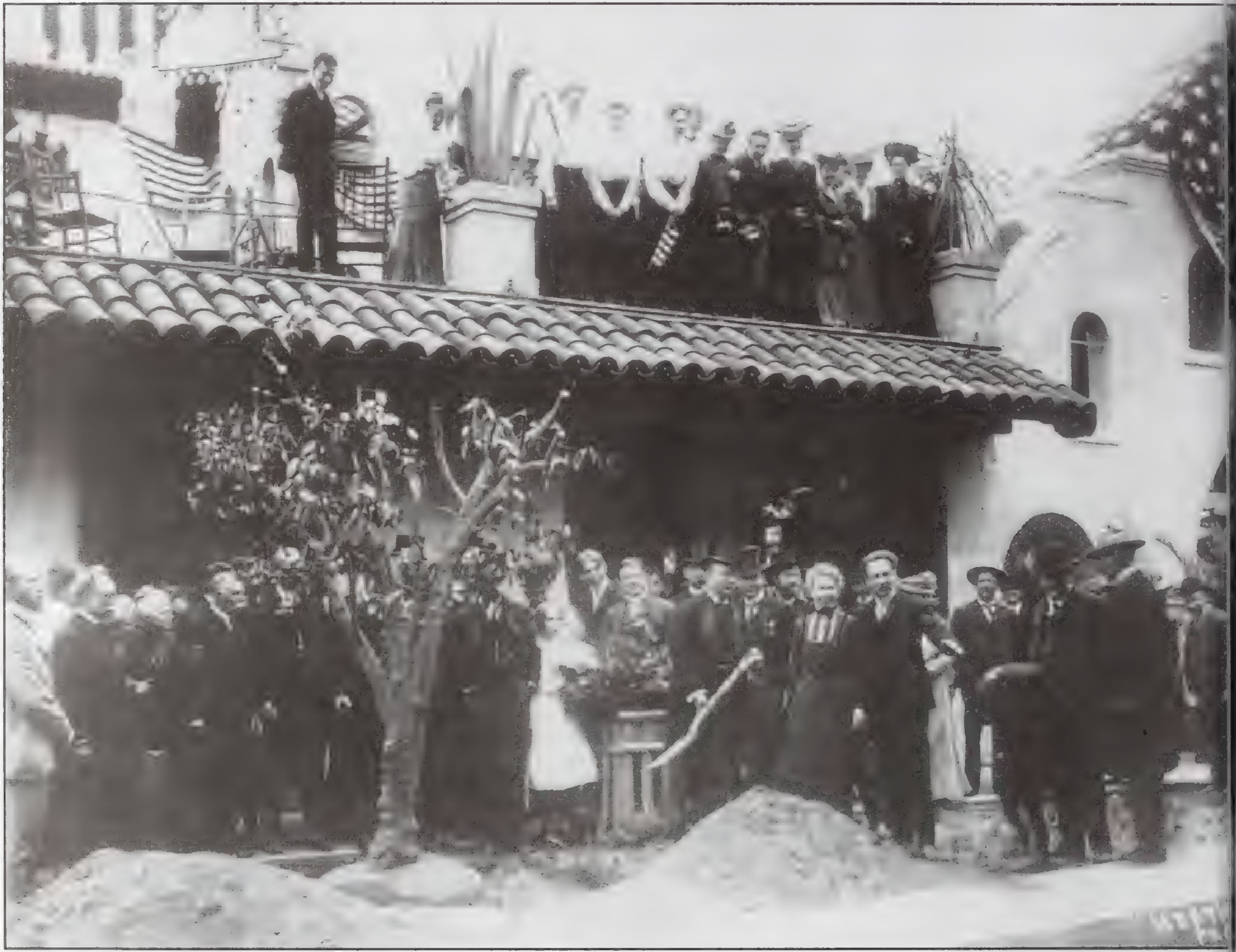
The Sacramento Street Fair arose out of the Grand Electric Carnival held in 1895. This Grand Electric Carnival was held to celebrate the "electrification" of Sacramento, when a long-distance power line was connected from Folsom to downtown Sacramento. The event was very popular and was held annually for several years. *Photographer unknown,* Sacramento Street Fair, *1900. Photograph. City of Sacramento, History and Science Division, Archives & Museum Collection Center.*



An oil boom in the early 1900s brought many new settlers to Kern County. Entire families moved to leased properties where oil drilling was taking place. This photograph was taken amidst the oil derricks and other equipment in the Kern River fields.
Photographer unknown. Woman in the Oilfields *(from the San Joaquin and Kern Oil Companies), ca. 1900. Photograph. Kern County Museum.*

the automobile increased dramatically. By 1900 numerous small plants across the United States were producing automobiles and there were about 4,000 of these "horseless carriages" in the United States. Both the California State Automobile Association, which was headquartered in San Francisco, and the Los Angeles-based Automobile Club of Southern California were formed in 1900. By the late summer of 1901, the first mass-produced vehicle—the "curved dash" Oldsmobile—was introduced, and seven years later Henry Ford brought out his inexpensive Model T, which helped make automobile ownership popular. Although automobiles were still relatively rare in 1900, they were spotted motoring through California, a fact evidenced by a July 1900 issue of the *Marin Journal*, which proclaimed, "An automobile passed through town on its way north." The frequency of such sightings rapidly became commonplace, however, as the popularity of automobiles grew. These driving machines increasingly shared the road in an uneasy relationship with horse-drawn buggies, bicycles, and streetcars; counties across the state began to enact ordinances regulating them. In 1901, the California legislature passed a law permitting autos to be licensed and taxed. By the 1920s, automobiles were commonplace in California. Los Angeles, with one car for every three persons, had become the most motorized city in the world.

The popularity of automobiles in California went hand in hand with the state's cheap and abundant oil, one of its many rich mineral deposits. At the turn of the century, many California counties were extracting their abundant natural resources. Copper and silver played an important role in Shasta County's

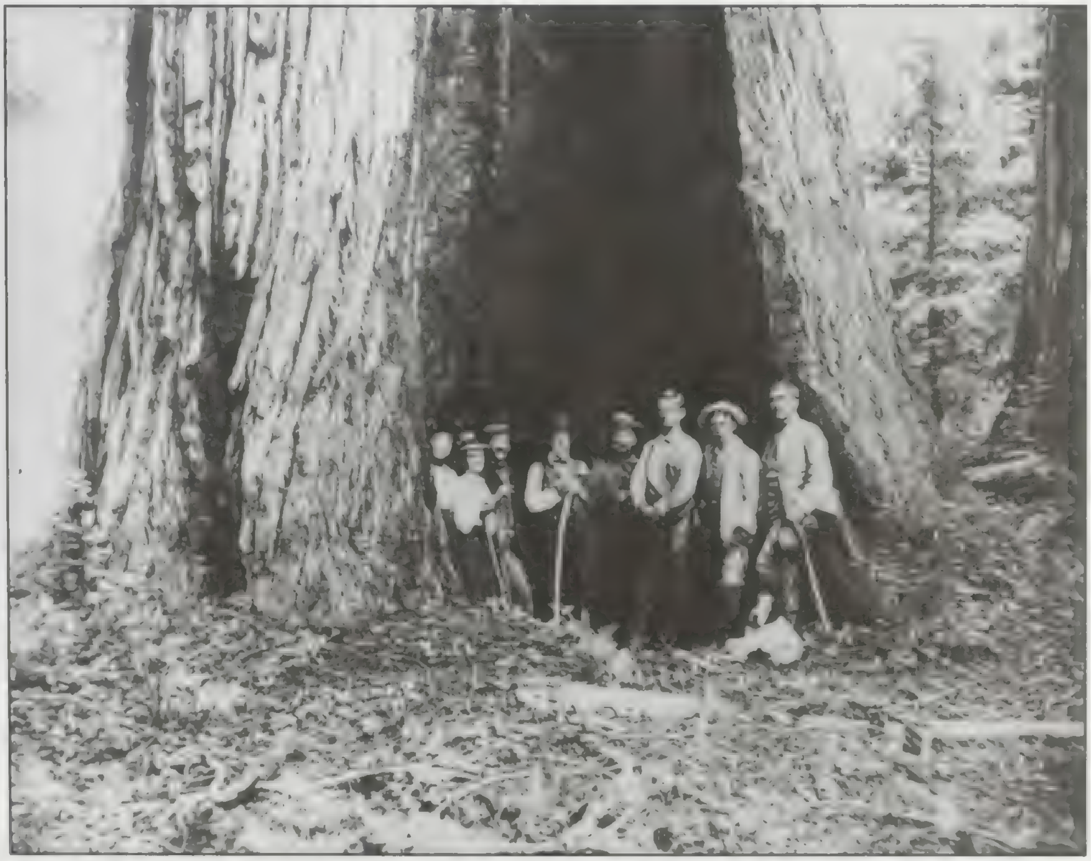


This photograph shows President Theodore Roosevelt presiding over the replanting of two original navel orange trees in the courtyard of the Mission Inn on May 7, 1903. In 1873, just these two trees grew near Riverside, but by the end of the 1880s more than a million were producing citrus throughout southern California. The city of Riverside alone shipped thousands of railcar loads of citrus to eastern markets, and by 1900 became one of the wealthiest towns in California.
C.N. Heath, photographer, Mission Inn Shop, framers. Replanting the Navel Orange Tree, *1903.*
Photograph. Riverside Municipal Museum.

economy; Tuolumne County was in the midst of its second Gold Rush; San Benito and Santa Clara counties were among the leading mercury producers; and borax was being hauled out of Inyo and San Bernardino counties by mule teams. It was the oil industry that grew most dramatically during this period, however, making California the nation's largest oil producer. Early on, oil was refined into kerosene and later it was used in the production of manufactured gas. Following the introduction of a successful oil burner in the early 1880s, industries, railroads, and steamship lines increasingly turned to oil, and by the early 1900s, the conversion from coal to petroleum was nearly complete.

The oil industry in California began in the 1860s, ut new discoveries later in the century caused the ndustry to burgeon. A major discovery in the city of os Angeles in 1892 led to the erection of hundreds f oil derricks in the northwest part of the city, and elds were discovered in other parts of the county as ell. Major discoveries were also made in Santa Bar-ara, Ventura, San Luis Obispo, Kings, and Kern ounties. This boom brought many new settlers seek-ng employment with the growing industry.

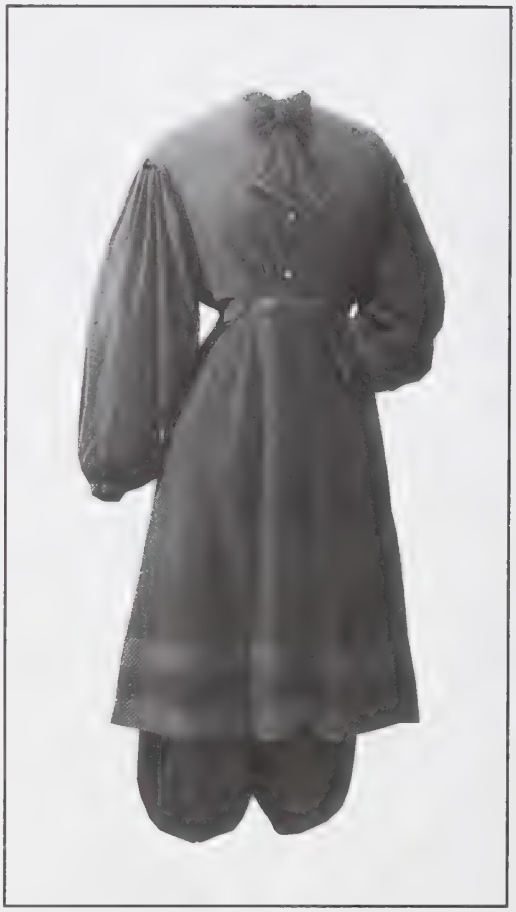
California was also gifted with abundant and fertile lands for the growing of crops and the raising of livestock. In 1900, agriculture dominated the state's economy as it would throughout the twentieth century. California was a leading producer of fruits, vegetables, and grains, and many county economies depended on specialized agricultural crops. Riverside County depended on the Washington navel orange as its primary industry; Contra Costa County was an important wheat-producing area; and Butte County was famous for its fruit and olive orchards. By 1900, California was producing nearly a quarter of the



One of the most important early industries in Santa Cruz was logging. Countless redwoods in Santa Cruz had been felled by the turn of the century, and this image documents the beginnings of efforts to preesrve the area's magnificent trees. On May 1, 1900, there was a meeting at Stanford University for conservation-minded citizens. Members of this committee journeyed to explore Big Basin. Photographer Andrew P. Hill recorded Big Basin's scenery, as well as the exploring party. From left to right are: Louise C. Jones, Carrie Stevens Walter, J. F. Coope, J. Q. Packard Andy Baldwin, Charles W. Reed, W. W. Richards, Roley Dooser, and King the dog

Andrew P. Hill (1853-1922). Exploration Party at Big Basin May 15-19, 1900. *Photograph.*

The Museum of Art and History at The McPherson Center



This gym suit was worn at the Napa Ladies Seminary. It is indicative of the changing social roles of women, and reflects the inclusion of physical education in the formal school curriculum for girls. The gym suit also manifests a growing awareness of the importance of exercise in the seond half of the nineteenth century among both sexes. Women were becoming increasingly physically active and participated in a variety of recreation sports. These sports required new attire, giving rise to specific costumes for the gym, bicycling, and team sports such as basketball. *Maker unknown.* Woman's Gym Suit, *1880s. Wool and linen. Napa County Historical Society.*

nation's canned fruit, eighty percent of its wine, and the bulk of its raisins. In southern California, citrus fruits were an integral part of the economy, supplying the majority of the nation's oranges and lemons. California contributed significantly to the growing of hops and sugar beets and was still a major wheat producer, even though wheat growing was giving way to more profitable crops that could be cultivated through irrigation. The state was the nation's leading producer of barley and grew high-quality oats. Dates, olives, cantaloupes, and lettuce were emerging as significant crops.

California was also an important producer of livestock. The raising of cattle for both beef and dairy products continued to be major industries, as they had been in the nineteenth century, even though cattle were increasingly relegated to feed lots and irrigated pasturelands rather than large open ranches. Sheep, reared for wool and mutton, were raised in large numbers, and poultry production in California boomed in the late nineteenth century, particularly around Petaluma, where the incubator and brooder were invented. In coastal communities, commercial fishermen brought in great catches of salmon, sardines, tuna, cod, crab, and oysters.

The evolution of California agriculture depended on advances in irrigation. The major need of California farmers in 1900, as it continued to be throughout the twentieth century, was an adequate water supply. At the same time, securing water for urban needs became crucial in both northern and southern California. In the early years of the century, Los Angeles began making plans for the Owens Valley-Los Angeles Aqueduct. Fred Eaton, former city engineer and mayor of Los Angeles, conceived of the project and chose the Owens River as the city's new water source In 1905, the city's voters approved a bond issue for the Owens Valley project, and three years later construction of the 233-mile-long aqueduct began. San Francisco also had its eye on a potential water source in 1900—the Tuolumne River. In 1905, the city sought the federal government's permission to dam the river and convert Yosemite National Park's Hetch Hetchy Valley into a reservoir. The proposal was strongly opposed by John Muir and his fellow wilderness preservationists in the Sierra Club (founded 1892) who managed to delay the project until 1913, when they were finally defeated.

Preservationists like Muir also expressed concern bout the great redwood forests that were rapidly eing lost to commercial logging. Lumber milling vas a major economic activity in many California ounties, and, as the nineteenth century drew to a lose, preservationists became increasingly protec-ive of the Golden State's magnificent trees. Largely ecause of their efforts, the federal government egan to set aside forest reserves, many of them in alifornia. Muir Woods in Marin County was one f these, and was declared a national monument in 908. Other stands of old-growth redwoods became tate parks, such as Big Basin Redwoods State Park, orthwest of Santa Cruz, which in 1902 became the irst redwood state park. The photo shown on page 07, taken by Andrew P. Hill in May 1900, depicts a roup of conservation-minded citizens beneath a ree in Big Basin. Hill, who recorded the scenery the roup encountered, also suggested the formation of n organization to preserve the trees. Named the empervirens Club of California, it ultimately dopted the motto "Save the Redwoods."

The preservation of state parks and recreation areas at the turn of the century was indicative not only of an increasing concern for conservation, but also of the greater abundance of leisure time that people enjoyed. Technological and industrial advances created a variety of new standardized goods and services, as well as new laborsaving devices. For both factory workers and white-collar employees, the workweek was shortened, even as incomes were rising. The availability of leisure time fostered new recreations. Baseball was very popular—the first World Series was held in 1903—and football was quickly gaining popularity. Basketball was also enjoyed by both men and women, and was being played in the early 1890s by students at both Stanford University and the University of California at Berkeley. Bicycling was another sport popular among males and females, and contributed to looser, more comfortable styles of dress for women. Annual festivals and parades were important events in many communities. Some events even achieved national recognition. Pasadena's Tournament of Roses Parade,

asadena has held its famous Tour-ament of Roses parade every New Year's Day since 1890. This image depicts the parade of 1900, which set two significant precedents that have characterized it ever since: it was recorded on film for the first time, and celebrities and other distinguished guests were invited to participate. In this photograph, George D. Patten, Pasadena's mayor; General William R. Shafter, a United States commander during the Spanish American War; and Brig. General Harrison Gray Otis, publisher of the Los Angeles Times and veteran of the Civil War and Spanish -American War, are shown riding in a decorated carriage. *William Henry Hill (born 1845)* Tournament of Roses. Pasadena, Cal., Jan. 1, 1900. *Photograph. Pasadena Historical Museum* which began 1890, was first filmed in 1900 and shown to audiences throughout the United States.

Other less active leisure pursuits included theatrical entertainment such as musical comedies, popular dramas, and vaudeville. Moving pictures were also becoming popular. Thomas Edison began his experiments with motion photography in 1887, and at the turn of the century and for the next several years most American films were made in New York or New Jersey. By 1908, in order to put distance between themselves and lawyers protecting Edison's patents, some moviemakers relocated to California. These early California filmmakers worked in both the northern and southern parts of the state. Because westerns were one of the primary genres of early films, and because California boasted diverse natural settings and a mild climate, California, particularly Los Angeles, seemed ideally suited for movie making. By the 1920s, Hollywood and the movies had become synonymous.

In 1900, as today, California played an important role in laying the groundwork for a new century. While turn-of-the-century California was in many ways a microcosm of the United States, sharing and participating in the innovations and events tha shaped a new era, it also made its own unique contributions. Through its innovations, its products, an its ideals—made possible by the state's abundant natural resources and creative people—California helpe shape the nation and the world.

Scott A. Shields,
Curator of Fine Arts

The following sources were instrumental in providin information for this essay:

Hart, James D. *A Companion to California.* New York: Oxfor University Press, 1978.

Rawls, James J. and Walton Bean. *California: An Interpretive History*, 7th ed. Boston: McGraw-Hill, 1998.

Rice, Richard B., William A. Bullough, and Richard J. Orsi *The Elusive Eden: A New History of California.* 2nd ed. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1996.

Barnet, M. M. and J. O'Leary. *Statistics of California Production: Commerce and Finance for the Years 1900-1 wit Brief Sketches of the Origin and Development of Mining Agriculture and Horticulture in the State.* San Francisco M. M. Barnet and J. O'Leary, Publishers, 1901.

The Counties of California in 1900

Historical Profiles and Exhibition Checklist

The objects in California 1900 are drawn primarily from the permanent collections of county historical societies and museums throughout the state. Each of these organizations was asked to submit objects representing their county or community in the year 1900. Contributors were encouraged to think broadly, to consider the diversity of their region, and to select a variety of potential items for exhibition. The objects they chose represent the quintessential products, scenes, and activities of their counties at the turn of the century.

ALAMEDA

County seat: Oakland

Population in 1900: 130,197

Today's population: 1,408,000

Established: March 25, 1853, from parts of Contra Costa and Santa Clara Counties

Major industries in 1900: shipping, iron, lumber, coal, cotton mills, flax mills, flour mills, fruit, hops, grapes, winemaking

Exhibit Objects

Photographer unknown. "The Hights," Joaquin Miller's Home, Oakland Hills, ca. 1900. Photograph. Pardee Home Museum, Oakland.

Objects from the 1900 Presidential Campaign: Invitation to McKinley & Roosevelt Campaign Event, Sept. 14, 1900. Pardee Home Museum, Oakland.

Credentials of Delegate [George C. Pardee] from the State of California to the Republican National Convention, May 15th, 1900. Pardee Home Museum, Oakland.

Speech by George C. Pardee in Support of McKinley at the Republican State Convention in Sacramento, 1900. Pardee Home Museum, Oakland.

ALPINE

County seat: Markleeville

Population in 1900: 509

Today's population: 1,200

Established: March 16, 1864, from parts of El Dorado, Calaveras, Tuolumne, Mono, and Amador Counties

Major industries in 1900: lumber, apples, dairy, livestock

Exhibit Objects

Walter Monroe (artist). Grover's Hotsprings, Alpine County, ca. 1910. Oil on cardboard with barnwood frame. Alpine County Museum, Markleeville

Photographer unknown. Walter Monroe at His Easel, ca. 1915. Photograph. Alpine County Museum, Markleeville.

AMADOR

County seat: Jackson.

Population in 1900: 11,116

Today's population: 33,700

Established: June 14, 1854, from part of Calaveras County

Major industries in 1900: hay, grain, alfalfa, vegetables, oranges, lemons, lumber, copper, marble, coal

Exhibit Objects

Lewis E. Aubury, State Mineralogist, State Mining Bureau. Map of Amador County from Register of Mines and Minerals, Amador County, California, 1903. California Historical Society, library collection, San Francisco.

Maker unknown. Mourning Pin, ca. 1900. Glass, gold, pearl. Amador County Museum, Jackson.

Maker unknown. Mourning Veil, ca. 1900. Black lace. Amador County Museum, Jackson.

BUTTE

County seat: Oroville

Population in 1900: 17,117

Today's population: 201,600

Established: February 18, 1850, as one of the state's original twenty-seven counties

Major industries in 1900: lumber, wheat, flax, alfalfa, deciduous fruit, citrus fruit, olives, fruit and vegetable canning, lumber mills

Exhibit Objects

Photographer unknown. Ehmann Olive Company Plant in Oroville, 1900. Photograph. Butte County Historical Society, Chico.

Phares, Oroville (photographer). Freda Ehmann in the Vat Room, early 1900s. Photograph. Butte County Historical Society, Chico.

CALAVERAS

County seat: San Andreas

Population in 1900: 11,200

Today's population: 38,350

Established: February 18, 1850, as one of the state's original twenty-seven counties

Major industries in 1900: lumber, fruit, grain, vineyards, copper, iron, gold

Exhibit Objects

Maker unknown. Frog Box, n.d. Wood. Calaveras County Historical Society, San Andreas.

Photographer unknown. Frog Jump in Angels Camp, 1928. Photographs. Calaveras County Historical Society, San Andreas.

COLUSA

County seat: Colusa

Population in 1900: 7,364

Today's population: 18,550

Established: February 18, 1850, as one of the state's original twenty-seven counties

Major industries in 1900: wheat, other grains, fruit, fruit drying and packing, flour, oil

Exhibit Objects

Photographer unknown. The Crew of Miller Brothers Enjoying a Picnic After Harvest, ca. 1890. Photograph. California Historical Society, photography collection, San Francisco.

Photographer unknown. Miller Brothers Ranch, A Combine Crew Harvesting and Hauling Grain, ca. 1890. Photograph. California Historical Society, photography collection, San Francisco.

CONTRA COSTA

County seat: Martinez

Population in 1900: 18,046

Today's population: 900,700

Established: February 18, 1850, as one of the state's original twenty-seven counties

Major industries in 1900: wheat and other grains, fruit, nuts, livestock, flour mills, canneries, explosives manufacturing, coal, packing houses, paper mills, smelting plants

Exhibit Object

Fairbanks, Winchester Scale. Wheat Sampler, 1898-1900. Brass, oak. Contra Costa County History Center, Pleasant Hill.

DEL NORTE

County seat: Crescent City

Population in 1900: 2,408

Today's population: 28,900

Established: March 2, 1857, from a part of Klamath County (the only county that was de-established)

Major industries in 1900: lumber, livestock, dairy, canneries

Exhibit Objects

Photographer unknown. Logging Camp, ca. 1900. Photograph. Del Norte County Historical Society, Crescent City.

Photographer unknown. Loggers and Redwood, 1890s. Photograph. Del Norte County Historical Society, Crescent City.

EL DORADO

County seat: Placerville

Population in 1900: 8,986

Today's population: 147,600

Established: February 18, 1850, as one of the state's original twenty-seven counties

Major industries in 1900: lumber, wheat, barley, hay, fruit, olives, oranges, cattle, sheep, slate, marble, clay, gold

Exhibit Objects

Photographer unknown. Main Street, Placerville, ca. 1900. Photograph. El Dorado County Historical Museum, Placerville.

Photographer unknown. Mosquito School Classroom, 1901. Photograph. El Dorado County Historical Museum, Placerville.

FRESNO

County seat: Fresno

Population in 1900: 37,862

Today's population: 786,800

When established: Created April 19, 1856, from Mariposa, Merced, and Tulare counties

Major industries in 1900: wheat, flour, lumber, deciduous fruit, fruit drying and canning, raisins, wine, furniture, agricultural implements

Exhibit Object

Artist unknown. H.S. Crocker & Co., San Francisco. Fresno Promotional Poster, 1889. Lithograph in original frame. Fresno City and County Historical Society, M. Theo Kearney Collection, Kearney Mansion Museum, Estate Office, Fresno.

GLENN

County seat: Willows

Population in 1900: 5,150

Today's population: 26,950

Established: March 11, 1891, from the northern portion of Colusa County

Major industries in 1900: wheat, flour, oats, deciduous fruit, citrus fruit, livestock

Exhibit Object

The Orland Project, Bureau of Reclamation, Department of the Interior, n.d. Orland Unit Water Users, Orland Historical and Cultural Society, Alta Schmidt Museum, Orland.

HUMBOLDT

County seat: Eureka

Population in 1900: 27,104

Today's population: 127,700

When established: Created May 12, 1853, from part of Trinity County and Klamath County, which was dissolved in 1875

Major industries in 1900: lumber, livestock, wool, dairy, shipyards, sash and door factories, creameries, iron foundries

Exhibit Object

Edwin Ruthven Freeman (photographer). The California Redwoods, 1913. Panoramic photograph in a redwood frame. Humboldt County Historical Society, Eureka.

IMPERIAL

County seat: El Centro

Population in 1900: not available

Today's population: 142,100

When established: Created August 15, 1907, from part of San Diego County and is the "youngest" of California's counties

Major industries in 1900: (see San Diego) deciduous fruit, citrus fruit, bananas, livestock, honey, rubber, gold, silver, copper, lead, coal, salt, borax, mercury, sulfur, iron

Exhibit Object

Rand, McNally & Co., Chicago. Map of California, 1906. Engraving. California Historical Society, library collection, San Francisco.

INYO

County seat: Independence

Population in 1900: 4,377

Today's population: 18,500

Established: March 22, 1866. Inyo was organized from territory that had been set aside two years earlier from Mono and Tulare Counties and called Coso County. Coso County was never organized and Inyo took its place.

Major industries in 1900: marble, soda, borax, sulfur, lead, silver, zinc, honey

Exhibit Objects

Photographer unknown. Third Courthouse, County of Inyo, ca. 1890-1895. Photograph. Eastern California Museum, Independence.

Owens Lake Silver Lead Company. Ingot Mold, ca. 1870-1910. Iron. Eastern California Museum, Independence.

KERN

County seat: Bakersfield

Population in 1900: 16,480

Today's population: 639,800

Established: April 2, 1866, from portions of Los Angeles and Tulare Counties

Major industries in 1900: lumber, oil, fruit, raisins, wheat, barley, alfalfa, livestock

Exhibit Objects

Yokuts (maker). Coiled Basket, 1900. Tule reeds. Kern County Museum, Bakersfield.

Photographer unknown. Woman in the Oilfields, ca. 1900. Photograph. Kern County Museum, Bakersfield.

KINGS

County seat: Hanford

Population in 1900: 9,871

Today's population: 122,800

Established: March 22, 1893, out of a part of Tulare County; some 100 square miles of territory from Fresno County was added in 1908

Major industries in 1900: livestock, dairy, fruit, canneries, winemaking

Exhibit Objects

Photographer unknown. Steam Plowing, Lemoore, California, ca. 1900. Photograph. California Historical Society, photography collection, San Francisco.

Photographer unknown. Drying Prunes, Hanford, ca. 1900. Photograph. California Historical Society, photography collection, San Francisco.

LAKE

County seat: Lakeport

Population in 1900: 6,017

Today's population: 55,100

Established: May 20, 1861, from territory formerly included in Napa County

Major industries in 1900: lumber, mercury, beans, mineral water, canneries

Exhibit Objects

Schedule for Steamer "City of Lakeport," 1890. Lake County Museum, Lakeport.

The Bartlett Spring, Bartlett Springs, California, ca. 1900. Postcard. Lake County Museum, Lakeport.

Partial View of Bartlett Springs, Cal. [Bartlett Springs Hotel], ca. 1900. Postcard. Lake County Museum, Lakeport.

LASSEN

County seat: Susanville

Population in 1900: 4,511

Today's population: 34,150

Established: April 1, 1864, from parts of Plumas and Shasta Counties

Major industries in 1900: grain, fruit, livestock, dairy, lumber

Exhibit Objects

Eastman's Studio (photographer). Queen Lena the First, September 1901. Photograph. Lassen Historical Society, Susanville.

Maker unknown. Beaded Bag, ca. 1900. Beaded silk. Lassen Historical Society, Susanville.

LOS ANGELES

County seat: Los Angeles

Population in 1900: 170,298

Today's population: 9,603,300

Established: February 18, 1850, as one of the twenty-seven original counties

Major industries in 1900: citrus fruit, deciduous fruit, vegetables, wine, grain, sugar beets, honey, oil, copper, iron, coal, tourism

EXHIBIT OBJECTS

William Henry Hill (photographer). Tournament of Roses. Pasadena, Cal., Jan. 1, 1900. Photograph. Pasadena Historical Museum, Pasadena.

Photographer unknown. Oil Field East from Cor. 1st St. and Belmont Ave., Los Angeles, Cal., ca. 1900. Photograph. California Historical Society, photography collection, San Francisco.

MADERA

County seat: Madera

Population in 1900: 6,364

Today's population: 114,300

Established: March 11, 1893, from a portion of Fresno County

Major industries in 1900: lumber, iron, lead, matches

EXHIBIT OBJECTS

Photographer unknown. Raymond Granite Quarry, ca. 1900. Photograph. Madera County Museum, Madera.

Photographer unknown. Granite Architectural Ornament, ca. 1900. Photograph. Madera County Museum, Madera.

MARIN

County seat: San Rafael

Population in 1900: 15,702

Today's population: 114,300

Established: February 18, 1850, as one of the original twenty-seven counties.

Major industries in 1900: lumber, dairy, fruit, vegetables, oil, copper

EXHIBIT OBJECT

Olds Motor Works (maker). Curved Dash Oldsmobile, 1904. Automobile. Marin County Historical Society, San Rafael.

MARIPOSA

County seat: Mariposa

Population in 1900: 4,720

Today's population: 16,150

Established: February 18, 1850, as one of the twenty-seven original counties

Major industries in 1900: lumber, fruit, livestock, gold

EXHIBIT OBJECT

After William Monotti (builder). Model Stampmill, n.d. Mariposa Museum and History Center, Mariposa.

MENDOCINO

County seat: Ukiah

Population in 1900: 20,465

Today's population: 86,900

Established: February 18, 1850, as one of the twenty-seven original counties

Major industries in 1900: lumber, wool, hops, dairy, fruit, coal, mercury, gold, silver, asbestos, copper

EXHIBIT OBJECTS

Maker unknown. Hootenanny, late 19th or early 20th century. Wood and iron. Mendocino County Historical Society Inc., Held Poage Library, Ukiah.

Maker unknown. Branding Iron, late 19th or early 20th century. Iron. Mendocino County Historical Society Inc., Held Poage Library, Ukiah.

MERCED

County seat: Merced

Population in 1900: 9,215

Today's population: 204,400

Established: April 19, 1855, from the part of Mariposa County

Major industries in 1900: grain, alfalfa, deciduous fruit, citrus fruit

EXHIBIT OBJECTS

Pedro Lemos (artist). Published by the *Merced Sun*. Merced County California, May 1904. Lithograph. Merced County Historical Society and Courthouse Museum, Merced.

Alice Mary Stickney (maker). Wedding Dress, 1907. Silk, lace. Merced County Historical Society and Courthouse Museum, Merced.

MODOC

County seat: Alturas

Population in 1900: 5,076

Today's population: 10,150

Established: February 17, 1874, from an eastern section of Siskiyou county

Major industries in 1900: lumber, livestock, aluminum, coal, oil

EXHIBIT OBJECTS

The Alturas Plaindealer (publisher). George L. Matthews (cover illustrator). A Historical, Biographical and Pictorial Magazine Devoted to Modoc County, 1912. Magazine. California Historical Society, library collection, San Francisco.

MONO

County seat: Bridgeport

Population in 1900: 2,167

Today's population: 10,600

Established: April 24, 1861, from parts of Calaveras and Fresno Counties

Major industries in 1900: lumber, livestock, mining

Exhibit Object

J. W. E. Townsend, editor and proprietor. *The Mining Index*., Bodie, Dec. 27, 1895. Newsprint. California Historical Society, library collection, San Francisco.

MONTEREY

County seat: Salinas

Population in 1900: 19,380

Today's population: 371,500

Established: February 18, 1850, as one of the twenty-seven original counties

Major industries in 1900: grain, sugar beets, fruit, livestock, lumber, oil, copper, gypsum, coal, glass sand, fishing, fish canneries, tourism

Exhibit Object

C. W. J. Johnson (photographer). Del Monte Bathing Pavillion, 1886. Photograph. Monterey County Historical Society, Salinas.

Detroit Photographic Co. (maker). California's Largest and Best Loved Resort—Hotel Del Monte, Del Monte, California, 1903. Photolithograph. Monterey County Historical Society, Salinas.

NAPA

County seat: Napa

Population in 1900: 16,451

Today's population: 123,300

Established: February 18, 1850, as one of the twenty-seven original counties

Major industries in 1900: lumber, grapes, winemaking, brandy distilling, deciduous fruits, citrus fruits, prunes, fruit drying and canning, flour, livestock, mercury, oil

Exhibit Object

Maker unknown. Woman's Gym Suit, 1880s. Wool and linen. Napa County Historical Society, Napa.

Photographer unknown. Delivering Grapes, 1904. Photograph. Sharpsteen Museum, Calistoga.

Wooden Grape Box, 1904. Wood. Sharpsteen Museum, Calistoga.

Wine in Bottle, 1914. Sharpsteen Museum, Calistoga.

NEVADA

County seat: Nevada City

Population in 1900: 17,789

Today's population: 88,800

Established: April 25, 1851, from part of Yuba County

Major industries in 1900: lumber, fruit, livestock, dairy, alfalfa, red clover, gold

Exhibit Objects

Model of Pelton Wheel, 1880-1900. Nevada County Historical Society, Nevada City

Fulton Iron Works, San Francisco. Contract for Delivery of a Pelton Wheel, April 27, 1895. Nevada County Historical Society, Nevada City.

ORANGE

County seat: Santa Ana

Population in 1900: 19,696

Today's population: 2,586,664

Established: March 11, 1889, from part of Los Angeles County

Major industries in 1900: deciduous fruit, citrus fruit, winemaking, raisins, sugar beets, vegetables, honey, horses, lead, silver, mercury, limestone, cement, pottery clays, gypsum, oil

Exhibit Objects

Charles Strange (architect). Orange County Courthouse, Front Elevation, January 1900. Ink on linen. Old Courthouse Museum, Santa Ana.

G. F. Andrist (Composer). Santa Ana March, 1909. Sheet music. Old Courthouse Museum, Santa Ana.

PLACER

County seat: Auburn

Population in 1900: 15,786

Today's population: 217,900

Established: April 25, 1851, from parts of Yuba and Sutter counties

Major industries in 1900: grain, deciduous fruit, oranges, lumber, granite, iron, copper, gold

Exhibit Object

Howard B. Elliott, Elliott Publishing Co., San Francisco. Birds-Eye View of Auburn, Placer County, Cal. 1891, 1891. Color lithograph. Placer County Department of Museums, Auburn.

PLUMAS

County seat: Quincy

Population in 1900: 4,657

Today's population: 20,600

Established: March 18, 1854, from a portion of Butte County

Major industries in 1900: lumber, fruit, livestock, butter, copper

Exhibit Object

John Williams (maker). Skis and Pole, 1896. Wood. Plumas County Museum, Quincy

RIVERSIDE

County seat: Riverside

Population in 1900: 17,897

Today's population: 1,441,200

Established: March 11, 1893, from portions of San Diego and San Bernardino counties

Major industries in 1900: citrus fruit, deciduous fruit

Exhibit Object

C. N. Heath (photographer). Mission Inn Shop (framers). Replanting the Navel Orange Tree, 1903. Photograph. Riverside Municipal Museum, Riverside.

SACRAMENTO

County seat: Sacramento

Population in 1900: 45,915

Today's population: 1,159,800

Established: February 18, 1850, as one of the original twenty-seven counties

Major industries in 1900: wheat, barley, flax, hay, fruit, vegetables, citrus fruit, winemaking, railroads

Exhibit Objects

Photographer unknown. Sacramento Street Fair, 1900. Photograph. City of Sacramento, Archives & Museum Collection Center, Sacramento.

Photographer unknown. Sacramento Street Fair, 1901. Photograph. City of Sacramento, Archives & Museum Collection Center, Sacramento.

SAN BENITO

County seat: Hollister.

Population in 1900: 6,633

Today's population: 46,600

Established: February 12, 1874, from a portion of Monterey County

Major industries in 1900: fruit, livestock, mercury, cinnabar, gypsum, oil

Exhibit Object

New Idria Mining Company. Quicksilver Flask, ca. 1900. Cast iron. San Benito County Historical Society, Hollister.

SAN BERNARDINO COUNTY

County seat: San Bernardino

Population in 1900: 27,929

Today's population: 1,624,900

Established: April 26, 1853, from parts of Los Angeles, San Diego, and Mariposa Counties

Major industries in 1900: deciduous fruit, citrus fruit, beets, winemaking, lumber, borax, gold, silver, soda, coal, asbestos, iron, lead, copper, cement, lime, marble, oil

Exhibit Object

Photographer unknown. Roundhouse Force at Barstow, California, ca. 1900. Photograph. Mojave River Valley Museum, Santa Fe Collection, Barstow.

SAN DIEGO

County seat: San Diego.

Population in 1900: 35,090

Today's population: 2,794,800

Established: February 18, 1850, as one of the twenty-seven original counties

Major industries in 1900: shipping, deciduous fruit, citrus fruit, olives, livestock, honey, bananas, rubber, gold, silver, copper, lead, coal, gypsum, asbestos, mica, ocher, salt, alum, borax, quicksilver, sulfur, and iron

Exhibit Object

Reginald W. Machell (maker). Chair, ca. 1905-1910. Carved and painted wood. San Diego Historical Society, San Diego.

SAN FRANCISCO (City and County)

County seat: San Francisco

Population in 1900: 342,782

Today's population: 778,100

Established: February 18, 1850, as one the original twenty-seven counties

Major industries in 1900: steel, banking, insurance, shipping, shipbuilding, fishing, tourism

Exhibit Objects

Artist unknown. H.S. Crocker & Co. (lithograph). San Francisco in July of 1899, 1898. Chromolighograph. Reid W. Dennis collection.

Doerner & Gunther (lithographers). No More Washee Washee, Melican Man Wear Celluloid Collar and Cuff, ca. 1890s. Trade Card. Chinese Historical Society of America, Daniel K. E. Ching Collection, San Francisco.

Photographer unknown. Early California Chinatown, 1900. Photograph. Chinese Historical Society of America, Daniel K. E. Ching Collection, San Francisco.

SAN JOAQUIN

County seat: Stockton

Population in 1900: 35,452

Today's population: 545,200

Established: February 18, 1850, as one of the original twenty-seven counties

Major industries in 1900: wheat, flour mills, deciduous fruit, fruit canneries, winemaking, raisins, vegetables, potatoes, asparagus, wool manufactories, agricultural implements

Exhibit Object

Holt Manufacturing Company. Holt Time Capsule, September

9, 1899. Sheet metal canister and business ephemera. The Haggin Museum, Stockton.

SAN LUIS OBISPO

County seat: San Luis Obispo

Population in 1900: 16,637

Today's population: 239,000

Established: February 18, 1850, as one of the original twenty-seven counties

Major industries in 1900: cereals, beans, fruits, livestock, dairy, fishing, mercury, copper, onyx, chrome, coal, gold, silver, oil

EXHIBIT OBJECTS

Maker unknown. Herb Cutter, ca. 1880. Iron with wooden handle. San Luis Obispo County Historical Society and Museum, San Luis Obispo.

Photographer unknown. Ah Louis, n.d. Photograph. San Luis Obispo County Historical Society and Museum, San Luis Obispo.

Photographer unknown. Ah Louis Store, n.d. Photograph. San Luis Obispo County Historical Society and Museum, San Luis Obispo.

SAN MATEO

County seat: Redwood City

Population in 1900: 12,094

Today's population: 715,400

Established: April 19, 1856, from the southern portion of San Francisco County

Major industries in 1900: wheat, barley, oats, beans, vegetables, livestock, lumber, meat packing

EXHIBIT OBJECTS,

Brewster & Co., New York (maker). Governess Cart, ca. 1900. Wicker, wood, and iron. San Mateo County Historical Museum, Redwood City.

Photographer unknown. Crystal Springs Dam Construction, 1887. Photograph. San Mateo County Historical Museum, Redwood City.

Gabriel Moulin (photographer). Spillway of Crystal Springs Dam [completed in 1890], 1911. Photograph. Moulin Archives/San Mateo County Historical Museum, Redwood City.

SANTA BARBARA

County seat: Santa Barbara

Population in 1900: 18,934

Today's population: 405,500

Established: February 18, 1850, as one of the twenty-seven original counties

Major industries in 1900: beans, berries, vegetables, potatoes, wheat, barley, flowers, olives, citrus fruit, deciduous fruit, beets, nuts, livestock, fishing, abalone, gold, silver, copper, mercury, manganese, gypsum, oil

EXHIBIT OBJECT

Alexander Harmer (artist). Battle of the Flowers, Fleet Festival April 1908, 1908. Oil on canvas. Santa Barbara Historical Society, gift of Glenn E. Idleman, Santa Barbara.

SANTA CLARA

County seat: San Jose

Population in 1900: 60,216

Today's population: 1,689,900

Established: February 18, 1850, as one of the twenty-seven original counties

Major industries in 1900: fruit, prunes, dried fruit, grapes, winemaking, brandy, wheat, hay, barley, mercury, oil, limestone, coal

EXHIBIT OBJECT

Maker unknown. San Jose Orchestral Society, 1892. Charcoal with photographic collage. History Museums of San Jose, San Jose.

SANTA CRUZ

County seat: Santa Cruz.

Population in 1900: 21,512

Today's population: 250,200

Established: February 18, 1850, as one of the twenty-seven original counties

Major industries in 1900: lumber, livestock, dairy, fruit, winemaking, hops, beets, sugar beets, berries, fishing, gun powder, lime, winemaking, leather tanning, tourism

EXHIBIT OBJECTS

Andrew P. Hill (photographer). Exploration Party at Big Basin May 15-19, 1900. Photograph. The Museum of Art and History at The McPherson Center, Santa Cruz.

C. L. Aydelotte (photographer). Gathering on the Beach (site of the current Santa Cruz Boardwalk), 1901. Photograph. The Museum of Art and History at The McPherson Center, Santa Cruz.

Photographer unknown. Hop Kiln, early 1900s. Photograph. Pajaro Valley Historical Association, Watsonville.

SHASTA

County seat: Redding

Population in 1900: 17,318

Today's population: 165,000

Established: February 18, 1850, as one of the twenty-seven original counties.

Major industries in 1900: copper, silver, gold, iron, fruit, grain, lumber

EXHIBIT OBJECTS

Chester Mullen (photographer). Mammoth Smelter, Kennett, ca. 1900. Photograph. Shasta Historical Society, Redding.

Chester Mullen (photographer). Market Street. Redding, Cal., ca. 1910-1915. Photograph. Shasta Historical Society, Redding.

SIERRA

County seat: Downieville

Population in 1900: 4,017

Today's population: 3,360

Established: April 16, 1852, from a portion of Yuba County

Major industries in 1900: gold, lumber, hay, grain, fruit, graphite

Exhibit Objects

Photographer unknown. Buggy at the Sierra City Hotel, 1897 or 1898. Photograph. Kentucky Mine Museum, Sierra City.

Photographer unknown. Downieville Stage, ca. 1900. Photograph. Kentucky Mine Museum, Sierra City.

SISKIYOU

County seat: Yreka

Population in 1900: 16,962

Today's population: 44,700

When established: March 22, 1852, from the northern part of Shasta County and part of Klamath County

Major industries in 1900: lumber, grain, apples, livestock, gold, mercury, iron, coal, copper, marble, onyx, building stone

Exhibit Object

Charles Dorman Robinson (artist). Mount Shasta, 1903. Oil on canvas. California Historical Society, gift of the Gary J. Farotte Family, San Francisco.

SOLANO

County seat: Fairfield

Population in 1900: 24,143

Today's Population: 383,600

Established: February 18, 1850, as one of the twenty-seven original counties

Major industries in 1900: grain, fruit, livestock, dairy, agricultural implements, shipyards, onyx, marble, mercury, building stone

Exhibit Objects

Dick Smith (maker). Fruit Crate Nail Stripper, 1913. Wood, metal. Vacaville Museum: A Center for Solano County History, Vacaville.

Photographer unknown. Dry Dock, United States Navy Yard, Mare Island, California, ca. 1900. Postcard. Vallejo Naval and Historical Museum, Vallejo.

SONOMA

County seat: Santa Rosa

Population in 1900: 38,480

Today's population: 437,100

Established: February 18, 1850, as one of the twenty-seven original counties

Major industries in 1900: lumber, deciduous fruit, winemaking, canneries, hops, grains, vegetables, dairy, poultry, mercury, gypsum

Exhibit Objects

Photographer unknown. Luther Burbank in his Greenhouse, n.d. Photograph. Sonoma County Museum, Santa Rosa.

Photographer unknown. Photograph of Thomas Edison, Luther Burbank, and Henry Ford, Oct. 1915. Photograph. Sonoma County Museum, Santa Rosa.

Photographer unknown. Cactus Field, Santa Rosa, n.d. Photograph. Sonoma County Museum, Santa Rosa.

STANISLAUS

County seat: Modesto

Population in 1900: 9,550

Today's population: 427,600

Established: April 1, 1854, from part of Tuolumne County

Major industries in 1900: wheat, other grains, fruit, livestock, horses

Exhibit Objects

Photographer unknown. Flourishing Irrigated Vineyard, Modesto, Cal., early 1900s. Photograph. McHenry Museum, Modesto.

Photographer unknown, Stanislaus County Board of Trade. Dairy Cattle and Canal–Crows Landing, early 1900s. Photograph. McHenry Museum, Modesto.

SUTTER

County seat: Yuba City

Population in 1900: 5,886

Today's population: 76,800

Established: February 18, 1850, as one of the twenty-seven original counties

Major industries in 1900: wheat, fruit, livestock

Exhibit Objects

Photographer unknown. Sutter County Courthouse. Second Street, Yuba City, ca. 1900. Photograph. Community Memorial Museum of Sutter County, Yuba City.

Pruda Corliss Smith (photographer). Steam Harvester Near Nicolaus 1900. Photograph. Community Memorial Museum of Sutter County, Yuba City.

TEHAMA

County seat: Red Bluff

Population in 1900: 10,996

Today's population: 55,400

Established: Created April 9, 1856, from parts of Colusa, Butte, and Shasta counties

Major industries in 1900: wheat, other grains, nuts, peanuts, alfalfa, fruit, grapes, lumber, wool

Exhibit Objects

Photographer unknown. William F. Luning in His Office, 1890s. Photograph. Tehama County Museum, Red Bluff.

Drafting Tools, late 1890s. Tehama County Museum, Red Bluff.

Map Book of Early Tehama County, 1903. Leather-bound paper. Tehama County Museum, Red Bluff.

TRINITY

County seat: Weaverville

Population in 1900: 4,383

Today's population: 13,250

Established: February 18, 1850, as one of the twenty-seven original counties

Major industries in 1900: lumber, grain, fruit, gold

Exhibit Object

Photographer unknown. Images from Trinity County, ca. 1892. Miniature photographs. California Historical Society, photography collection, San Francisco.

TULARE

County seat: Visalia

Population in 1900: 18,375

Today's population: 360,400

When established: Created April 20, 1852, from part of Mariposa County and from the northern part of Los Angeles County

Major industries in 1900: wheat, deciduous fruit, citrus fruit, raisins, wine, livestock, alfalfa, lumber, gold, slate, marble, coal, lead, silver, iron, copper

Exhibit Objects

Photographer unknown. Melon Patch, Dinuba, ca. 1900. Photograph. California Historical Society, photography collection, San Francisco.

Photographer unknown. Oranges, Lemons, and Grapefruit, Lemoncove,, California, ca. 1900. Photograph. California Historical Society, photography collection, San Francisco.

TUOLUMNE

County seat: Sonora

Population in 1900: 11,166

Today's population: 52,800

Established: February 18, 1850, as one of the twenty-seven original counties

Major industries in 1900: lumber, grain, fruit, livestock, gold

Exhibit Objects

. Mastropasque (photographer). Untitled [Artist Painting Hetch Hetchy], 1910s. Photograph. Tuolumne County Historical Society, Sonora.

Dance Card for the West Side Flume and Lumber Company Sierra Railway of California Ball, May 26, 1900. Printed paper. Tuolumne County Historical Society, Sonora.

Promotional Brochure, ca. 1900. Tuolumne County Historical Society, Sonora

VENTURA

County seat: Ventura

Population in 1900: 14,367

Today's population: 730,800

Established: Created March 22, 1872, from part of Santa Barbara County

Major industries in 1900: wheat, flour mills, barley, beans, grapes, olives, figs, beets, walnuts, deciduous fruit, citrus fruit, honey, gold, limestone, oil, oil refineries

Exhibit Objects

Maker unknown. Dress, ca. 1890. Linen printed with black ink. Ventura County Museum of History and Art, gift of Janette Romney, Ventura.

Whitehead & Hoag Co., Newark, N.J. (maker). Ventura by the Sea, Street Fair Oct. 2-6, 1900, California, 1900. Celluloid and metal medallion. Ventura County Museum of History and Art, Ventura.

YOLO

County seat: Woodland

Population in 1900: 13,618

Today's population: 156,800

Established: February 18, 1850, as one of the original twenty-seven counties

Major industries in 1900: wheat, other grains, fruit, vegetables, livestock, dairy

Exhibit Objects

Turrill & Miller (photographers). First Prize County Exhibit, California State Fair, Sacramento, 1903. Photograph. California Historical Society, photography collection, San Francisco.

Photographer unknown. Yolo Brewery, n.d. Photograph. California Historical Society, photography collection, San Francisco.

YUBA

County seat: Marysville

Population in 1900: 8,620

Today's population: 61,400

Established: February 18, 1850, as one of the original twenty-seven counties

Major industries in 1900: hops, alfalfa, vegetables, fruit, lumber, livestock, fruit canning, flour mills, woolen goods, gold

Exhibit Object

Yuba Manufacturing Co., San Francisco and Benicia. Yuba No. 17, photo taken 1934. Photograph. Mary Aaron Museum, Marysville.

AMERICA'S CONCENTRATION CAMPS:

Remembering the Japanese American Experience

March 21 through June 18, 2000

In March 2000, the Society presented one of the most moving and dramatic exhibits in the history of the organization.

America's Concentration Camps: Remembering the Japanese American Experience outlined the largest violation of individuals' rights by the United States government of the 20th century. It detailed the World War II experiences of 120,000 Americans of Japanese ancestry who were forced to leave their homes and businesses on the West Coast and Hawaii, and live in desolate camps located in seven states west of the Mississippi River. During this experience, Japanese American community leaders were taken into custody without charge and without trial; some were even held on Ellis Island. Ultimately, the FBI concluded that there were no acts of sabotage or disloyalty by Japanese Americans.

The exhibition outlined this experience through historic photographs depicting the forced removal and mass incarceration, home movie footage of camp life in the Japanese American National Museum's award-winning video, "Something Strong Within," as well as collections and personal stories. The exhibit, which was created by the National Museum and designed by Ralph Appelbaum Associates, Inc., the designers of the permanent exhibition for the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, represented each camp with a detailed map and statistics. Beyond providing facts and figures, the exhibition focused on the human experience, told through words, historic photographs, and mementos.

Some of the pieces exhibited were selected specifically for our exhibit in San Francisco. In January, local former internees brought objects created in the camps that included letters, paintings and other art and craft objects, diaries and scrapbooks, as well as heroic service medals. Staff from the National Museum examined and cataloged the objects, then chose fascinating samples that were included in our exhibition. Some of the former internees also served as docents and volunteers during the exhibit, generously sharing their deeply felt stories. Some of the unique stories and objects in our exhibit included:

In 1941, Hiroshi Kashiwagi's father contracted tuberculosis. In order to protect his family from the disease, Mr. Kashiwagi quarantined himself in a tent on the pasture of their ranch in Placer County. In early 1942 Mr. Kashiwagi was hospitalized, which meant his wife and two sons had to prepare for the move to the Tule Lake internment camp, in his absence. In the few hectic days they had to make arrangements for their home and farm, Mrs. Kashiwagi designed and hand-sewed a duffel bag for each of her sons out of the sturdiest material she had—her husband's quarantine tent. Mr. Kashiwagi remained in the hospital and was not reunited with his family until the end of the war.

Sato Hashizume was only ten years old when Executive Order 9066 mandated that she was a security risk and would be sent to camp. Unaware of its seriousness, she prepared for camp by gathering autographs and addressed from her classmates. Since this was her first venture outside of Portland, she planned on writing many letters detailing what she hoped would be a fascinating experience. Ms. Hashizume never wrote to her classmates during the three and a half years that she spent with her family at Minidoka. Looking back now, she recalls that it was too difficult to describe where and how she was living. The artifacts she shared included her autograph book, her first pair of glasses, and cards and letters from her childhood in camp.

There were a significant number of professional artists who were interned, and who continued to pro-

Crowd at Tule Lake. Japanese American National Museum.
Photo: Jack Iwata. Collection of Jack and Peggy Iwata (93.102.8). Reproduced by permission.

duce work within the context of imprisonment. Their artwork formed a moving part of the exhibit. Chiura Obata (1885-1975), professor of art at U.C. Berkeley, organized an art school when he was at the Topaz camp. The school accommodated approximately 800 students ranging in age from 5 to over 70 years old. Within days of their arrival, Obata organized the school with the following philosophy: "We feel that art is one of the most constructive forms of education. Sincere creative endeavoring, especially n these stressing times I strongly believe will aid in developing a sense of calmness and appreciation which is so desirable and following it come sound judgement and a spirit of cooperation. In such manner I feel that the general morale of the people will be uplifted."

In addition to teaching, the artists at Topaz continued to create their own work. Among them were George M. Hibi (1886-1947) and Hisako Hibi (1907-1991), both accomplished artists prior to the war and close friends of Chiura Obata. The Hibis met while attending the California School of Fine Arts, now known as the San Francisco Art Institute. During the 1930s the Hibis individually exhibited in a variety of significant venues throughout the Bay Area. After the war, the Hibis resettled in New York. After Mr. Hibi's death, Mrs. Hibi returned to the Bay Area where she continued to paint and exhibit until her death in 1991.

Like many Japanese Americans, Don Uyeda has made return visits to the Topaz camp. Once he found a hand-made *geta*, a Japanese slipper made out of wood. Another found treasure was a simple hand-made grater constructed from a metal can. It offered a tangible example of how inmates coped with their situation.

The California Historical Society and the Japanese American National Museum worked closely with a Community Advisory Committee, comprised of more than two dozen organizations from the San Francisco Bay Area and surrounding counties in the development and presentation of the exhibition and programs. This was the most extensive outreach the Society has ever created, and will serve as a model for future exhibits. It was very challenging, and very rewarding, to involve this large and diverse group, who were deeply involved in the programs that accompanied the exhibitions. In addition to Japanese American community organizations, other minority organizations participated as well, which allowed the message of the exhibit to reach far beyond the facts of the story it told.

The title of the exhibition engendered inquiries about the use of the term "concentration camps." Some questioned whether these were indeed concentration camps. Karen L. Ishizuka, curator of the exhibit and Senior Curator for the National Museum states, "We did not make the decision to use these words without serious consideration." She noted that National Museum staff discussed the issue extensively with scholars and leaders in both the Japanese American and American Jewish communities, which resulted in the following exhibit text:

"A 'concentration camp' is a place where people are imprisoned not because of any crimes they committed, but simply because of who they are. Although many groups have been singled out for such persecution throughout history, the term 'concentration camp' was first used at the turn of the century in the Spanish American and Boer Wars.

"During World War II, America's concentration camps were clearly distinguishable from Nazi Germany's. Nazi camps were places of torture, barbarous medical experiments and summary executions: some were extermination centers with gas chambers. Six million Jews were slaughtered in the Holocaust. Many others, including Gypsies, Poles, homosexuals, and political dissidents were also victims of the Nazi concentration camps.

"In recent years, concentration camps have existed in the former Soviet Union, Cambodia and Bosnia.

"Despite differences, all had one thing in common: the people in power removed a minority group from the general population and the rest of society let it happen."

James Hirabayashi, Ph.D., is a Marin resident, the National Museum's Chief Curator, an internment camp survivor, and professor emeritus at San Francisco State University where he was Dean of the nation's first school of Ethnic Studies. In an article originally written for the National Museum's newsletter, he explored the insidious use of euphemisms that were used by the government to describe the internment. Excerpts from his article are reprinted here with kind permission of the National Museum.

"Let us review the main points of the debate. Over 120,000 residents of the U.S.A., two thirds of whom were American citizens, were incarcerated under armed guard. There were no crimes committed, no trials and no convictions: the Japanese Americans were political prisoners. To detain American citizens in a site under armed guards surely constitutes a 'concentration camp.' But what were the terms used by the government officials who were involved in the process and who had to justify these actions? Let's consider three such euphemisms: "evacuation," 'relocation,' and 'non-aliens.' Earthquake and flood victims are evacuated and relocated. The words refer to moving people in order to rescue and protect them from danger.

"The official government policy makers consistently used 'evacuation' to refer to the forced removal of the Japanese Americans and the sites were called 'relocation centers.' These are euphemisms (Webster: 'the substitution of an inoffensive term for one considered offensively explicit.') as the terms do not imply forced removal nor incarceration in enclosures patrolled by armed guards. The masking was intentional. Perhaps the most obvious circumlocution was the use of the term 'non-alien.' This phrase appeared on yellow notice sheets affixed to telephone poles announcing the removal orders. Exactly what does 'non-alien' mean? To whom does it refer? Of course, it's a euphemism for citizen! Since they were nullifying the constitutional rights of Japanese Amer-

Basketball at Manzanar.
Japanese American National Museum. Gift of Grace and George Izumi. (94.182.8). Reproduced by permission.

ans, it is clear why the government officials did not ish to use the term citizen.

"Euphemistic language accomplished a number objectives for using the terms: (1) it sidetracked gal and constitutional challenges; (2) it allowed the vernment to maintain a decent public image; (3) helped lead the victims into willing cooperation;) it permitted the white civilian employees to work ithout self-reproach and (5) it kept the historical cord in the governments favor. In spite of the offi- al use of the euphemism 'relocation center,' how- er, many government officials actually used the rm concentration camp. Those government officials clude President Franklin D. Roosevelt, General wight D. Eisenhower, Secretary of the Interior arold Ickes, Attorney General Francis Biddle and upreme Court Justices Owen Roberts, Hugo Black, nd Tom Clark.

"Some have argued that the Nazi Germany camps uring the Holocaust were concentration camps nd to refer to the Japanese American camps like- ise would be an affront to the Jews. It is certainly true that Japanese Americans did not suffer the harsh fate of the Jews since those were terrible concentration camps where Nazi Germany practiced a policy of genocide. Yes, in this case, 'concentration camps' may be considered euphemisms for 'death camps.' Although the loss of life was minimal in America's concentration camps, it does not negate the reality of the unconstitutional incarceration of Japanese American citizens."

The California Historical Society seeks to tell the stories of all Californians. In the coming years, we will present exhibits and programs that celebrate and explore our shared experiences and defining moments—even when those moments are challenging to face. We look forward to sharing these stories with you.

This article was prepared by Jennifer Kaiser, the Society's communications and marketing consultant, based upon materials provided by the Japanese American National Museum. We greatly appreciate having their permission to reproduce them.

Financial Highlights

Fiscal Year 2000

Combined Statements of Financial Position
California Historical Society and California Historical Foundation

BALANCE SHEET	AS OF	
	June 30, 2000	June 30, 1999
ASSETS		
Current assets:		
Cash	136,917	$ 67,037
Accounts receivable (net)	16,260	14,291
Interest receivable	24,835	24,691
Inventory	25,244	---
Prepaid expenses and other assets	52,621	29,333
Total current assets	260,877	135,352
Non-current assets:		
Investments	5,890,732	5,662,940
Property and equipment (net)	3,865,026	4,004,252
Total non-current assets	9,755,758	9,667,192
Total Assets	$ 10,016,635	$ 9,802,544
LIABILITIES AND NET ASSETS		
Current liabilities:		
Accounts payable and accrued liabilities	$ 39,406	$ 71,311
Deferred revenue	15,300	36,350
Total current liabilities	54,706	107,661
Net assets:		
Unrestricted	4,274,489	4,251,105
Temporarily restricted	183,510	308,368
Permanently restricted	5,503,930	5,135,410
Total net assets	9,961,929	9,694,883
Total liabilities and net assets	$ 10,016,635	$ 9,802,544

Complete audited financial statements are available from CHS upon request.

Combined Statements of Activities and Changes in Net Assets
California Historical Society and California Historical Foundation

STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENSES	YEAR ENDED June 30, 2000	June 30, 1999
Revenue and support:		
Memberships	$ 455,108	$ 360,998
Programs, activities and special events	273,106	312,293
Contributions, grants and bequests	374,945	299,201
Net investment income	14,231	5,126
Sales and other revenue	96,180	65,692
Total unrestricted revenue	1,213,570	1,043,310
Net assets released from restrictions	585,536	696,146
Total revenue and support	1,799,106	1,739,456
Expenses:		
Program services	1,028,990	888,164
Supporting services*	703,232	651,894
Total expenses	1,732,222	1,540,058
Increase (decrease) in unrestricted net assets	66,884	199,398
Changes in temporarily restricted net assets:		
Grants and contributions	148,538	351,376
Investment income	13,567	15,206
Net assets released from restrictions	(286,963)	(463,015)
Increase (decrease) in temporarily restricted net assets	(124,858)	(96,433)
Changes in permanently restricted net assets:		
Investment income	152,055	175,441
Unrealized gains on investments	289,082	(738,389)
Reinvested capital gain on sale	225,956	1,035,138
Grants and contributions	---	30,453
Net assets released from restrictions	(298,573)	(233,131)
Increase in permanently restricted net assets	368,520	269,512
Net changes in net assets used to purchase collection items	(43,500)	----
Increase in net assets	267,046	372,477
Net assets at beginning of year	9,694,883	9,322,406
Net assets at end of year	$ 9,961,929	$ 9,694,883

*A non cash depreciation expense ($173,186 in FY00, $155,936 in FY 99) is included in supporting services and is reflected in these figures

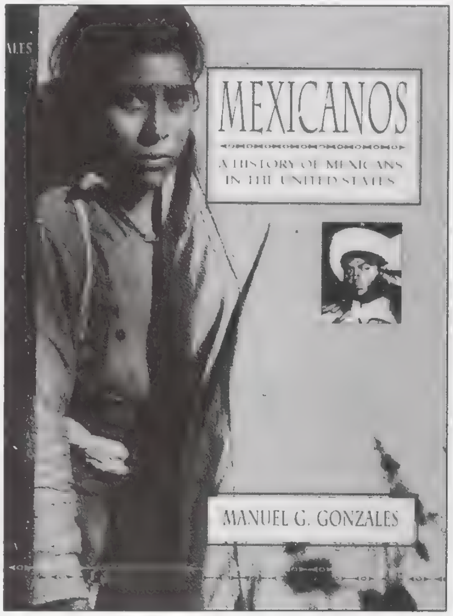
REVIEWS

Edited by James J. Rawls

Mexicanos: A History of Mexicans in the United States.

By Manuel Gonzales. (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1999, x, 322 pp., $29.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by Richard Delgado, *Jean Lindsley Professor of Law at University of Colorado and* Jean Stefancic, *research associate in law at University of Colorado.*



Courtesy Indiana University Press.

Now that society has recently discovered Latinos, the nation's soon-to-be largest ethnic minority group, the race is on over where this group should be located in the American landscape of race. Perhaps hopeful of currying converts, conservatives highlight the group's Catholicism, traditional value system, and abhorrence of abortion. They also point out that its dismal statistics on poverty, income, and school drop-out have an obvious solution—cut back on immigration, which brings in a constant stream of impoverished workers with little knowledge of this country's language and institutions—calculated to appeal to middle-class, job-holding Latinos. For their part, leftists hail the group's potential for contributing to social change, as evidenced by a history of vigorous activism against racist schools, brutal police, and unfair working conditions. The interpretive struggle has a political counterpart as well, as both major parties field candidates who practice speaking Spanish and highlight what their party has to offer Latinos.

Consciously—even pugnaciously—non-ideological, Manuel Gonzales's book contains something for both camps. Unlike movement histories, such as Rodolfo Acuña's *Occupied America,* it steers a middle course between exhortation, on the one hand, and the innumerable bland "many contributions" volumes that make up much of the multicultural canon.

Progressive readers will be pleased at the extensive treatment Gonzales affords Mexican women, who are often missing from the more militant histories, *mestizaje,* banditry (including such mythic figures as Joaquin Murietta), and also at his dismantlement of the U.S.'s pretext for its war of aggression against Mexico in 1846, in which this country seized roughly one-half of Mexico's territory. They will also be pleased at his rejection of conservative writers who hope the group will quietly follow the path of earlier ethnic groups, such as Italians and Irish, and learn to blend into the American citizenry. Uncommitted readers will welcome his treatment of the Mexican American middle class, which in many eras quietly worked behind the scenes to combat racism and prejudice and to ameliorate the plight of the desperately poor. Conservatives will take comfort not only in his recognition of the way a constant stream of immigration from Mexico and Central America fuels poverty and stereotypes, but also in his defense of Columbus—who he finds no worse than many of his contemporaries—and of Cortéz, La Malinche, and Montezuma. All readers will benefit from Gonzales's treatmen of rural life, an area given slight shrift by other writers, and o the role of litigation and law reform in contesting discrimination against Mexican American people.

But perhaps the book's major contribution lies in its treatmen of immigration. Many Americans are under the impression tha Mexican immigration is a problem of the last ten or fifteen years In fact, Mexicans from Mexico and Mexican Americans living in the U.S. have followed the lure of jobs since at least the beginning of the century. Gonzales shows how Mexico's grinding poverty, revolutions, and political instability have always fueled waves of immigration, as well as how U.S. business interests and lax border enforcement encouraged cycles of workers who came here, worked, and, in many cases, returned to their homelands. The flood of immigrants will continue, Gonzales predicts, until the U.S. determines to punish corporations and employers who hire undocumented aliens, something it has been reluctant to do—perhaps for good reason. He shows convincingly

Books sent to *California History* for review that are not reviewed, but pertain to the collection, are catalogued in the California Historical Society library.

that the country benefits, culturally and economically, from the workers' contributions.

Intriguing, as well, is Gonzales's treatment of family life, in which he sides with the right in criticizing Mexican parents for not encouraging their children to pursue education ardently enough. Though critical of the community for its lack of commitment to education, he somewhat surprisingly defends it against the charge that it is politically apathetic and prone not to vote, pointing out that this may be explainable by perfectly good reasons that may go away in time.

Although acknowledging the contribution of Marxist writers, Gonzales's book is an attempt to rebalance Chicano history and render it more inclusive. Somewhat in the fashion of Tom Brokaw's *The Last Great Generation* and John Egerton's *Speak Now Against the Day,* he highlights the impressive contributions of the Mexican American generation of 1940 to 1965. He also weaves into his treatment the work of scholars such as David Weber, Carey McWilliams, Arnoldo De Leon, Mario T. Garcia, Juañ Gomez-Quinones, and Richard Griswold del Castillo, who are often missing from what he calls the monolithic nationalist approach to his subject.

Gratifyingly well written and illustrated, and featuring an extensive index and bibliography, *Mexicanos: A History of Mexicans in the United States* is highly recommended for general readers, historians, and professors of Chicano studies.

Rebirth: Mexican Los Angeles from the Great Migration to the Great Depression.

By Douglas Monroy. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999, ix, 322 pp., $35.00 cloth, $14.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Manuel G. Gonzales, *history instructor at Diablo Valley College and author of* Mexicanos: A History of Mexicans in the United States.

Having surveyed the social and cultural history of Mexicans in southern California during the nineteenth century in his award-winning study, *Thrown among Strangers* (1990), Douglas Monroy in *Rebirth* continues his investigation of Mexicanos in the southland into the first four decades of the twentieth century. This story has been told many times in recent years by ethnic historians, among them Ricardo Romo, Richard Griswold del Castillo, Antonio Rios-Bustamante, Pedro Castillo, Lisbeth Haas, Gilbert González, and George Sánchez. But *Rebirth* is not merely a synthesis of existing Chicana/o scholarship. What distinguishes this volume from previous efforts is its focus on the diversity of experiences of the Mexican-origin population on the Los Angeles "landscape."

Monroy probes a multitude of themes that elucidate the life of the Mexican community. Three trends in particular stand out: first, the immigrants' attempt to re-create the life of the Old Country in what they called "México de afuera," defined by the author as "outer Mexico"; second, the inevitable espousal of Americanization and the resulting conflicts within the emerging and ambivalent *colonias,* in spite of efforts to sustain traditional culture; and, finally, the centrality of Mexicans in the regional economy—a contribution little appreciated by casual observers—while, ironically, they were marginalized as a people. Monroy is at his best in analyzing the many ways that urbanization impacted Mexicanos in Los Angeles in the aftermath of World War I. The syncretic culture that resulted from the merging of Mexican and Amerjcan folkways makes for fascinating reading. Born and raised in Los Angeles, the author displays a passion for his subject that only a native son could convey.

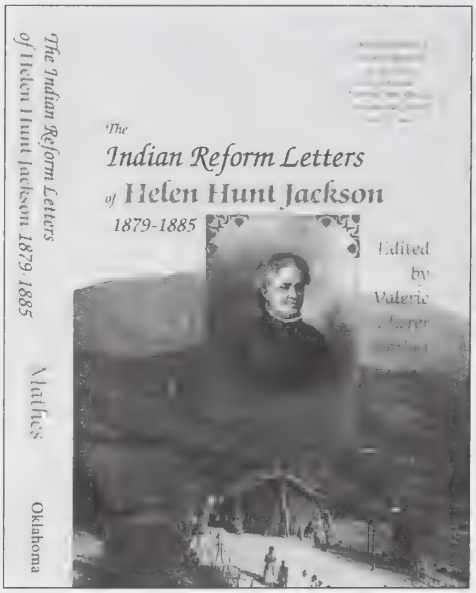
The second chapter, "Born by the River," is the most impressive of the five sections. Here the author reviews the "push/pull" factors that have been used since the time of Carey McWilliams to explain the Great Migration, the movement of Mexicans to the United States from 1900 to 1930. As he does with other familiar themes, however, Monroy offers fresh insights. His account of the penetration of American capital into Mexico during the *Porfiriato* and its impact on immigration is superb. So, too, is his explanation of the transformation of the Southwest into an agricultural cornucopia thanks to irrigation, a discussion that provides much new information.

Rebirth is an important contribution to the study of Mexican Americans. However, there are some minor flaws. The narrative is fragmentary, which is hardly surprising since the five chapters were apparently conceived as separate essays. Moreover, the writing could be more concise. Particularly disconcerting is the liberal and superfluous use of the phrase, "I think," before views that are obviously personal opinions. It is unfortunate, too, that Monroy makes scant use of what continues to be the best work on Mexican immigration during the period he examines, Mark Reisler's *By the Sweat of Their Brow: Mexican Immigrant Labor in the United States, 1900–1940* (1976).

The Indian Reform Letters of Helen Hunt Jackson, 1879–1885.

Edited by Valerie Sherer Mathes (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998, xiii, 372 pp., $39.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by Donald E. Deur, *doctoral fellow in the department of geography and anthropology, Louisiana State University.*


The Indian Reform Letters of Helen Hunt Jackson 1879-1885
Mathes
Oklahoma
The Indian Reform Letters of Helen Hunt Jackson
1879-1885
Edited by Valerie Sherer Mathes

Courtesy University of Oklahoma Press

Among those nineteenth-century reformers who sought to remake United States Indian policy in a more compassionate mold, few were as determined or as articulate as Helen Hunt Jackson. Jackson was already a successful and influential writer when she adopted the Indian cause—"the greatest American woman poet" according to Ralph Waldo Emerson. In 1879, Jackson encountered several Ponca Indians touring the eastern seaboard to generate support for a court case challenging their forced removal from their Dakota homeland to Oklahoma. Inspired, Jackson turned her tremendous energies to the Indian land question for the remaining six years of her life, attempting to preserve Indian land rights, rather than promoting policies of "benign assimilation" like other reformers of her day. Jackson served first as a steadfast advocate of two relocated tribes, the Ponca and the Colorado Ute. Calling upon her writing skills and her powerful contacts among eastern editors and power-brokers, she described these tribes' plight, producing numerous historical tracts critical of U.S. Indian policy. These writings culminated in Jackson's book *A Century of Dishonor,* a volume that she provided to every member of the U.S. Congress at her own expense.

In time, this crusade brought Jackson to tour and write about the Mission Indian settlements of southern California. She challenged claims made by a steady stream of American settlers on California Indians' lands and water. Her agitation earned her a position with the Department of the Interior, helping sort out the Indian land question and identifying land for the creation of suitable reservations. Ultimately, the peoples encountered in Jackson's California travels would become the basis of her celebrated novel, *Ramona.* Protesting the treatment of southern California Indians, Jackson viewed this book as the *Uncle Tom's Cabin* of the West; to her dismay, public enthusiasm for this book centered on the book's love story, which Jackson considered to be, at most, of secondary importance.

Valerie Sherer Mathes provides us with a welcome overview of Jackson's crusade, with a thoroughly annotated collection of Jackson's letters on the Indian question, written to newspaper editors, government officials, and personal friends. The first section contains correspondence from Jackson's early efforts, including her advocacy of the Ponca and her publication of *A Century of Dishonor.* Mathes's introduction to this section does much to illuminate Jackson's character and initial motives in embracing the Indian cause. The second section includes letters from Jackson's California travels and correspondence surrounding the publication of *Ramona.* Mathes contextualizes this later portion of Jackson's career, too, in a thoughtful essay assessing the distinctive character of this woman and her times. Admittedly, Jackson's correspondence is sometimes esoteric and riddled with minutae of limited historical interest. Still, the volume demonstrates the considerable enthusiasm and narrative skill of Helen Hunt Jackson, her ability to employ vivid, romanticist imagery that motivates some readers in ways that no ordinary report on the Indians' predicament could. An important tool for scholars researching Jackson and her efforts, this book also will provide general readers with valuable insights into the character and contexts of nineteenth-century Indian policy reform.

Unbound Voices: A Documentary History of Chinese Women in San Francisco.

By Judy Yung. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999, xv, 543 pp., $55 cloth, $19.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Sue Fawn Chung, *associate professor of history, University of Nevada, Las Vegas and author of "Ah Cum Kee (1875–1929) and Loy Lee Ford (1882–1921): Between Two Worlds," in Kriste Lindenmeyer, ed.,* Ordinary Women, Extraordinary Lives *(Scholarly Resources, 2000).*

The image of the docile, quiet, undocumentable Chinese American woman has been changed by the publication of this work. Many of the primary sources in English and Chinese (translated by Marlon Hom and Ellen Yeung) that Judy Yung used for her book, *Unbound Feet: A Social History of Chinese Women in San Francisco* (1995), have been collected for this volume that show the diverse range of Chinese American women-centered experiences between 1850 and 1945. Part I includes the testimonies and affidavits from the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and the coaching book of Judy Yung's ancestors. For those who have never seen the extensive questions asked by the INS, these cases are very revealing, especially when compared with the truth as told in an oral interview with Yung's mother. Part II, on women in the nineteenth century, sheds light on the wives left behind in China, prostitutes and servants, the racism and sexism that women in America faced, and the struggle for equal educational opportunities. Part III, on women between 1902 and 1929, illustrates the diversity of experiences and changes that women encountered at home and in the public arena. Part IV, focuses on the second-generation women (born in the United States) of the 1920s, who because of public education, Christianity, and other factors, created new bicultural niches in employment and strove to overcome discrimination through public and private action. Part V, on the Great Depression era, contains selections from labor leaders and social activists. Part VI, on the war years between 1931 and 1945, demonstrates the role of women in fighting for Chinese nationalism and American democracy, including women who campaigned for funds to save China and those who served in the American armed forces. These letters, essays, newspaper articles, poems, autobiographies, speeches, testimonials, and oral histories describe a variety of experiences as Chinese women settled into the San Francisco environment and made a home for themselves and their families. The documents are enriched by Yung's commentaries that precede each section, explanatory footnotes accompanying the documents, and well-chosen illustrations. The book concludes with a section on oral history methodology and a useful Chinese glossary.

For classroom instruction this is an excellent companion to Yung's *Unbound Feet.* The documents also provide students and researchers alike with new materials and insights into the plight of immigrant and second-generation women living in an urban environment. However, one cannot generalize that this was the experience of all Chinese American women since those who lived in rural areas, on the East Coast, or in cities with a small Chinese population faced different situations and sometimes sought different solutions. Yung's estimate that 90 percent of the post–Chinese Exclusion Act immigrants entered with fraudulent papers (p. 11, n. 5) seems extremely high and makes one wonder why the United States government did not take more stringent methods to uphold the numerous exclusion laws that Congress passed. Nevertheless, this is a groundbreaking book that has revolutionized the fields of Chinese American history, women's history, and immigration studies.

Frontier Children.

By Linda Peavy and Ursula Smith. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999, xi, 164 pp., $24.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by Jim Silverman, *Children's Librarian, Springstowne Public Library, Vallejo, and author of the* San Francisco Chronicle's *award-winning Newspapers in Education history series.*

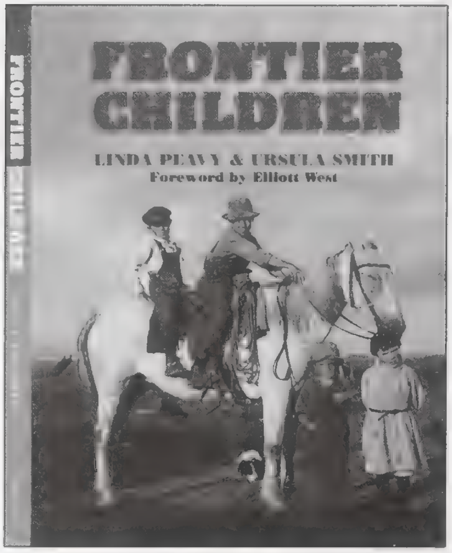
Linda Peavy and Ursula Smith's *Frontier Children* adds a puzzle piece to our picture of life in the American West. Their book joins a growing number of works on the history of children in the American West. It belongs on the academic bookshelf with groundbreaking, scholarly studies by Elliott West, Emmy Werner, and Elizabeth Hampsten. And it warrants a spot on the reference shelf of elementary school teachers who employ children's books about the history of American children in their social studies curriculum.

Elliott West's preface to *Frontier Children* accurately describes the book as a "verbal and visual montage." To that end, Peavy and Smith present a host of written accounts drawn from such diverse sources as personal diaries, newspaper accounts, and public records. To introduce yet more young westerners, the authors intersperse the text with nearly two hundred nineteenth and early twentieth-century photographs. The photographs augment and add dimension to the text, lending faces to the stories. Nowhere else will one encounter the story of so many native, emigrant, and immigrant children who lived in the vast American region from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean.

Organized into thematic chapters on movement, home, work and play, school, and coming of age, *Frontier Children* grapples with the challenge of describing common experiences of children from widely disparate cultures in far-flung places. Its theme-and-variation structure permits the authors to consider variables like race, gender, and economic status in their treatment of topics including rituals of passage into adulthood. Each chapter also features an individual biography or significant group experience, such as the orphan trains, as counterpoint to broad thematic treatment.

Frontier Children is a splendid initial survey of a large, previously undervalued historical territory. However, its relatively brief, superficial treatment of the subject lends it the appearance of a trade book for the general reader more than a scholarly publication for academic use. To their credit, the authors blaze a clear bibliographic trail for others to follow.

What this reader found lacking was an insight or synthesis based on the significant information presented. There is no probing of the myriad questions that might have been examined. In their introduction, the authors posit that the presence of children was "a major impetus for giving formal structure to frontier society." They have left it to others to determine whether or not this was true.



Courtesy University of Oklahoma Press

Co-Operative Dreams: A History of the Kaweah Colony.

By Jay O'Connell. (Van Nuys, California: Raven River Press, 1999, xvii, 239 pp., $17.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Robert F. Zeidel, *who teaches American History at University of Wisconsin-Stout and researches and writes on American immigration and ethnicity.*

Readers who subsequently visit Sequoia National Park may find themselves with reason to chuckle. Standing near the General Sherman Tree (the biggest in both the park and the world), at least a few will overhear another visitor waxing eloquently about how the giant redwood's majestic beauty symbolizes America's myriad accomplishments, traditional values, and orthodox virtues. The tree will become the embodiment of the nation's manifest destiny. Little will the ardent orator know that the object of his or her inspiration once bore the name Karl Marx, the father of Communism, and grew in the shadows of a socialist commune.

Co-Operative Dreams reveals this information in the story of the Kaweah Colony. Organized in 1884, its members thereafter filed timberland claims in the Kaweah watershed's Giant Forest area, intending to build a collective community there. They started their settlement along the river's north fork, built a road into the timberlands, and hauled in milling equipment, only to have their dreams dashed when the national government disallowed their timber claims. Suddenly, in 1890, Congress added the disputed lands, to which the colonists still hoped to secure legal claims, to the newly created Sequoia National Park, effectively ending the colony's communal experiment.

Author Jay O'Connell weaves an engaging tale. The book, the product of considerable research and good writing, is not an academic treatise and will appeal primarily to general readers who like good stories about California and western history. It offers insights into the interesting and sometimes tragic lives of the men and women who struggled, and in some cases died, trying to build a successful colony. Several maps will help those readers who are unfamiliar with the local geography, and numerous engaging photographs complement the text.

Co-Operative Dreams could have had a larger appeal if O'Connell had offered a broader interpretation of the colony's dreams and failures. Manifestations of American radicalism and the concurrent conservative backlashes are fascinating parts of United States history. Ironically, they especially help us to understand the dominant societal values—both their strengths and weaknesses, their good and bad. The events of Kaweah occurred during a period roughly bordered in time by the Haymarket Massacre tragedy in Chicago (1886) and the Homestead Strike (1892), two violent labor protests in an era known for both its radicals and its anti-radicalism. O'Connell has told the story of a concurrent group of California leftists, including how the national environment and Bellamy movements affected their colony, but he does little to suggest what the Kaweah experience could contribute to a larger understanding of American radicalism and its detractors. Such analysis would have been a useful addition, especially to academic readers

Despite this criticism, even interested academic readers should enjoy *Co-Operative Dreams*, and O'Connell deserves praise for the work's overall high quality

A Century of Western Living
1898 – 1998

CHS Library

Sunset Magazine: A Century of Western Living 1898–1998: Historical Portraits and Bibliography.

By L.W. "Bill" Lane, Melvin B. Lane, Kevin Starr, and Tomas Jaehn. (Stanford, California: Stanford University Libraries, 1998, 304 pp., $30.00 cloth.)

Reviewed by Marvin R. Nathan, *professor of humanities, San Francisco State University and co author of* San Francisco Album: Photographs of the Most Beautiful Views and Public Buildings by George Robinson Fardon.

The history of the development of the American West is filled with great and small ironies. Perhaps the greatest is that the region west of the Rockies, where the "rugged individualism" of American frontier life reached its climax, was at every turn made possible and consistently accelerated by federal largess what today conservatives would castigate as "Big Government." Indeed, without federal gifts of mining rights, generous subsidies for the construction of railroads, the design and funding of massive water systems and flood control projects, the creation of land-grant universities, the instituting of national parks, and many other federal benefices, the evolution of the eleven western states, and especially of the Pacific Coast, would have been far less rapid and, one suspects, far different. Thus, into the western equation of pioneer individualism, resourcefulness, courage, and hard work must be factored huge contributions of Big Brother.

A lesser, but fascinating ironic narrative concerns the ways in which hugely wealthy individuals who made fortunes in the new West by means of anti-democratic monopolistic tactics and federal largess in many instances spent their wealth on institutions that grew to represent the antithesis of the values these nineteenth-century "Robber Barons" epitomized. The Central Pacific (later Southern Pacific) Railroad's "Big Four" are a good case in point. This transportation octopus, which historian Oscar Lewis has described as "perhaps the nation's choicest example of a complete and sustained monopoly," in numerous ways underwrote some of the most significant bastions of free expression and exchange of ideas, progressive thought, and democratic participation in California. Such institutions as Stanford University, the Huntington Library, the San Francisco Art Institute, and the Crocker Art Gallery, among others, were wholly subsidized or significantly assisted by Southern Pacific money from 1885 to 1920. Another unlikely offspring of an often brutal and unscrupulous railroad monopoly was *Sunset Magazine,* a journal remarkable in two respects. First, from the beginning this magazine—founded to promote the interests of the Southern Pacific in encouraging wealthy easterners and midwesterners to travel west by train and stay at the expensive, railroad-owned Del Monte Hotel in Monterey—exhibited a surprisingly progressive spirit in its choice of writers and topics. Second, *Sunset,* despite having had four different owners, has never missed a monthly edition in the one hundred-plus years of its existence, making it the longest running popular journal in western history. And who would have thought in 1898 that a half-century later the readership of the offspring would have far exceeded the ridership of its parent!

To celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of *Sunset,* the Stanford University Libraries have published *Sunset Magazine: A Century of Western Living 1898–1998,* a volume that contains four essays and a 143-page bibliography (well over half the book) of feature articles divided into nine topical categories, along with a list of *Sunset* book titles. Though the bibliography omits "literary" pieces from the first thirty years of the magazine's history, it is an invaluable resource of western tastes and interests over the past century. The essays include a personalized historical preface by former owner L.W. "Bill" Lane, a similarly personalized piece on *Sunset* books by his brother Melvin B. Lane, a detailed and extensive cultural reading of the magazine's place in the evolution of society, values, and tastes in the American West by Kevin Starr, and a more conventional chronological history of *Sunset* by Thomas Jaehn, curator for American and British history at Stanford Library. Though suffering from inevitable overlap, this collection of essays constitutes the first comprehensive historical treatment of so important a player in western publishing, and the book as a whole represents a significant accomplishment in explaining the effects of popular reading material on western culture. In addition, the more than 140 illustrations of all sizes and descriptions, many in color, from the magazine's covers and pages provide an intriguing visual history of styles in commercial art over a century's time. Unfortunately, there's not much topical or chronological order for many of the pictures and their inclusion alongside of and within often unrelated written texts is at times disconcerting.

Reading the various versions of the magazine's history in *Sunset Magazine,* one is struck by the remarkable contributions that this journal of the West has made to its region's popular ideology and ways of life, such as *Sunset's* tireless conservationist agenda, its strong support of Yosemite National Park, its emphasis on outdoor living and experiencing nature, its signal role in the "How To" movement in the years after World War II, its insistence on water conservation, its focus on strong family life, and its championing of western home construction and amenities such as ranch-style houses, A-frames, pools, patios, decks, barbecue pits, and year-round gardens. In addition, the magazine, especially in its first thirty years, published western-oriented works by major writers such as Jack London, Mary Austin, Upton Sinclair, Will James, John Steinbeck, Zane Grey, Erle Stanley Gardner, and Dashiell Hammett, along with those of artists like Maynard Dixon and photographers like Ansel Adams and Imogen Cunningham. In more recent decades *Sunset* books have played an incalculable role in nearly every practical phase of western life, from cooking to vacationing to gardening and, most importantly, to home construction, improvement, and maintenance. Many, many western households that never subscribed to the magazine use *Sunset* books on gardening, barbecuing, or deck building as domestic bibles.

And beyond specific accomplishments, the four different ownership groups in *Sunset's* history are quite remarkable in the degree to which each reflects the historical moment in which they published. During the first sixteen years, the journal was a Southern Pacific promotional vehicle aimed at wealthy non-westerners and clearly bent on selling the climate, health benefits, recreation, and scenery of the Far West, especially California, thus singing a kind of swan song for the great monopolistic transportation empires of the nineteenth century. In 1914 *Sunset* was purchased by its editors and staff and became a western journal with an interest in social, political, and international issues, as well as high-quality literary content in emulation of such eastern magazines as the *Atlantic Monthly.* Throughout this era, when *Sunset* grew into a Pacific Coast publication, the business-tempered Progressivism of the first period flowered into a more socially oriented set of concerns in the post–World War I era. When Kansan Lawrence W. Lane, an executive of *Better Homes and Gardens,* bought *Sunset* in 1928, overt idealism and political involvement, along with fiction and poetry, were abandoned for a concentration on four areas of practical living in the swiftly growing eleven western states: home construction and improvement, gardening, cooking, and travel. Over the next sixty-two years, these four remained the agenda for the magazine as its readership grew, especially after World War II, and its areas of interest expanded to Alaska, Hawaii, Mexico, and eventually the whole Pacific. And in the Lane era, especially from the 1940s on, perhaps no publication in the nation better reflected the growing population, affluence, home-building explosion, and desire for personal amenities in its region than *Sunset.* When the Lane family sold to the Time Warner media conglomerate in 1990, and subscription rates soon went up, the circle was closed. For now, after nearly a century of life, the magazine born of nineteenth-century monopoly returned to the post-modern version of the same phenomenon, the giant corporation with many faces, but only one acquisitive soul. The history of the West is full of ironies!

Despite *Sunset's* undeniable importance in the history of the twentieth-century West, it must be added that this volume is distinctly encomiastic in its treatment of the subject. While the book is published under the imprimatur of Stanford Library, it feels very much like a company production, even down to its physical appearance with its shiny, brightly colored cloth cover, profuse interior illustrations, and four "articles," themselves subdivided into smaller sections. While the book is celebratory in its intention and means to underscore the magazine's principles, accomplishments, and cultural influence, there is relatively little attention to less heroic elements in its tradition, such as the often blatant promotional character in the early SP years, its continuous middle-class focus in later years; its shift from an interest in public life increasingly to private aggrandizement, largely through material means in the Lane decades, and its general indifference to non-Caucasians and new groups of western immigrants as important parts of the emergent western society in the twentieth century. While it is understandable that the two pieces by the Lane brothers are not meant as critical assessments, only in the Jaehn essay is there much attention to "other" points of view that might have been the subject of greater interest to more iconoclastic writers like Alan Trachtenberg, Robert Rydell, or Gore Vidal. Kevin Starr's essay is an insightful and sometimes eloquent paean to *Sunset.* Starr, who ranks as one of the most esteemed and accomplished scholars of California and the West, is a master of relating particular historical phenomena to larger cultural ideals, traditions, and mythologies, and his knowledge of the American past is encyclopedic (though he does misdate the inceptions of both Golden Gate Park in San Francisco and Balboa Park in San Diego). Yet there is sometimes the feeling that he makes greater claims for his subject than proportionality might justify, whether it be in regard to multi-culturalism, civic ideology, or ethnic cuisines. Starr quite rightly relates the birth and tenor of *Sunset* to the Progressive movement and to certain Progressive-minded Stanford University figures such as David Starr Jordan, Charles K. Field, and later, Herbert Hoover. But his attempt to trace *Sunset's* publishing philosophy back to the tradition of Thomas Jefferson's Roman Republican ideas is, at best, chancy, especially so in succeeding decades when the Lanes increasingly catered to an affluent suburban audience who, generally speaking, were far more involved in private concerns of family status and home than in Jeffersonian ideas that ensured life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness only in the context of an intensely involved and interacting citizenry. Such a citizenry is difficult to locate in a landscape of redwood fences, enclosed patios, domestic amenities, mountain cabins, and trailers. Suburban life in its inherently centrifugal social dynamic is hardly a paradigm for "the Republic of Man."

On balance, *Sunset Magazine: A Century of Western Living* has a great deal more to recommend it than not. Other scholars have in the past and will in the future provide differently shaded views of this remarkable western institution. Such is the irony of historical discourse.

Pacific Arcadia: Images of California, 1600–1915.

By Claire Perry. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999, xiv, 242 pp., photos, maps, index, $25.00 paper.)

Reviewed by Joshua Paddison, *editorial assistant for* California History *and editor of* A World Transformed: Firsthand Accounts of California Before the Gold Rush (*Heyday Books, 1999*).

Pacific Arcadia is an ambitious cultural history disguised as an exhibition catalog. Lushly illustrated with more than two hundred images, many in full color, the book originally accompanied an exhibit of the same name at Stanford University's newly expanded Iris and B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts. It will find a readership long after the exhibition has come and gone, however, thanks to the boldness and perceptiveness of its author, Claire Perry, curator of American art at the Cantor Center.

Adapted from Perry's 1993 Stanford Ph.D. dissertation, *Pacific Arcadia* presents the story of California's nineteenth-century transformation from Spanish outpost to America's "golden state" through a close examination of the period's art. Perry argues that entrepreneurial Anglo-Americans used "carefully constructed" visual representations of California to promote emigration, tourism, and development. Depictions of California presented the region to Easterners as the "ultimate fulfillment of the American dream," an idyllic paradise of untapped natural resources where opportunities abounded (p. xii). Perry does not confine her analysis to the "fine arts" but includes maps, drawings, cartoons, postcards, photographs, promotional brochures, book and newspaper illustrations, and even commemorative plates to illustrate the pervasiveness of the themes she has identified. "Grand canvases exhibited in the art academies of the East and broadsides pasted on the walls of midwestern railroad depots often communicated the same ideas about California, though they appealed to different economic and regional groups," she explains (p. xiii).

Perry has divided nineteenth-century images of California into six more-or-less chronological categories. *Pacific Arcadia* devotes a chapter to each: "A Terrestrial Paradise" offers a quick summary of pre-gold rush art; "The Golden Dream" focuses on portrayals of California's mineral wealth; "Cornucopia of the World" chronicles depictions of the region's agricultural possibilities; "Rush for the Wilderness" traces the evolution of imagery of wild California; "Spanish Arcadia" looks at romanticized mission-revivalism; and "Urban Visions" considers boosterism of California's metropolitan centers. Propelled as it is by Perry's challenging thesis, *Pacific Arcadia* reads more like a historical narrative than a typical art history. Absent, thankfully, are the exhaustive artists' biographies that fill many similar art catalogs. Perry is instead concerned with deciphering what messages about California these systems of images imparted to nineteenth-century viewers. Accordingly, her analyses of art are intertwined with threads of political, economic, and social history, as well as quotations from the state's leading writers.

Pacific Arcadia succeeds on the strength of Perry's nuanced, sensitive interpretations of the various images. Her conclusions are thoughtful and grounded in historical context. She brings a fresh eye to even such familiar works as Charles Nahl's *Sunday Morning in the Mines* (1872), which, she argues, "presented the Gold Rush as a refining mechanism through which the flawed elements of California society would be purged. . . . The painting reassured the artist's well-to-do client and his guests that certain innate aspects of their character would allow them to prevail over the races and economic classes that posted a threat to the status quo" (p. 57). Perry's unsentimental, functionalist view of art might disconcert some readers, but, after reading *Pacific Arcadia,* few will be able to view California art and photography without considering her arguments.

One caveat: the book gives the impression that virtually every piece of art produced in the nineteenth century fits neatly into one of Perry's categories. The dread and foreboding in the nature paintings of Thomas Cole, however—not included in the volume—seem to contradict her argument that artists depicted California's wilderness as friendly, controlled, and tourist-friendly. Likewise, the famous, highly individualized portraits Russian artist Louis Choris made of Indians at Mission Dolores in 1816 (also not included in *Pacific Arcadia*) seem to undercut her generalizations about racist European art. Perry's work would be improved by the inclusion of a description of her methodology, explaining how she selected the two hundred images contained in the book out of the thousands of potentials.

In short, Claire Perry has created an elegant, terrifically readable, gorgeously illustrated cultural history of nineteenth-century California that will fascinate historians and art lovers alike. CHS

CALIFORNIA DREAMING

WILLIAM MULHOLLAND AND THE RISE OF LOS ANGELES

Catherine Mulholland

"William Mulholland was a famed and infamous water and civil engineer, best known for...the Los Angeles Aqueduct and the...fated St. Francis Dam.... Catherine Mulholland deals with her grandfather's alpha and omega moments dispassionately and in detail.... This is a richly detailed, well-written life of a critical figure in the history of Los Angeles and the modern American West. It is an important contribution."

—William Deverell, author of *Railroad Crossing: Californians and the Railroad*

$35.00 cloth

CATHERINE MULHOLLAND
WILLIAM
MULHOLLAND
ANGELES

from Los Angeles A to Z

SIERRA CROSSING

First Roads to California

Thomas Frederick Howard

New in Paperback—"*Sierra Crossing* is an excellent work of geography.... [It] fills a gap in scholarship concerning California gold rush history and the Sierra Nevada mountains. It is a must read for historians and students of the gold rush era of California history."

—Richard Kohlman Hughey, *California Historian*

$15.95 paper

◆

At bookstores or order (800) 822-6657

University of California Press

www.ucpress.edu

DREAM A LITTLE

Land and Social Justice in Modern America

Dorothee E. Kocks

"Deeply personal, passionately political. And at the heart of this book is a powerful idea: before there was a welfare state, there was a frontier state. Instead of money, it spent what it had—land—to provide for the common good. A bold and illuminating book."

—Virginia Scharff, University of New Mexico

$45.00 cloth, $18.95 paper

[illegible]

ROOTED IN BARBAROUS SOIL

People, Culture, and Community in Gold Rush California

Edited by Kevin Starr and Richard J. Orsi

Perhaps never in the time-honored American tradition of frontiering did "civilization" appear to sink so low as in gold rush California. Competition, jealousy, and racism fueled individual and mass violence. Yet, in the very midst of this turbulence, social and cultural forms emerged, gained strength, spread, and took hold. This is the only book of its kind to examine gold rush society and culture, to present modern interpretations, and to gather up-to-date bibliographies of its topics.

California History Sesquicentennial Series, Copublished with the California Historical Society

$60.00 cloth, $24.95 paper

LOS ANGELES A TO Z

An Encyclopedia of the City and County

Leonard Pitt and Dale Pitt

New in Paperback—"Here at last is the book that tells you everything you ever wanted to know about the history, geography, and culture of the city that has been called 'the fulfillment of the American Dream.'" —[illegible]

$24.95 paper

For California's Gold

By JoAnn Levy
"Crowded with authentic detail, written with enviable grace and flair, *For California's Gold* offers its readers a memorable story of tragedy and courage. In sum, JoAnn Levy has enriched gold rush literature."—J.S. Holliday, author of *Rush for Riches* and Director Emeritus, California Historical Society

$24.95 Hardcover (fiction)

University Press of Colorado
c/o 4100 28th Ave. NW
Norman, OK 73069-8218
Ph: (800) 627-7377
Fax: (800) 735-0476

THEY SAW THE ELEPHANT
WOMEN IN THE CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH
JO ANN LEVY

By JoAnn Levy
"The phrase 'seeing the elephant' symbolized for '49 gold rushers the once-in-a-lifetime adventure, unequaled anywhere else but in the journey to the promised land of fortune: California. Most western myths… generally depict an exclusively male gold rush. Levy's book debunks that myth. Here a variety of women travel, work, and write their way across the pages of western migrant history."—*Choice*
$13.95 Paperback

University of Oklahoma Press
4100 28th Ave. NW
Norman, OK 73069-8218
Ph: (800) 627-7377
Fax: (800) 735-0476

A History of California Currency

1769	1849	1886	1929	1978	1996
▼	▼	▼	▼	▼	▼
Beads to trade	Gold rushes in	Foreign coins flood market	Food is as good as gold	Advent of the ATM	Bills are redesigned

Proud to be a part of California history. **CAL FED**

©2000 California Federal Bank, F.S.B. Member FDIC

CALIFORNIA CHECKLIST

Charles N. Johnson, Librarian, Ventura County Museum of History and Art

enemann, William, ed. *A Year of Mud and Gold: San Francisco in Letters and Diaries, 1849-1850.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999. $29.95 (cloth) ISBN: Order from: University of Nebraska Press; Post Office Box 880484; Lincoln, NE 68588-0484.

Duke, Donald. *Incline Railways of Los Angeles and Southern California.* San Marino, Calif.: Golden West Books, 1998. $39.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-87095-114-9. Order from: Golden West Books; Post Office Box 80250; San Marino, CA 91118-8250.

lorence, Jack W., Sr. *Legacy of a Village: The Italian Swiss Colony Winery and People of Asti, California.* Phoenix, Ariz.: Raymond Court Press, 2000. $24.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-9673081-0-0. Order from: Raymond Court Press; Post Office Box 50673; Phoenix, AZ 85076.

Hitchcock, Martha. *A Salon at Larkmead: A Fine Life in the Napa Valley.* Compiled by Drew Sparks and Sally Kellman. Berkeley: Ten Speed Press, 2000. "Largely diaries written by Martha Hitchcock from 1872 to 1897." $24.95 (cloth) ISBN: 1-58008-192-4. Order from: Ten Speed Press; Post Office Box 7123; Berkeley, CA 94707.

ones, Theodore. *Carnegie Libraries across America: A Public Legacy.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1998. $29.95 (cloth) ISBN:0-471-14422-3. Order from: John Wiley & Sons; 1 Wiley Drive; Somerset, NJ 08875-1272.

ongstreet, Richard. *City Center to Regional Mall: Architecture, the Automobile, and Retailing in Los Angeles, 1920-1950.* Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1998. Analyzes the evolution of an urban form that came to define Los Angeles--the regional shopping mall. $30.00 (paper). Inquiries to: MIT Press; 5 Cambridge Ctr., Suite 4; Cambridge, MA 02142-1493, or on the internet at mitpress-orders@mit.edu.

Macdonald, Irene. *Littleriver's Yesteryears, 1853-1965.* Fort Bragg: Mendocino Graphics, 1999. $20.00 (paper) ISBN: 0-9672398-3-4. Order from: Mendocino Graphics; 155A Cypress St., Fort Bragg, CA 95437.

The California Checklist provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent publications including reprints or revised editions that need additional publicity, are requested to send the following bibliographical information to the Checklist Editor for this list: Author, title, name and address of publisher, date of publication, price, binding (cloth or paper), International Standard Book Number (ISBN), and order address. Checklist information should be mailed to: Charles N. Johnson, Checklist Editor, Ventura County Museum of History and Art, 100 East Main Street, Ventura, CA 93001.

Marschner, Janice. *California 1850: A Snapshot in Time.* Sacramento: Coleman Ranch Press, 2000. $17.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-9677069-3-9. Order from: Coleman Ranch Press; Post Office Box 1496; Sacramento, CA 95812-1496, or through the internet at www.CAL1850.com.

Miller, Crane. S., and Richard S. Hyslop. *California: The Geography of Diversity.* Mountain View, Calif.: Mayfield Pub. Co., 1999. Second ed., rev. $40.90 (paper) ISBN: 0-7674-1345-8. Order from: Mayfield Pub. Co.; 1280 Villa St.; Mountain View, CA 94041-1176.

Moore, Shirley Ann Wilson. *To Place Our Deeds: The African American Community in Richmond, California, 1910-1963* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000. $40.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-520-21565-6. Order from: University of California Press, 2120 Berkeley Way. Berkeley, CA 94720.

Moranda, Ted. *Me 'n Paul and Old Hueneme.* Fresno: T. Moranda, 1999. $22.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-9671590-0-8. Order from: Ted Moranda, 1138 E Indianapolis, Fresno, CA 93704.

Mulholland, Catherine. *William Mulholland and the Rise of Los Angeles.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000. $35.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-520-21724-1. Order from: University of California Press; 2120 Berkeley Way; Berkeley, CA 94720.

Rochlin, Michael Jacob. *Ancient L.A. and Other Essays.* Los Angeles: Unreinforced Masonry Studio, 1999. Los Angeles architectural history. $24.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-9648304-1-8. Order from: Unreinforced Masonry Studio; Post Office Box 3367; Los Angeles, CA 90033.

Starr, Kevin, et al. *Sunset Magazine: A Century of Western Living, 1898-1988: Historical Portraits and Bibliography.* Stanford: Stanford University Libraries, 1998. $30.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-911221-17-4. Order from: Stanford University Libraries; Green Library, Stanford University; Stanford, CA 94305.

Stoll, Steven. *The Fruits of Natural Advantage: Making the Industrial Countryside in California.* Berkeley: University of California, 1998. $35.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-520-21172-3. Order from: University of California Press; 1445 Lower Ferry Road; Ewing, NJ 08618.

Tompkins, Walker A. *The Yankee Barbareños: The Americanization of Santa Barbara County, California, 1796-1925.* Edited by Barbara H. Tompkins; introduction by David F. Myrick. Ventura, Calif.: Movini Press, 1999. (cloth) ISBN: 0-9668928-0-1. Inquiries to Fletcher Offset Printing Co.; 4160 Market St., No. 10; Ventura, CA 93003.

Yung, Judy. *Unbound Voices: A Documentary History of Chinese Women in San Francisco.* Berkeley: University California Press, 1999. $55.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-520-20870-6; $19.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-520-21860-4. Order from: University of California Press; 2120 Berkeley Way Berkeley CA 94720

DONORS TO THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The California Historical Society gratefully acknowledges the generous members and donors who have ma gifts of $250 or more over the past twelve months ending June 30, 2000.

Individuals

$5,000 and up

Anonymous
Mr. Robert G. Adams, Orinda
Mr. & Mrs. Reid W. Dennis, Woodside
Mrs. Michele du P. Goss, San Francisco
Mrs. Walter A. Haas, San Francisco
Mr. Alfred C. Harrison, Jr., San Francisco
Maribelle B. Leavitt, San Francisco
Mr. Francis Martin, III, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. J. Patterson McBaine, San Francisco
Miss Alicia McEvoy, San Francisco
Mr. Peter Johnson Musto, San Francisco
Mr. John T. Olds, San Francisco
Miss Elizabeth O'Shaughnessy, San Francisco
Dr. A. Jess Shenson, San Francisco
Mr. John A. Traina, Jr., San Francisco
Mrs. Alice Whitson, Willow Creek

$1,000 - $4,999

Mr. & Mrs. Gerson Bakar, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Scott Alan Bedford, San Mateo
Mr. & Mrs. W. Richard Bingham, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Johan Blokker, Woodside
Mr. George M. Bowles, San Francisco
Dick & Kate Breaux, San Mateo
Mr. Carl G. Brown, Jr., San Rafael
Mrs. John Edward Cahill, San Rafael
Mr. & Mrs. David M. Chamberlain, Chestnut Hill, MA
Marie B. & Leonard Collins, Piedmont
Ms. Connie Cox, Atherton
Donald D. Crawford, Jr., Sea Ranch
Mr. Donald W. Davis, Belvedere
Mr. & Mrs. Joseph E. Davis, Fullerton
Mr. Richard M. Davis, San Francisco
Mr. Richard T. Dobbins, Alamo
Mrs. Morris M. Doyle, San Francisco
Mr. Rudolph W. Driscoll, Palo Alto
Christian & Jacqueline Erdman, San Francisco
Ms. Nancy S. Forster, Burlingame
Mr. & Mrs. Robert Friend, Belvedere
Dr. & Mrs. Kenneth D. Gardner, Jr., Albuquerque, NM
Mrs. Gloria Gordon Getty, San Francisco
Mr. Richard N. Goldman, San Francisco
Mrs. Constance M. Goodyear, San Francisco
Frank & Sarah Gotch, San Francisco
Mrs. Henry B. Grandin, Jr., Sausalito
Mr. Carmine Guerro, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Peter Haas, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Bill Hambrecht, San Francisco
Mrs. Charlene Harvey, San Francisco
Mrs. Paul Hazen, Belvedere
Mr. Louis H. Heilbron, San Francisco
Dorothy & Edward Helfeld, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. F. Warren Hellman, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Michael Hooker, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. George F. Jewett, Jr., San Francisco
Mrs. Douglas Johnson, Belvedere
Ms. Joan Kiekhaefer, San Francisco
Mr. William R. Kimball, Belvedere
Mr. & Mrs. A. M. D. Lampen, San Francisco
Amb. & Mrs. L. W. Lane, Jr., Menlo Park
Mr. & Mrs. Melvin B. Lane, Menlo Park
Mr. & Mrs. George Link, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Edmund W. Littlefield, Burlingame
Mr. & Mrs. Thomas H. May, Oakville
Mrs. Nan Tucker McEvoy, San Francisco
Mrs. Elaine McKeon, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Andrew C. McLaughlin III, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Donald C. McNear, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. James Keith McWilliams, San Francisco
Mr. Arthur Mejia, Jr., Ph.D., San Francisco
Mr. Russell R. Miller, San Francisco
Mrs. Gail Bliss Moore, San Francisco
Mrs. Diana Crocker Nouri, New York, NY
Mr. & Mrs. Michael A. O'Hanlon, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Kenneth J. Paige, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. P. William Parish, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Julian Peabody, San Francisco
Mr. Paul F. Pelosi, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Geoffrey W. Picard, Pebble Beach
Edith and George Piness, Mill Valley
Mr. & Mrs. Malcolm Post, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Phil Quigley, Hillsborough
Mrs. Genelle Relfe, San Francisco
Mrs. Susan S. Robertson, Shaw Island, WA
Mr. & Mrs. B. H. Rose III, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Adolph Rosekrans, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Richard M. Rosenberg, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. George W. Rowe, San Francisco
Mr. David Rumsey, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Donn R. Schoenmann, San Francisco
Mr. John Schram, San Francisco
Mr. Donn Schroder, Piedmont
Mr. & Mrs. Norman Schultz, San Francisco
Mr. Porter Sesnon, Jr., Borrego Springs
Mr. Charles J. Soderquist, Sacramento
Mr. & Mrs. Ellis M. Stephens, Ross
Mr. & Mrs. Thomas F. Stephenson, Atherton
Mr. & Mrs. W. Clarke Swanson, Jr., Oakville
Mr. & Mrs. Stephen L. Taber, Esq., San Francisco
Ms. Carole C. Terry, Las Vegas, NV
Mr. A. W. B. Vincent, San Francisco
Mr. Daniel G. Volkmann, Jr., San Francisco
Mrs. Paul L. Wattis, San Francisco
Mr. Paul L. Wattis, Jr., Paicines
Mr. & Mrs. Frank S. Whiting, Pasadena
Mr. & Mrs. Alfred S. Wilsey, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Douglas Wolf, San Francisco

$500 - $999

Mr. Victor K. Atkins, Jr., Southampton, NY
Mr. & Mrs. Peter Avenali, San Francisco
Mrs. Judith Avery, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Guilford C. Babcock, San Marino
Mr. & Mrs. John B. Bates, Piedmont
Mr. & Mrs. Frank Bauman, Portland, OR
Mrs. Geraldine Grace Benoist, San Francisco
Mr. Benjamin F. Biaggini, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Richard Blackman, San Rafael
Mr. & Mrs. Dix Boring, San Francisco
Ms. Cynthia Broderson, Berkeley
Mr. & Mrs. William Bucklin, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Richard Cahill, Ross
Mr. & Mrs. William Cahill, Ross
Mr. & Mrs. James E. Caldwell, Woodside
Dr. & Mrs. John N. Callander, San Francisco
Ms. Donna Miller Casey, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Lyman H. Casey, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Herman Christensen, Jr., Atherton
Mr. & Mrs. A. W. Clausen, Hillsborough
Mr. & Mrs. R. Warren Cleary, Laguna Beach
Mr. & Mrs. Newton A. Cope, San Francisco
Mr. D. Michael Cullivan, Saint Louis, MO
Mr. & Mrs. Frank E. Cummings, Sonoma
Mr. & Mrs. Ray Dolby, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Paul Downey, Healdsburg
Mr. & Mrs. William H. Draper III, Atherton

r. Fred Drexler, San Francisco
r & Mrs. Frederick K. Duhring, Los Altos Hills
r. & Mrs. Robert S. Dulin, Bayfield, CO
rs. Delia Ehrlich, San Francisco
ɪbb & Linda Evans, Bakersfield
r. & Mrs. Gordon Fish, Pasadena
r. & Mrs. George H. Fitch, San Francisco
r. & Mrs. David Fleishhacker, San Francisco
r. & Mrs. William S. Floyd, Jr., Portola Valley
iss Muriel T. French, San Francisco
r. Harry R. Goff, Palo Alto
s. Lyn Guittard, San Francisco
. & Mrs. George Haberfelde, Pacific Palisades
r. & Mrs. Timothy J. Hachman, Stockton
r. & Mrs. John J. Hagenbuch, Francisco
rs. John A. Hagosian, San Francisco
r. David W. Hall, Belvedere
r. & Mrs. H. William Harlan, Oakville
r. & Mrs. Neil E. Harlan, San Francisco
r. & Mrs. Alfred E. Heller, Kentfield
r. Benjamin J. Henley, Jr., San Francisco
r. & Mrs. W. Dean Henry, San Francisco
r. & Mrs. Austin E. Hills, San Francisco
r. & Mrs. Robin Hood, Aptos
r. & Mrs. David B. Hudnut, Tiburon
r. & Mrs. David Jackson, Hillsborough
r. & Mrs. Stanley Kennedy, Jr., Sonoma
s. Dorothy Knecht, San Francisco
ary Jo & Dick Kovacevich, San Francisco
r. & Mrs. Richard Kramlich, San Francisco
r. George Livermore, San Francisco
rs. Robert Livermore, Danville
r. & Mrs. Hugh L. Macneil, Pasadena
r. John N. McBaine, San Francisco
r. & Mrs. James Briggs McClatchy, Sacramento
r. Ray McDevitt, Mill Valley
r. Alexander R. Mehran, San Francisco
r. & Mrs. Burnett Miller, Sacramento
r. Harry E. Miller, San Francisco
r. & Mrs. Owens O. Miller, Huntington Beach
r. Robert Folger Miller, Hillsborough
r. & Mrs. Robert W. Morey, Bel Tiburon
r. & Mrs. Michael Moyle, Sausalito
r. & Mrs. J. F. C. Nielsen, Mill Valley
r. & Mrs. Wulfrin Oberlin, Corte Madera
elen F. & Paul A. O'Leary, San Francisco
dge & Mrs. William H. Orrick, Jr., San Francisco

Mr. Charles H. Page, San Francisco
Arland Petersen & Tere Massa, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Richard H. Peterson, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. David W. Pettus, San Francisco
Ms. Elizabeth Spenser Pfau, San Francisco
Miss Mary E. Pike, Pasadena
Mr. & Mrs. David N. Plant, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. David Potter, San Francisco
Nancy L. Powers, Esq., San Francisco
Diane T. Prioleau, Piedmont
Mr. & Mrs. Richard W. Reinhardt, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Claude Rosenberg, San Francisco
Mr. Paul Sack, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. Rolf G. Scherman, Greenbrae
Mr. & Mrs. Earl F. Schmidt, Jr., Palo Alto
Mr. William F. Sharon, El Cerrito
Mr. & Mrs. John Sias, San Francisco
Mr. Rocco C. Siciliano, Beverly Hills
Mrs. Thomas Siebert, Fresno
Mr. & Mrs. John Siegel, San Francisco
Mr. Alan Sieroty, Los Angeles
Rev. & Mrs. Martin V. Skewes-Cox, Sonoma
Mr. Douglas H. Smith, San Marino
Mr. & Mrs. H. Russell Smith, Pasadena
Carol & Ned Spieker, Atherton
Mr. Don Stephens & Ms. Patricia P. Hamilton, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Moreland L. Stevens, Newcastle
Mr. & Mrs. Steven L. Swig, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. James B. Swinerton, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Joseph O. Tobin II, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Stephen Townsend, Jr., San Francisco
Ms. Suzanne Tucker & Mr. Timothy Marks, Sausalito
Mr. & Mrs. Robert M. Tuller, San Francisco
The Hon. John K. Van de Kamp, Pasadena
Mr. & Mrs. Stephan P. Vermut, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Lorin Vogel, San Francisco
Bruce & Fran Walker, San Francisco
Mr. John Walker, San Francisco
Mr. Richard C. Warmer, San Francisco
Patti & Tim Warner, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Paul Wattis III, San Francisco
Mr. Frank A. West, Carmel
Mr. Thomas F. White, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. John C. Williams, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Richard Wollack, San Francisco
Ms. Cynthia W. Woods, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Frank M. Woods, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Lee Zeigler, San Francisco

$250 - $499

Anonymous
Ms. Clarellen Adams, San Francisco
Mrs. Charles B. Adelmann, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Samuel Armacost, Hillsborough
Mr. Scott C. Atthowe, Oakland
Mrs. Edgar Baker, San Francisco
Kathleen & Brad Baruh, Hillsborough
Mr. & Mrs. George D. Basye, Sacramento
Mrs. Dorothy Beatty, Portola Valley
Mr. & Mrs. John Berggruen, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Kenneth G. Berry, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Paul A. Bissinger, Jr., San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Roger Boas, San Francisco
Mr. Johnson S. Bogart, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Andrew E. Bogen, Santa Monica
Mrs. Armand D. Bosc, San Francisco
Mr. Douglas Boshardt, San Francisco
Mr. Frederic W. Bost, Bel Tiburon
Ms. Barbara Bottarini, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. John T. Boyle, San Marino
Mrs. Gabrielle W. Bradley, Hillsborough
Mr. & Mrs. Robert Bransten, San Francisco
Mrs. William Bransten, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Al Brounstein, Calistoga
Ms. Jean Miller Brownell, San Francisco
Mr. Jonathan Bulkley, San Francisco
Mrs. Dewitt K. Burnham, San Francisco
Mr. Edgar Buttner, Piedmont
Mr. Ted Buttner, Alameda
Mr. Lewis Byington, San Anselmo
Mr. & Mrs. Charles Candau, San Francisco
Dr. Frank Cantrell, Fresno
Ms. Jeanne Carevic & Mr. John Atwood, San Jose
Mr. Michael Carson & Dr. Ronald Steigerwalt, Oakland
Susan & John Chamberlain, San Francisco
Mr. Jon B. Chaney, San Rafael
Mr. Richard L. Chew, Redwood City
Mr. & Mrs. William S. Clark, San Francisco
Ms. Eleanor A. Clayton, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. William Clayton, Jr., San Marino

ɪte: Accurate gift acknowledgement is very important to us but occasionally mistakes are made. Please notify the CHS Development Department of any rrections as soon as possible.

DONORS

Mrs. Henry H. Clifford, Pasadena
Mr. John C. Coleman, San Francisco
Ms. Alice E. Collins, Grass Valley
Mr. & Mrs. Robert S. Colman, Sausalito
Mr. & Mrs. Robert Comartin, Hillsborough
Ms. Ruthann B. Conway, San Francisco
Charles H. & Nancy Curley, Larkspur
Mrs. Richard L. Dakin, Kentfield
Ms. Renee Danson, San Jose
Mrs. Leonore Daschbach, Atherton
Mr. Richard M. Davis, Nicasio
Mr. Lloyd De Llamas, Covina
Mrs. W. E. Dean II, Glen Ellen
Dr. & Mrs. Howard E. Denbo, San Francisco
Mr. R. Dick, Healdsburg
Mr. & Mrs. R. James Diepenbrock, Sacramento
Mr. Keith Doerge, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. William H. Doheny, Los Angeles
Mrs. Sandra Donnell-Faggioli, Belvedere
Ms. Cheryl D. DuCote, San Francisco
Mr. Philip S. Ehrlich, Bel Tiburon
Mr. Charles Elliott, San Francisco
Ms. Denise Erickson, San Mateo
Casey Escher, St. Helena
Laura & Paul Escobosa, Peidmont
Dr. & Mrs. Douglas Fenton, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. George Fesus, San Francisco
Mr. Harold A. Fick, Hillsborough
Mr. & Mrs. John Fisher, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Morgan Flagg, Atherton
Mr. & Mrs. John Flynn, Hillsborough
Ms. Katherine Flynn & Mr. William Roop, Petaluma
Dr. John Douglas Forbes, Charlottesville, VA
Mr. & Mrs. Hugh W. Foster, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Launce E. Gamble, San Francisco
Elizabeth K. Gardner, Ph.D., Belvedere Tiburon
Mr. John Garzoli, San Rafael
Mr. Albert E. Gedman, Middletown
Mr. John Gherini, Santa Barbara
Mr. Harry R. Gibson, III, So. Lake Tahoe
Dr. Richard C. Gilman, Pasadena
Mr. & Mrs. John Goldman, Livermore
Dr. Robert B. Gordon, San Francisco
Mrs. E. A. Grebitus, Carmichael
Mr. & Mrs. Richard M. Griffith, Jr., Belvedere
Mr. John R. Griffiths, Palo Alto
Mr. Richard Gross, San Francisco
Mr. J. Lowell Groves, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. George N. Hale, Jr., San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Michael A. Hall, Yountville

Mr. Thomas J. Hammer, Jr., Sacramento
Mr. Paul Hanson, Saint Helena
Ms. Elizabeth E. Harris, Rolling Hills Estates
Miss Mary Jane Harris, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Robert C. Harris, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Andrew T. Hass, Jr., Alamo
Mr. Douglas D. Hastings, Lafayette
Mr. Stanley Hayes, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. William Alston Hayne, Saint Helena
Dr. & Mrs. Paul Hazelrig, Hillsborough
Mr. Warren Heckrotte, Oakland
Mr. & Mrs. Michael Heffernan, Stockton
Mr. & Mrs. Robert Hevener, San Mateo
Ms. Marcia T. Hill, San Francisco
Mark Hoffman, San Francisco
Dr. Daniel Hoggatt & Mrs. Marshall Miclaelian, San Francisco
Janice & Maurice Holloway, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Lock Holmes, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Spencer Hoopes, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Richard Hotaling, Pasadena
Mr. & Mrs. John F. Hotchkis, Pasadena
Ms. Theresa Hove, San Francisco
Ms. Helen Howe, Stratford
Mr. & Mrs. John Hummer, San Francisco
Mr. Henry F. Hunte, La Jolla
Mr. & Mrs. Harold J. Hunter, San Marino
Mr. Dennis Isenburg, Napa
Mrs. W. Turrentine Jackson, Davis
Mr. Jere A. Jacobs, Santa Rosa
C. Bradford & Dorothy Jeffries, San Francisco
Mr. Douglas B. Jensen, Fresno
Mr. & Mrs. C. Russell Johnson, San Rafael
Ms. Carol Heinecke Johnson, Redwood City
Mr. & Mrs. Robert G. Johnson, Beverly Hills
Ms. Lynne C. Johnston, Redwood City
Mr. & Mrs. Richard W. Jones, Pasadena
Mr. & Mrs. Richard Jones, San Mateo
Mr. & Mrs. Scott Jones, Mill Valley
Mr. Robert L. Katz, Portola Valley
Mr. & Mrs. David Kehl, St. Helena
Mr. & Mrs. Van Rensselaer Kelsey, Los Angeles
Mr. David B. King, Newark
Duane & Cathy Kirkpatrick, San Francisco
Ms. Kathryn Klar, Richmond
Mr. Tom Klein, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Mike Kleine, Pacifica
Ms. Susan Giorgi Koutsoukos, Ross
Ms. Sara Kozel, Atherton
Dr. & Mrs. Boyd Krout, Los Angeles
Mr. Roger Kuhn, Mill Valley

Mr. & Mrs. William C. Landreth, Carm
Elizabeth & Phillip A. Lathrap, Lafayet
Mr. & Mrs. Stephen Lauck, Ross
Mr. & Mrs. Jules A. Levaggi, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. John G. Lilienthal, San Francisco
Pari & Putnam Livermore, San Francis
Mr. & Mrs. Peter Locke, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. William L. Lowe, Redwood City
Mr. & Mrs. Richard Lowry, San Francis
Mr. Donald S. Lucas, San Francisco
Mr. John R. Luongo, Hillsborough
Adrian Lurssen & Mary Kennedy, San Francisco
Ms. Leslie L. Luttgens, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Laurence R. Lyons, San Rafael
Mrs. Maurice A. Machris, Los Angeles
Sandy and Janet Mackenzie, San Francisco
Mr. Tim Madsen, Santa Cruz
Mr. & Mrs. Leonis C. Malburg, Vernon
Ms. Josephine Malti, San Francisco
Mr. Peter E. Marble, Pebble Beach
Mr. Cloyd Masengill, Oakland
Stephen McClellan & Judith Hamilton, San Francisco
Mr. Michael McCone, San Francisco
Mrs. David Jamison McDaniel, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Nion T. McEvoy, San Francisco
Ms. Barbara Y. McLellan, Los Altos
Dr. Knox Mellon, Jr., Riverside
Mr. Dwight L. Merriman, Jr., Kentfield
Mr. & Mrs. Frank R. Miller, Jr., Santa Barbara
Mr. & Mrs. Bruce T. Mitchell, Hillsborough
Mrs. S. S. Monjauze, Menlo Park
Mr. & Mrs. Douglas G. Moore, San Francisco
Mr. Mark A. Moore, San Francisco
Daniel & Antonette Morales, El Cerrito
Mr. James R. Morse, Kentfield
Mr. Tim Muller, San Francisco
Mrs. Irene Simpson Neasham, Hillsborough
Ms. Carole Newman, San Francisco
Mr. Michael D. Newman, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Joseph E. Oeschger, Palo Alt
Mr. & Mrs. Peter J. O'Hara, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Steven Oliver, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Richard Olness, San Francisco
Ms. Diane Ososke, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Richard C. Otter, Belvedere
Dr. Douglas K. Ousterhout, San Francisco

r & Mrs. George Pasha III, San Rafael
Irs. Paul Patton, Kentfield
irs. G. J. Pelissero, Santa Barbara
Ir. & Mrs. Warren Perry, San Francisco
Ir. Dan Phipps, San Francisco
Ir. Philip Placier, Orinda
r. & Mrs. John O. Pohlmann, Seal Beach
Ir. Anthony Price, San Francisco
Ir. & Mrs. Paul C. Pringle, San Francisco
Ir. & Mrs. Herbert C. Puffer, Folsom
Ir. & Mrs. Russell L. Quacchia, Los Altos
iage & Bonney Quattrocchi, Santa Rosa
Ir. & Mrs. Martin Quinn, San Francisco
Ir. & Mrs. Chris Redlich, Hillsborough
Ir. & Mrs. Charles M. Reed, Huntington Beach
Irs. Marie Rich, San Francisco
Irs. Barbara H. Riggins, Walnut Creek
Ir. & Mrs. Thomas Rimerman, Menlo Park
ichard & Sarah Rivers, Woodside
Is. Helen Robison, Palo Alto
Ir. B. T. Rocca, Jr., San Francisco
Ir. & Mrs. Hadley Roff, San Francisco
Ir. Robert E. Ronus, Los Angeles
Ir. Andy Rumer, San Anselmo
Irs. George V. Russell, Santa Barbara
Ir. & Mrs. Theodore A. Russell, San Francisco
liedeh Honari Saghi, San Francisco
Ir. John H. Samter, San Francisco
Irs. David Sargent, San Francisco
Ir. & Mrs. Robert Scavullo, San Francisco
ande Schlumberger, Santa Rosa
Ir. Edward J. Schneider III, Atherton
Ir. John Schnorr,, San Francisco
Ir. Michael D. Schroeder, Cupertino
Irs. J. F. Schulz, Santa Rosa
Ir. & Mrs. Edwin J. Schwartz, San Francisco
ev. Thomas L. Seagrave, San Francisco
Ir. & Mrs. Edwin A. Seipp, Jr., Atherton
Irs. Muir S. Shank, Diablo
Is. Deborah F. Shepherd, San Francisco
Irs. Eugene A. Shurtleff, San Francisco
Irs. Mollie M. Sinclair, Fremont
Ir. Andrew Skurman, San Francisco
Ir. & Mrs. David Sliptzin, San Francisco
Is. Ann Smith, Pacific Palisades
Is. Jeanne M. Smith, Walnut Creek
Ir. Kendall B. Smith, San Francisco
Ir. & Mrs. Robert A. Smith, Moraga
Ir. & Mrs. Edward Snedeker, San Mateo
Ir. Charles D. Sooy, Berkeley
Is. Barbara Stanton, St. Helena
Ir. & Mrs. Jack Stark, Claremont
Ir. & Mrs. Richard Stein, Burlingame
Ir. Norman Stone, San Francisco
Ms. Blanche Germain Streeter, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Myron Sugarman, San Francisco
Dr. Nate Sumner, Mill Valley
Mr. Thomas A. Techentin, Pasadena
Carter and Mary Thacher, San Francisco
Mr. James F. Thacher, San Francisco
Mr. Jeffrey Thomas, San Francisco
Mr. and Mrs. Morley Thompson, Woodside
Mr. Roger Trinchero, St. Helena
Mr. Charles Tuffree, Placentia
Mr. & Mrs. J. Gordon Turnbull, San Francisco
Mr. Peter S. Wantuch, Hillsborough
Mrs. Richard C. Waugh, Los Altos Hills
Josh Weinstein & Lisa Simmons, Santa Monica
Ms. Virginia Welsh, San Bruno
Messrs. Whitcomb & McCarthy, Redwood Valley
Mr. Warren R. White, San Francisco
Mr. Peter Wiley & Ms. Valerie Barth, San Francisco
Mrs. Edwin H. Williams, San Francisco
Anne & Kirke Wilson, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. Andy Woo, San Mateo
Mr. Mark L. Woodbury, Oakland
Ms. Susan Woodson, San Francisco
Ms. Nancy C. Woodward, Carmichael
Mrs. Phyllis M. Woodward, San Rafael
Ms. Deborah Zepnick, Calabasas

Corporations and Foundations

$5,000 and up

The Barkley Fund, Corona Del Mar
The Eva Benson Buck Charitable Trust D, San Francisco
The C.A.W. Foundation, San Francisco
The Louise M. Davies Foundation, San Francisco
Grants for the Arts, San Francisco
The Stanley S. Langendorf Foundation, San Francisco
The Mericos Foundation, South Pasadena
Metreon, San Francisco
The Morgan Charitable Trust, Princeton, NJ
The Robert & Helen Odell Fund, San Francisco
Silver Giving Foundation, San Francisco
The L. J. Skaggs & Mary C. Skaggs Foundation, Oakland
Transamerica Foundation, San Francisco
Kristi Yamaguchi's Always Dream Foundation, Oakland

$1,000 - $4,999

Arata Brothers Trust, Sacramento
Automobile Club of Southern California, Costa Mesa
The Elizabeth & Stephen Bechtel, Jr Foundation, San Francisco
The Robert & Alice Bridges Foundation, San Francisco
General Atlantic Development, San Francisco
The Samuel S. Johnson Foundation, Redmond, OR
The Ron Kaufman Companies, San Francisco
Macromedia, San Francisco
McClatchy Newspapers, Sacramento
The Northern Trust Company, San Francisco
Public Policy Institute of California, San Francisco
Sacramento Trust for Historic Preservation, Sacramento
San Francisco Chronicle, San Francisco
The Setzer Foundation, Sacramento
The Sidney Stern Memorial Trust, Pacific Palisades

$500 - $999

Cypress Lawn Memorial Park, Colma
Pacific Gas and Electric Co., San Francisco
John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, NY

$250 - $499

The Hass Family Fund, San Jose
Limoneira Company, Santa Paula
Plant Construction Company, Inc., San Francisco
The San Francisco Club of Lithography and Printing, San Mateo

DONORS TO THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The California Historical Society gratefully acknowledges the generous members and donors who have made gifts of $250 during the months of July, August, and September 2000.

Individuals

$5,000 and up
Maribelle B. Leavitt, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Richard Dirickson, San Francisco
Mr. Ernest Gallo, Modesto
Mr. & Mrs. William Timken, Lafayette
Mrs. Paul L. Wattis, San Francisco

$1,000 - $4,999
Mr. Robert C. Friese, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Charles R. Schwab, Atherton
Mr. & Mrs. Michael Cudahy, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Ian H. Zwicker, Hillsborough
Mr. & Mrs. Charles Crocker, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. Richard G. Glogau, San Francisco
Mrs. Constance M. Goodyear, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. J. Patterson McBaine, San Francisco
Mrs. Nan Tucker McEvoy, San Francisco
Mr. Tim Muller, San Francisco
Mr. Bernard Schulte, Jr., Orinda
Hon. & Mrs. George P. Shultz, San Francisco
Mr. Douglass Smith & Ms. Sandra Lloyd, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Steven L. Swig, San Francisco

$500 - $999
Mr. Charles C. McGettigan, San Francisco
Mr. Paul Sack, San Francisco
Edith and George Piness, Mill Valley
Ms. Lisa Hamilton Barry, Greenbrae
Mr. & Mrs. Michael F. Bigham, Palo Alto
Mr. & Mrs. Herman Christensen, Jr., Atherton
Linda & James Dickason, San Marino
Mr. & Mrs. Daniel Finnane, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Richard Kramlich, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. James J. Ludwig, San Francisco
Mr. Robert S. MacFarlane, Pacific Palisades
Mrs. Robert A. Magowan, San Francisco
Mr. John Soennichsen, San Jose
Mr. John A. Traina, Jr., San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Lee Zeigler, San Francisco

$250 - $499
Matthew Kelly & Diane Chapman, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. Richard Kunin, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Peter Magowan, San Francisco
Mr. John N. McBaine, San Francisco
Ms. Elizabeth O'Brien, Piedmont
Mr. & Mrs. John B. Bates, Piedmont
Mr. & Mrs. Clark Callander, San Francisco
Mr. Barnaby Conrad III, San Francisco
The Hon. & Mrs. Ronald George, San Francisco
Mr. Louis H. Heilbron, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Harold J. Hunter, San Marino
Mr. & Mrs. Van Rensselaer Kelsey, Los Angeles
Mrs. Robert Livermore, Danville
Ms. Tillie McCullough, San Francisco
Mrs. David Jamison McDaniel, San Francisco
Mr. Michael D. Newman, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Peter J. O'Hara, San Francisco
Mr. S. Charles Olivia, Brentwood
Richard & Sarah Rivers, Woodside
Mr. William M. Roth, Princeton, NJ
Dr. A. Jess Shenson, San Francisco
Carter and Mary Thacher, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Alfred S. Wilsey, San Francisco
Mr. Robert M. Wilson, Sacramento

Corporations and Foundations

$5,000 and up
San Francisco Foundation, San Francisco
The San Francisco Giants, San Francisc

$1,000 - $4,999

Pfund Family Foundation, Sacramento
SF Sentry Securities, Inc., San Francisc
The W. & H. B. Allen Foundation, Belvedere
Merrill Lynch & Co. Foundations, Inc., New York, NY

$500 - $999
John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, NY

DONORS TO THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY ANNUAL FUND

he Annual Fund supports the communications services of CHS to help meet the costs of answering the thousands of queries eceived about California and its history. We gratefully acknowledge the generous members who supported the Annual Fund during the year ending June 30, 2000.

$1,000 and above

Mr. Robert G. Adams, Orinda
Mrs. John Edward Cahill, San Rafael
Mr. & Mrs. Reid W. Dennis, Woodside
Dr. & Mrs. Kenneth D. Gardner, Jr., Albuquerque, NM
Mr. William R. Kimball, Belvedere
Maribelle B. Leavitt, San Francisco
Ms. Carole C. Terry, Las Vegas, NV
Mrs. Alice Whitson, Willow Creek

$500 - $999

Mr. Carl G. Brown, Jr., San Rafael
Mr. & Mrs. Frederick K. Duhring, Los Altos Hills
Mr. & Mrs. Robert S. Dulin, Bayfield, CO
Mrs. Henry B. Grandin, Jr., Sausalito
Dr. & Mrs. George Haberfelde, Pacific Palisades
Mr. & Mrs. Timothy J. Hachman, Stockton
Mr. Louis H. Heilbron, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Alfred E. Heller, Kentfield
Mr. & Mrs. Donald C. McNear, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. David Potter, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. B. H. Rose III, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Earl F. Schmidt, Jr., Palo Alto
Mr. A. W. B. Vincent, San Francisco
Mrs. Paul L. Wattis, San Francisco

$250 - $499

Anonymous
Mr. Victor K. Atkins, Jr., Southampton, NY
Ms. Barbara Bottarini, San Francisco
Mr. Edgar Buttner, Piedmont
Mr. Richard L. Chew, Redwood City
Mr. & Mrs. Herman Christensen, Jr., Atherton
Mr. & Mrs. R. Warren Cleary, Laguna Beach
Mr. Philip S. Ehrlich, Bel Tiburon
Christian & Jacqueline Erdman, San Francisco
Mr. Harold A. Fick, Hillsborough
Miss Muriel T. French, San Francisco
Mr. John Gherini, Santa Barbara
Mr. J. Lowell Groves, San Francisco
Miss Mary Jane Harris, San Francisco
Mr. Jere A. Jacobs, Santa Rosa
Mr. & Mrs. John G. Lilienthal, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. William L. Lowe, Redwood City
Mr. Michael McCone, San Francisco
Mr. Tim Muller, San Francisco
Mr. Michael D. Newman, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. J. F. C. Nielsen, Mill Valley
Mrs. Paul Patton, Kentfield
Mr. Edward J. Schneider III, Atherton
Mr. Richard C. Warmer, San Francisco
Mr. Frank A. West, Carmel
Mr. Warren R. White, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Alfred S. Wilsey, San Francisco
Mrs. Phyllis M. Woodward, San Rafael

Gifts under $250

Mr. & Mrs. Frank H. Abbott III, San Francisco
Mr. Roy M. Acker, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Roger Alliguie, San Francisco
Mr. Phil R. Anderson, Anaheim Hills
Mrs. Virginia Anderson, Oakland
Mrs. Stanley Andreasen, San Francisco
Mr. David K. Appel, Davis
Mr. Robert A. Augusto, Rio Vista
Mr. Arthur J. Babcock, San Simeon
Mr. Gordon M. Bakken, Fullerton
Mr. David A. Banoff, Oakland
Ms. Lucy Barber, Davis
Mr. Stanley M. Barnes, Visalia
Ann & Irwin Bear, Burlingame
Mrs. Dorothy Beatty, Portola Valley
Thomas A. Beckett & Ms. Betsy Wallace, Palo Alto
Mr. & Mrs. August Benz, Hillsborough
Mr. Benjamin F. Biaggini, San Francisco
Mr. Noam Birnbaum, Oakland
Mr. Worth Blaney, Palm Desert
Mr. Jerry Bonnell, Los Altos
Mrs. Armand D. Bosc, San Francisco
Mr. DeWitt F. Bowman, Mill Valley
Ms. Shirley Boydstun, Guadalupe
Miss Virginia Bozza, Millbrae
Mrs. Gabrielle W. Bradley, Hillsborough
Mrs. William Bransten, San Francisco
Ms. Deborah Brennand, Santa Fe, NM
Ms. Carroll W. Brentano, Berkeley
Mr. Ray Brian, San Francisco
Dr. Diane Brooks, Roseville
Mr. Donald Browne, Pebble Beach
Ms. Joanne E. Bruggemann, Redwood City
Mr. Thomas Anthony Buckley, Los Angeles
Mr. William Burke, Bakersfield
Ms. Charlotte F. Calhoun, San Francisco
Mr. Robert Callwell, San Francisco
Mr. William B. Campbell, San Francisco
Mr. Daniel Carlin, San Jose
Mr. Jon B. Chaney, San Rafael
Mrs. Dana J. Chavez, Long Beach
Mr. Robert W. Cherny, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. A. B. Ciabattoni, San Francisco
David J. Clark, Esq., Lafayette
Mr. & Mrs. William S. Clark, San Francisco
Ms. Eleanor A. Clayton, San Francisco
Mrs. William C. Cothill, Sonora
Mr. David J. Colt, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Wm. L. Conlon, Newport Beach
Renate & Robert Coombs, Oakland
Ms. Danine Cozzens, San Mateo
Mr. Roger A. Creet, Berkeley
Dr. James H. Cremin, Los Angeles
Mrs. Alfreda S. Cullinan, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Frank E. Cummings, Sonoma
Mr. Raymond d'Artenay, San Jose
Mrs. Leonore Daschbach, Atherton
Mr. Graham B. Davis, Piedmont
Ms. Jeanne Davis, Reno, NV
Mr. Michael Dermody, Valencia
Mr. Gilbert B. Devey, Washington, DC
Ms. Nini Dibble, San Francisco
Ms. Yvette Diven, San Francisco
Miss Virginia S. Donnell, Berkeley
Kathleen & Terry Dooley, Sherman Oaks
Mr. Earl S. Douglass, Jr., Atherton
Mrs. Morris M. Doyle, San Francisco
Al & Clare Driver, Knights Landing
Mr. G. B. Drummond, Livermore
Mr. Kerwin J. Dudley, San Francisco
Mr. D. Hank Dunlop, San Francisco
Ms. Barbara J. Eppler, Roseville
Mr. James A. Escalante, Santa Susana
Mrs. Edward E. Eyre, San Mateo
Ms. Sara-Louise Faustman, Sacramento
Mr. & Mrs. Howard Fenton, Santa Barbara
Ms. Bettye Poetz Ferguson, San Francisco
Ms. Leonore Fifer, San Francisco
Mr. Howard W. Fleming, Jr., Los Angeles
Ms. Katherine Flynn & Mr. William Roop, Petaluma
Mr. & Mrs. Hugh W. Foster, San Francisco
Mr. Robert C. Fox, San Francisco
Mr. Donald Frediani, San Francisco
Mr. Steven Friscia, Corte Madera
Mr. Stephen J. Gallaway, Pleasant Hill
Mrs. E. J. Garbarini, San Francisco
Elizabeth K. Gardner, Ph.D., Belvedere Tiburon
Mr. & Mrs. Edward Gaspar, Carpinteria
Ms. Jossette Horst Gavin, Mill Valley
Mr. Thomas R. Gherini, San Mateo
Mrs. Jane B. Goldberg, San Mateo
Nancy & Frederic Golden, Santa Barbara
Mrs. Donald C. Goodrich, Oceanside
Mrs. Mariam Graham, Hillsborough
Mr. David L. Graham, Castro Valley
Mr. Richard Gross, San Francisco
Mr. Paul Grunland, Berkeley
Mr. Kenneth C. Gustafson, Napa
Mr. Ronald R. Gustafson, Arcadia
John & Michelle Hansen, San Jose
Ms. Virginia-Jane Harris, Diamond Springs

Mr. & Mrs. Robert C. Harris, San Francisco
Mr. Samuel H. Hays, Oakland
Mr. Warren Heckrotte, Oakland
Mrs. Jessie V. Heinzman, Elk Grove
Mrs. Margaret E. Henderson, San Rafael
Mr. Kenneth E. Hill, Rancho Sante Fe
Mr. Harlan Hirschfeld, Orinda
Mr. & Mrs. C. H. Holladay, Newport Beach
Glen D. & Alison J. Holtby, Cupertino
Mr. & Mrs. Richard Hotaling, Pasadena
Mr. Preston B. Hotchkis, Santa Barbara
Ms. Alice Q. Howard, Placerville
Mrs. Harmon K. Howard, Walnut Creek
Ms. Denise Howe, Pleasanton
Mrs. Elinor Howie, Fresno
Miss Myna Brunton Hughes, San Francisco
Mr. Robert Charles Hughes, El Cerrito
Mr. & Mrs. William J. Iracki, San Francisco
E. Glenn & Gabriella Isaacson, Bel Tiburon
Jerome B. Jacobson, M.D., San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Bert Jameyson, Moraga
Ms. Christine A. Jarvis, San Bruno
Mr. & Mrs. Carl Marvin Jensen, Santa Cruz
Mr. Elwood L. Johnson, Sonora
Mr. & Mrs. Peter M. Joost, San Francisco
Ms. Antoinette Jud & Eugene Jud, San Luis Obispo
Mr. & Mrs. Howard Karren, San Francisco
Ms. Suzanne Keith, Woodside
Mrs. Patricia Ketchum, So. Pasadena
Mr. Thomas Kettenburg, San Diego
Mr. Richard S. Kimball, Highland
Mr. Marshall L. Knowlton, Westlake Village
Ms. Frances M. Kohn, Santa Rosa
Mr. Alan Kohn, Huntington Beach
Remy N. Kormos, San Francisco
Wendy & Donald Kreger, Belvedere
Mr. & Mrs. Lyman Lacy, San Francisco
Ms. Susan E. Lancaster, Los Angeles
Mr. H. A. Lapham, Santa Rosa
Elizabeth & Phillip A. Lathrap, Lafayette
Ms. Lesley Lathrop-Hanna, Santa Cruz
Mr. & Mrs. A. Laufer, Seal Beach
Phyllis A. & Harry Lauritzen, Rio Vista
Mrs. Norman G. Leaper, San Francisco
Mr. Richard E. LeBlond, Jr., Sebastopol
Mr. Hollis G. Lenderking, Palo Alto
Ms. Meagan S. Levitan, San Francisco
Dr. Gloria Ricci Lothrop, Pasadena
Miss Dorothea R. Lyman, Santa Rosa
Mrs. Maurice A. Machris, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Ian Mackinlay, F.A.I.A., San Francisco
Mr. Leroy R. Mann, Belvedere Tiburon
Mr. & Mrs. Michael R. Marron, San Anselmo
Mr. Joseph Martin, Jr., Woodside
Mr. Curt A. Matyas, Sacramento
Mr. & Mrs. Edward H. Mayer, San Marino
Ms. Mary McDevitt-Brown, Menlo Park
Mr. & Mrs. J. Frank McGinnis, Hillsborough
Mrs. Edward H. McLaughlin, Jr., Los Angeles
Mrs. John H. McLoon, San Rafael
Mrs. Charles D. McPherson, San Rafael
Mr. Michael L. Mellor, San Francisco
William & Kathleen Mero, Concord
Mrs. E. K. Messinger, Carmel
Mr. Dale G. Miholovich, Sunnyvale
Mr. Worth Miller, Mill Valley
Mrs. G. Everett Miller, Beverly Hills
Mr. A. A. Milligan, Santa Barbara
Mr. & Mrs. William Mittendorf, San Francisco
Mr. Jonathan W. Montgomery, New York, NY
Daniel & Antonette Morales, El Cerrito
Mr. Charles L. Morin, San Francisco
Mr. James M. Morris, Jr., Sacramento
Ms. Gina Morrison, Novato
Justice Stanley Mosk, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. J. Fraser Muirhead, Tiburon
Dr. Carl N. Muto, Concord
Mr. & Mrs. Richard Nelson, Vallejo
Mr. H. Leigh Newcomb, San Francisco
Mr. Thomas L. Newmark, Nevada City
Mr. Stuart Nixon, Hillsborough
Mr. Michael A. Norton, Albany
Mr. Thomas E. Nuckols, S. Pasadena
Mr. Anselmo O. Ochoa, Fresno
Mr. & Mrs. Joseph E. Oeschger, Palo Alto
Miss Roberta S. O'Grady, Alameda
Ms. Diane Ososke, San Francisco
Mrs. Jeanne S. Overstreet, Bennington, VT
Mr. John T. Packard, Los Altos Hills
Mr. & Mrs. A. James Pedersen, Napa
Mrs. Evan R. Peters, San Francisco
Mrs. Agnes F. Peterson, Los Altos
Ettamarie & Ray Peterson, Petaluma
Mrs. Lauris J. Phillips, San Marino
Mr. Peter G. Piness, APO
Mr. Philip Placier, Orinda
Dr. & Mrs. John O. Pohlmann, Seal Beach
Mrs. Robert W. Proctor, Chatham, MA
Mr. Erick Quan, Culver City
Ms. Patricia Smith Ramsey, Carmel
Ms. Norma Randig, San Francisco
Mr. James Jabus Rawls, Sonoma
Ms. Sandra Reinhardt, San Rafael
Mrs. Roma Philbrook Rentz, Lake San Marcos
Mrs. Robert Rhodes, Pasadena
Mr. & Mrs. Gilbert Richards, Woodside
Richard & Sarah Rivers, Woodside
Mr. & Mrs. Hadley Roff, San Francisco
Mrs. Ernest Rogers, San Francisco
Mr. Robert E. Ronus, Los Angeles
Mrs. Charlotte Root, San Francisco
Ms. Judi Sahagen, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. Rolf G. Scherman, Greenbra
Mr. Erich F. Schimps, Arcata
Dr. John F. Schneider, Raleigh, NC
Ms. Paula Schneider, Ben Lomond
Mr. John A. Schutz, Los Angeles
Mrs. S. Donald Schwabacher, Atherton
Mr. & Mrs. Eugene F. Serr, Red Bluff
Mr. & Mrs. John A. Serrao, Rancho Mirage
Ms. Elizabeth B. Shirley, Chico
Mr. Rocco C. Siciliano, Beverly Hills
Mrs. Mollie M. Sinclair, Fremont
Mrs. James Slaton, Walnut Creek
Mr. & Mrs. Robert A. Smith, Moraga
Ms. Harriet Sollod, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Philip Spalding, San Francisco
Mrs. Raymond L. Spangler, Redwood City
Kevin Starr, Ph.D., San Francisco
Hillary & David Steinberg, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Moreland L. Stevens, Newcastle
Mrs. Phyllis Vallejo Stolaroff, South Pasadena
Mr. David Swartz, Palo Alto
Colonel Robert T. Sweeney, San Francisco
Ms. Patricia M. Tate, La Jolla
Mr. Thomas A. Techentin, Pasadena
Mr. Norman R. Therkelson, Concord
Mr. Bill Thomas, Pacifica
Mr. Jeffrey Thomas, San Francisco
Mr. Richard G. Torney, Kentfield
Mr. Jim Tranquada, Pasadena
Mr. & Mrs. B. Traub, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. John G. Troster, Atherton
Warren & Helen Tryon, El Cerrito
Mr. & Mrs. Robert M. Tuller, San Francisco
Mr. Gerald F. Uelmen, Saratoga
Mr. & Mrs. I. R. Vogel, San Diego
Ms. K. Christie Vogel, El Granada
Mr. & Mrs. H. Waagen, San Jose
Mrs. Elaine Warner, Poway
Susana & A. J. Watson, Citrus Heights
Josh Weinstein & Lisa Simmons, Santa Monica
Ms. Jane Wells, San Francisco
Mr. Thomas C. Whelan, Alameda
Mrs. Clyde G. Whelden, Piedmont
Messrs. Whitcomb & McCarthy, Redwood Valley
Mrs. Tova P. Wiley, San Francisco
Ms. Diane Wilsdon, Claremont
Mr. Richard Wilson, Kingsburg
Ms. Sheila Wishek, San Francisco
Mrs. Patricia Fay Woods, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. William E. Worthington, Camarillo
Mr. Robert C. Wrisley, San Francisco
Mrs. Thomas Yeandle, Castro Valley
Mr. Kenneth Yeo, Auburn
Mr. John E. Zeile, Jr., So. Pasadena

DONATIONS TO THE CHS COLLECTIONS

FINE ARTS

- Gift of the Estate of Helen and Clyde Arbuckle:

  Maker unknown. *Inauguration Dress,* 1850s. Skirt of cotton, twisted pearl-cotton embroidery. Blouse of cotton lawn with boned bodice.

  Maker unknown. *Coat belonging to Sarah L. Winchester,* 1880s. Cut velvet with velvet lapels, silk plaid lining.

- Gift of Jack H. Canvin:

  Carl Schutz. *Post and Montgomery Street from the Palace Hotel,* n.d. Etching.

- Gift of the artist (Wedo Georgetti):

  "Wedo" Georgetti (born 1911). *Columbia,* 1942. Watercolor and pastel.

- Gift of Edan Hughes:

  Hugo Wilhelm Arthur Nahl (1833-1889), *Portrait of a Man,* ca. 1850s. Charcoal and gouache on paper.

- Gift of Ellen Kip:

  John Stump (1902-1977). *Untitled* (Sausalito), n.d. Watercolor.

  The Yards, n.d. Watercolor.

  Episcopal Church, Sausalito, n.d. Watercolor.

  Untitled (Sausalito), n.d. Watercolor.

  Untitled (Marin), n.d. Watercolor.

  Untitled (Marin), n.d. Watercolor.

  Beatrix Sherman. *Two Silhouettes of "Cathy" cut at the Panama Pacific International Exhibition,* 1915. Black paper on cardboard.

- Gift in memory of Dr. Edgar W. Morse:

  Maker unknown. *Trophy for the Wool Growers Association of the State of California, Presented by the Palace Hotel,* ca. 1920. Watercolor, gouache, and graphite on paper.

- Gift of Betty Shurtleff:

  Charles B. Gifford, artist and lithographer. L. Nagel, printer. Published by A. Rosenfield. *San Francisco, 1862. From Russian Hill,* 1862. Lithograph.

- Gift of Donald Whitton:

  Gertrude Partington (Albright) (1883-1959). *Telegraph Hill, S. F.,* 1914. Drypoint etching on laid paper.

  Lawrence Norris Scammon (1872-1949). *Stevenson Fountain—Portsmouth Square San Francisco,* 1920. Etching on wove paper.

  Lawrence Norris Scammon (1872-1949). *Telegraph Hill, San Francisco,* 1920. Etching on wove paper.

  Cadwallader Washburn (1866-1965). *The Doorway,* n.d. Lithograph on laid paper.

  Cadwallader Washburn (1866-1965). *The Great Arch,* 1914. Lithograph on laid paper.

  Cadwallader Washburn (1866-1965). *Sunlight and Shadow,* 1914. Lithograph on laid paper.

NORTH BAKER RESEARCH LIBRARY

Manuscript donations:

Anne B. Bergson; Beyer Family; Pauline Bulen; Luella Case, for Ross E. Case; Robert T. and Helen H. Dick; Cleo Fitzgerald; W. Donald Fletcher, Coro Foundation; Stannous Flouride; Gordon L. Grosscup; Nona Hamilton, for Enola Flower; Mrs. Bobbye

Hammel-Green; Harmer-Schau Auction Galleries, Inc.; Dixon Heise; Thomas Jayne; Susan Stimmel Metcalf; Daniel Meyerson, in Honor of George R. Monds; Bruce T. Mitchell; Valerie Reynolds and Har Hari Kaur; Dr. Albert P. Shumate; Mrs. Edward A. Smith; Jonathan Stauduhar; William Swank and Robert Sterling; James J. and Elaine J. Walsh; Michael B. Wilmar; Woman's Club of Palo Alto.

Books, photographs, and other materials:

A.W. Baxter; Roy M. Acker; Jerome A. Adams; Lennart Ahlkvist; Anderson Valley Advertiser; Sophie Antier; Arizona Historical Society; Mary Ashe; Ballena Press; Bill Brummel Productions; Horace Bell; Lynn Bonfield; The Book Club of California; Hugo Borresen; John Brandenburg; California History Center & Foundation; California State Automobile Association; John Call; Concord Press; The Congregation Emanu-El; Robert Coote; Mrs. Dorothy L. Creely; Cross-Cultural Communications; Ginny Davis; Richard M. Davis; Jake Dear; Department of Fish & Game, California Resources Agency Library; Deschutes County Historical Society; Claudia Doerr; Encounter Books; Thomas Engmire; Don Fleming; Fort Ross Interpretive Association; Nancy L.Fraser; Friends of the Bancroft Library; Nancy Fuller; Jon Garate; Gerald Peters Gallery; Harry Goff; Paul Grunland; Anne Adams Helms; David Heron; Heyday Books; Raymond W. Hillman; Historical Society of Long Beach; Historical Society of Southern California; Gloria Hoppe; Granville W. Hough; Gabriel Iburra; Illinois University Press; Jerome Irwin; Sheldon Jackson; Alastair Johnston; Patricia Keats; Kitsap County Historical Society Museum; Theodore Kytka; Christine Labozan; David I. Lamphier; Michael H. Lee; Richard S. Lee; Lennon Documentary Group; Harold Levy; Charles Little; Lone Pine Publishing; Roger W. Lotchin; Mark Luca; Helen Ludwig; Mike R. Mackey; Janice Marschner; Mason County Museum; Michael McCone; McHenry Museum Press; McLean Historical Society; Carmel Barry Meisenbach; Dorothy Messenger; Audrey Meyers; Mills College, Center for the Book; Minnesota Annual Conference United Methodist Church; Mission College; Kirby Montellano; Morgan Hill Historical Society; Sieg Muhl; Museum of Art & History; National Maritime Museum Association; National Park Foundation; National Park Service, Golden Gate National Recreation Area; Neiman Marcus; Doyce Nunis; Oklahoma University Press; Nancy Olmsted; Ord Street Press; Richard Orsi; Oxford University Press; Pacific Coast Maritime History Committee; Dr. Robert Pasnau; Robert A. Pearce; Stephanie S. Pincetl; Elizabeth L. Potter; Project Underground; Public Policy Institute of California; Raymond Court Press; Ann Redl; Linda Romander; San Diego Historical Society; San Diego Natural History Museum; San Francisco Chronicle; San Francisco Maritime Museum; San Francisco Towers Library Committee; Santa Barbara Mission Archives; Gerald A. Schiller; Schools of the Sacred Heart; Charles R. Schultz; Carlos Schwantes; Sarah Seiter; Dr. Albert Shumate; Mrs. Eugene Shurtleff; Lee Simonson; Barbara R. Sims; Mrs. James Slaton; Smithsonian Institution Press; Sonoma Mountain Publishing Co.; Stanford University Press; Marjorie H. Stern; Stinson Beach Historical Society; Sunbelt Publications; Michael L. Tate; Trinity County Historical Society; Jane S. Tucker; John R. Underhill; University of Arizona Press; University of California Press; University of California, Berkeley, Harmer E. Davis Transportation Library; University of Illinois Press; University of Nebraska Press; University of Nevada Press; University of New Mexico Press; University of Oklahoma Press; University of Texas Press; University of Washington; University Press of Colorado; University Press, Kansas; US Army Corps of Engineers, Los Angeles District, Environmental Resources Branch; US Naval Observatory Library; Vanderbilt University Press; Voyageur Press; Western Archaeological Conservation Center; Donald G. Whitton; William Andrews Clark Memorial Library; Victoria Saker Woeste; Terald A. Zall.

NEW MEMBERS OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

July 1, 1999 – June 30, 2000

Ms. Ann C. Abbas, San Francisco
Mr. Jim Ady, Salt Lake City, UT
Romaine Ahlstrom, Los Angeles
Mr. Stephen Album, Santa Rosa
Mr. Daniel Alef, Solvang
Mr. David Allen, Sacramento
Mr. Robert R. Allman, Oakland
Mrs. Vicki Ambrose, Los Gatos
Mr. Charles P. Anderson, San Francisco
Mr. William W. Anderson, Oakland
Mr. Bruce S. Anderson, San Francisco
Mr. Frank Anderson, San Francisco
Mr. Warren R. Anderson, San Luis Obispo
Ms. Dee Andrews, Hayward
Bart and Daphne Araujo, Calistoga
Mrs. Fred C. Archer, San Francisco
Mr. Thomas Armour & Ms. Carolyn E. Armour, Oakland
Mr. Michael P. Arndt, Los Angeles
Auburn Placer County Library, Colfax
Auburn Placer County Library, Auburn
Ms. Lisa Bach, Santee
Mr. J. J. Bagnani & Pinnuccia Bagnani, Woodside
Mr. Joseph M. Bailey, Pacific Grove
Mr. & Mrs. William P. Bair, Altadena
Ms. Sally Banks, Menlo Park
Mr. Vic Barfield, Daly City
Mr. Ted Barone, Mill Valley
Mr. Philip Barrett, Fresno
Mr. Charles Storrs Barrows, Garden Grove
Barstow Community College, Barstow
Ms. Constance R. Barthold, Atherton
Mr. & Mrs. James Bartoo, Oakland
Ms. Ruth Ann Bartz, Santa Barbara
Beverly & Steve Becker, Pleasant Hill
Mr. & Mrs. Loren A. Beckley, Menlo Park
Mr. Dave Beeby, Carmichael
Mr. & Mrs. Wm. Beggs, Murrieta
Mr. Michael Bellinger, Monterey
Lynn Lohn & Lance Belville, Sausalito
Ms. Lynn Belyea, Manhattan Beach
Mr. Dale Bentson, San Francisco
Mr. Gregory Best, San Diego
Mr. Keith Beury, Orinda
Ms. Frances I. Beverly, San Francisco
Ms. Bernice Biggs, San Francisco
Mr. John Bikkeland, Richmond
Mr. Noam Birnbaum, Oakland
The Bishop's School, La Jolla
Mrs. Charolette Black, San Francisco
Mr. Worth Blaney, Palm Desert
Mr. John F. Bollard, Jr., San Francisco
Ms. Tracy B. Bosche & Mr. Lawrence Bosche, Berkeley
Mr. Douglas Boshardt, San Francisco
Ms. Linda Larson Boston, San Jose
Ms. Nancy Botkin, San Francisco
Mrs. Nancy Bowker, Salinas
Mr. DeWitt F. Bowman, Mill Valley
Ms. Patte Barham Boyne, Los Angeles
Mr. Billy Bragman, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Samuel B. Breck, Piedmont
Cid Breyer, Redlands
Ms. Carol Brookman, Oakland
Mr. Donald K. Brown, USN, Ret., Escondido
Ms. Meg Brown, Santa Rosa
Mr. Mike Brown, Chico
Martin E. Brown & Rhonda L. Bennon, San Francisco
Mr. Gilbert S. Bruce, Petaluma
Ms. Sandy Brumbaum, Berkeley
Ms. Lisa K. Buchanan, San Francisco
Mr. Cornelius Michael Buckley, S.J., San Francisco
Mr. Eric Bull, San Francisco
Burbank Elementary School, Merced
Mr. Dennis S. Butkowski, Pleasant Hill
Mrs. F. Bybee, Martinez
Mr. Donald M. Cahen, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Patrick A. Cahill, San Francisco
Mrs. Ruth C. Cambra, Dublin
Ms. Delma Campbell, El Cerrito
Mr. Colin D. Campbell, Hanover
Mr. & Mrs. Charles Candau, San Francisco
Mr. Steve Caniglia, San Francisco
Dr. Frank Cantrell, Fresno
Mr. Robert R. Cardoza, Costa Mesa
Ms. Jeanne Carevic & Mr. John Atwood, San Jose
Mr. Patrick F. Carey, Watsonville
Mr. Robert F. Carranco, Hayward
Mr. Steve Casad, San Jose
Ms. Mary E. Casanova, Oakville
Mr. Frank Casanova, Oakville
Mr. John Cassidy, Concord
Mr. John W. Castello, Carmel
Mr. Kevin Castner, San Francisco
Chamberlin Library, Birmingham, AL
Mr. Joel D. Chambers, Holtville
Dr. R. Charlton & Dr. Louise Buck, Palo Alto
Ms. Jeanne Mason Chasey, Napa
Ms. Mary T. Chin, Berkeley
Mr. & Mrs. Bert Clark, Pasadena
Mr. & Mrs. A. W. Clausen, Hillsborough
Br. Guire Cleary, S.S.F., San Francisco
E. Coburn, Los Gatos
Mr. Theodore Coffin, Jr., Cupertino
Mr. David G. Colwell, Fallbrook
Ms. Kate Ames Comings, San Anselmo
Mr. William Conlogue, Ph.D., Scranton
Contra Costa County Hist. Soc., Martinez
Mr. Charles L. Convis, Carson City, NV
Ms. Barbara E. Corff, San Francisco
Ms. Sandra Cormier, San Francisco
Mr. Greg Corning, San Francisco
Mr. Darrell Corti, Sacramento
Mr. Fabian Cosi, San Francisco
Mr. Albert Covarelli, Millbrae
Ms. Nancy M. Cox, San Rafael
Mr. Alan Cunningham, Oakland
Ms. Joan Curry, Mendocino
Mr. Don Cyphers, Irvine
Mr. Jack Daley, Palo Alto
Ms. Renee Danson, San Jose
Mr. Richard M. Davis, Nicasio
Mr. & Mrs. Lloyd E. Davis, Orinda
K. Violet De Cristoforo, Salinas

NEW MEMBERS

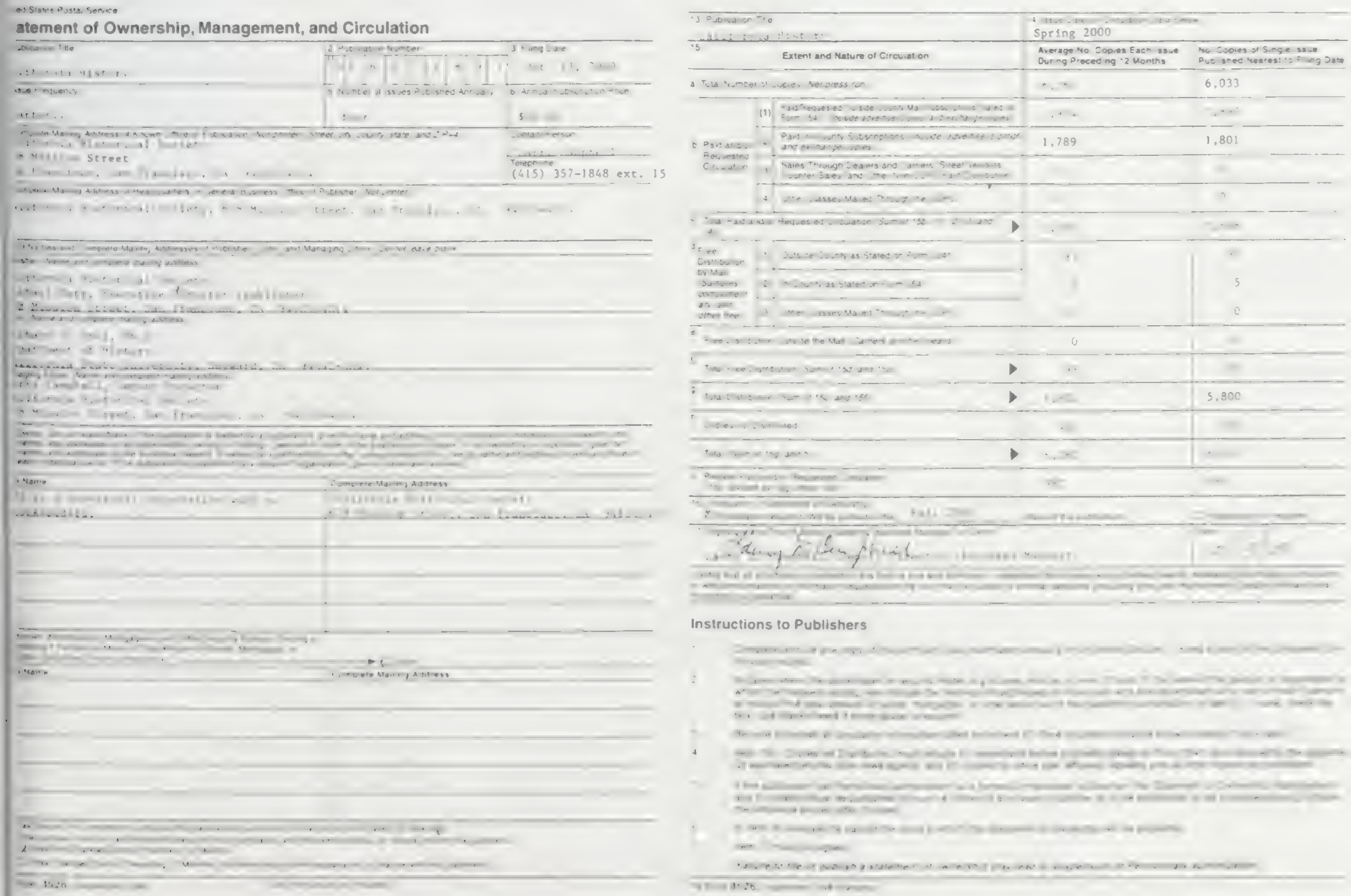
Judge Betty B. Deal, Alameda
Dr. Ann Deegan, Redlands
Mr. Stephen Dell & Ms. Julia Walsh, Piedmont
Val Dempsey, Atlanta, GA
The Dempsey Family, Dayton, OH
Mr. Richard Dennes, San Francisco
Ms. Celeste DeRoche, West Hills
Mr. Richard Diamond, Temecula
Mr. R. Dick, Healdsburg
Ms. Lisa Disterheft, Berkeley
Ms. Susan Ditz, Pescadero
Ms. Yvette Diven, San Francisco
Ms. Linda Dobson, Oakland
Mr. Fred Dortort, Berkeley
Mr. Gene J. Dovidio, San Francisco
Ms. Adele Dow, San Francisco
Mr. John Dowling, San Francisco
Ms. Kalina Alissandra Dramov, Carmel
Ms. Jeanne Drexel, Los Gatos
Mr. & Mrs. Leroy E. Dutra, Brentwood
Mr. Rob Duvall, Milpitas
Mr. Brendon Dyson, San Francisco
Mr. Ken Earle, El Dorado Hills
Dean & Karen Eckerson, Vallejo
Mr. Wendel V. Eckford, Pasadena
Ms. Niki Edwards, Modesto
Jonmarc Edwards & Rebecca Hartman, Los Angeles
Mr. Howard Egerman, Oakland
Mr. Ray Elliott, Orangevale
Mr. Charles Elliott, San Francisco
Ms. Mary L. Ellis, San Francisco
Mr. Roger Emanuels, Santa Cruz
Ms. Susan Englander, San Francisco
Ms. Nora Leroux Ernst, Santa Rosa
Ms. Sara Escalante, Newport Beach
Ms. Amy Essington, Long Beach
Dr. Michael J. Eula, Torrance
Mr. Ross Ewoldsen, Oakland
Mr. Norval Fairman, Diablo
Mrs. Maryalice Faltings, Livermore
Mr. Tom Fawcett, Mountain View
Mr. A. L. Faye, Pleasanton
Ms. Diana J. Felton, Danville
Dr. Lorri L. Ferracioli, Cypress
Mr. Vic Ferrer, San Francisco
Ms. Holly Fiala, San Francisco
Ms. Deborah Fidler, San Francisco
Mr. Richard A. Figliuzzi, San Francisco
Ms. Bruna Finnie, Sunnyvale
Mr. & Mrs. John Fisher, San Francisco
Mr. Colin J. Flaherty, Cobb
Mr. John Flannery, Concord
Mr. Gary Fleming, San Bruno
Dr. Kent Fleming, Sebastopol
Dr. Thomas L. Follett, Yountville
Mr. Tim Francis, Huntington Beach
Mr. & Mrs. Nicholas Franco, Belvedere Tiburon
Bonnie & Jeff Freiberg, Mill Valley
E. French, Walnut Creek
Fresno County Free Library, Fresno
Fresno County Free Library, Reedley
Fresno County Free Library, Clovis
Ms. Helen Friedman, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Robert Friend, Belvedere
Mr. & Mrs. Gordon Frierson, Piedmont
Mr. & Mrs. Seymour Fromer, Berkeley
Mrs. Gloria R. Frost, Jenner
Ms. Ilse L. Gaede, San Francisco
Ms. Marsha Gale, Berkeley
Mr. Stan Gallagher, Mill Valley
Garden Art, Graton
Ms. C. Garrett, Oakland
Ms. Linda Garvey, San Carlos
Mr. & Mrs. Fred Gellert, Jr., Belvedere Tiburon
Shirley & Harry Gelman, Walnut Creek
Ms. Susan L. George, Walnut Creek
Mr. Thomas C. Gerughty, San Francisco
Mrs. Roberta Ghertner, Berkeley
Mr. Frank H. Gille, Santa Barbara
Keith & Denise Gillen, Mountain View
Mr. Robert Glockner, Menlo Park
Dr. Erica T. Goode, San Francisco
Mr. Frank H. Goodyear, Ph.D., Washington, DC
Mr. Geoff Gordon, Belvedere Tiburon
Cynthia & John Gorman, Piedmont
Mr. Lionel B. Goularte, Fremont
Ms. Meredith Graham, Tarzana
Ms. Vicki Graham, San Pablo
Mr. G. Michael Graves, Fresno
John & Frankie Gray, Ross
Mr. Archie Green, San Francisco
Mr. Andrew J. Green, San Francisco
Ms. Barbara J. Grey, Hayward
Mr. & Mrs. Marvin Grove, San Francisco
Mr. Kenneth C. Gustafson, Napa
Mr. Harry H. Hall, San Jose
Gwendolyn & James Halpin, Moraga
Mr. & Mrs. Stephen Halprin, Portol Valley
Mr. Fredric Hamber, San Francisco
Mr. Richard B. Hammond, Carmel
Ms. Mariah Hanson, San Francisco
Dr. Kenneth Hanson, La Mesa
Ms. Gretchen Harding, San Francisc
Ms. Roberta Harlan, Santa Rosa
Ms. Mary Harper, Oakland
Ms. Margot Harrigan, Los Altos
Ms. Faith Harris, Danville
Ms. Averill Hauben, Los Angeles
Donald E. Hausler & Joanne Hausler, Oakland
Mr. William Scott Hayes, Petaluma
Mrs. Paul Hazen, Belvedere
Ms. Jane Heaton, Carmichael
Mr. Laurance Henderson, Visalia
Mr. Sidney M. Hendrix, Capistrano Beach
Mr. Garry Henkel, San Francisco
Mr. Michael Heumann, Calabasas
Ms. Priscilla R. Hexter, Portola Valley
Ms. Stella Hexter, Kensington
Mr. & Mrs. Kenneth G. High, Jr., San Francisco
Ms. Suki Hill, Mill Valley
Ms. Jane Hillegas-Stommel, San Francisco
Mr. David A. Hobbs, El Dorado Hills
Ms. Susan F. Hodgson, Davis
Mr. Robert Hoffman, Bakersfield
Ms. Jacqueline Hogan, San Pablo
Mrs. W. R. Holcomb, San Bernardino
Ronald Ronald E. Holden, San Francisco
Ms. Robyn Holland, Oakhurst
Mrs. D. W. Holmes, Madera
Hope International University, Fullerton
Ms. Judith L. Hopkins, Carlsbad
Ms. Beverly Horn, San Francisco
Mr. G. W. Howell, Los Angeles
Ms. Heidi Howell, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Henry P. Huff III, Portola Valley
Ms. Jody Hymes, Oakland
Mr. John Ireland, Fremont
Mr. L. Peter Jaarsma, Richmond
Mr. Bill Jasper, Moraga

Is. Jane E. Jeager, San Jose
Is. Carol Heinecke Johnson, Redwood City
Ir. Wyatt Johnson & Ms. Clesa Gonzalez, Ben Lomond
Is. Lynne C. Johnston, Redwood City
Ir. Phillip Jones, Fremont
Ir. & Mrs. Scott Jones, Mill Valley
Ir. Donald H. Kagin, Belvedere Tiburon
Is. Mary Karasawa, Whittier
Ir. & Mrs. Howard Karren, San Francisco
Is. Cynthia Kass, San Francisco
etsuzo Kato, Tokyo, Japan
Ir. David W. Kean, Sunnyvale
Ir. Dennis Keeley, San Francisco
he Kellehar Family, Anaheim
Ir. Bruce Kelly, Orem, UT
Is. M. B. Kelly, San Francisco
Ir. Kevin Kenny, Oakland
Ir. Richard S. Kimball, Highland
Ir. Loren Kinczel, Oakland
Ir. Patrick King, Martinez
Is. Carolyn L. Kinville, Citrus Heights
. J. Kirk, San Jose
Ms. Eileen Kivlehan, San Francisco
Ms. Kathryn Klar, Richmond
Mr. Christian Knuetter, San Francisco
Mr. Harold E. Korf, San Francisco
Remy N. Kormos, San Francisco
Ms. Susan Giorgi Koutsoukos, Ross
Mr. Roger Kuhn, Mill Valley
Ms. Henrietta Kushkin, Culver City
Mr. James Lague, Oroville
Mr. & Mrs. Norm Lancaster, Danville
The Stanley S. Langendorf Foundation, San Francisco
Mr. Robert Lapachet, Daly City
Mr. Jack Lapidos, San Francisco
Mr. Howard Law, Santa Cruz
Mr. John Edward Lee, San Francisco
Mr. Edward L. Leech, Walnut Creek
Mr. Joe Legallet, Hillsborough
Ms. Chrysanthy Leones, San Francisco
Ms. Jill Lerner, San Francisco
Ms. Jill A. Lervold, Atherton
Dr. Stephen P. Levin, Reisterstown, MD
Mr. Adam Lewis & Ms. Phyllis Pottish, Oakland
Mr. John P. Liberty, McLean, VA
Ms. Patricia Libra-Rieser, San Francisco
Inger Lindoholm, Sacramento
Mr. Gregory M. Lloyd, Laguna Beach
Mr. & Mrs. Carlos Lluch, Malibu
Ms. Susan Logan, Santa Rosa
Ms. Sonia Guzman Lopez, Concord
Ms. Adeline S. Loucks, Lafayette
Mr. George T. Love, Alameda
Mr. James Lovegren, San Francisco
Ms. Hester Lox, San Francisco
Mr. John R. Luongo, Hillsborough
Adrian Lurssen & Mary Kennedy, San Francisco
Mr. Adam W. Lyon, Oakland
Mr. Ted MacConaghy, Millbrae
Ms. Anna Maria Mackenzie, San Francisco
Mr. Robert J. Mahoney, Fairfax
Ms. Margaret Mallette, Oroville
Mr. George L. Marchand, Berkeley
Mr. Thomas A. Marshall, Los Gatos
Mr. David Martin, Bowling Green, OH
Mr. Jesse Martinez, Sacramento
M. A. Matich, San Bernardino
Mr. William Maya, Concord
Mr. Jim McCabe, San Anselmo
Mr. David McCarthy, San Leandro
Mr. Douglas B. McGeoghegan, Maxwell
Mr. Daniel G. McGill, Mill Valley
Mr. Jim McKay, Reno, NV
Ms. Jeanne M. McKee, San Francisco
Mr. Leo McKenna, Santa Rosa
Nancy & Gregory McKinney, San Francisco
Ms. Helen W. McLaren, Pleasant Hill
Ms. Patsy McMurtrie, San Francisco
Mr. Joseph D. McNeil, Irvine
Mr. & Mrs. Michael C. McPherson, Atherton
Ms. Mary Ellen Mead, Whittier
Ms. Frances Meehan, San Francisco
Hemal C. Mehtalia, Los Gatos
Mr. Daniel Meisenhoeloer, San Francisco
Ms. Bonnie Meyer, Oakland
Embree E. Mezger & Margery Mezger, Oakland
Mrs. Frances Michael, Millbrae
Dr. & Mrs. Matthew S. Mickiewicz, Redwood City
Ms. Evelyn J. Miller, Los Gatos
Mr. John J. Miller, Woodside
Ms. Ellen M. Mintz, San Francisco
Ms. Janice Mirikitani, San Francisco
Mr. Gene Mocsy, San Francisco
Mr. Lanty G. Molloy, Sr., South San Francisco
Mr. Jean Roger Monnier, Oakland
Mr. A. E. Moon, Foster City
Ms. Karen Mora, Watsonville
Y. Moralex, San Francisco
Mr. Barry Moreno, New York, NY
Moreno Valley Public Library, Moreno Valley
Mr. & Mrs. Robert W. Morey, Bel Tiburon
Mr. Scott Morgan, Rescue
Mr. Edward Mornin, Ph.D., Vancouver, Canada
Ms. Emma Morris, Berkeley
Ms. Patricia Moylan, San Jose
Mr. & Mrs. Robert E. Murphy, Mill Valley
Mr. Garth Murphy, Encinitas
Mr. Richard P. Murray, San Rafael
Museum of Art & History, Santa Cruz
Mr. & Mrs. John Nagle, Oakland
Yoshiaki Nakahata, Sakura-shi, Japan
Ms. Nancy A. Nakai, Larkspur
Ms. Marsha Napier, Petaluma
Ms. Catherine Ann Naumann, Oakland
Mr. George Navone, Walnut Creek
Ms. Nancy Neal, Aptos
Mr. Drew Neisser, New York, NY
Mr. Ken Neisser, Los Angeles
Mr. Gordon L. Nelson, Melbourne, FL
Ms. Gail E. Nelson, San Francisco
Mr. David Newman, San Francisco
Phillip M Newport & Peter Dempsey, Oakland
Mrs. Patricia H. Nicholson, San Luis Obispo
Mr. John E. Nieto, Rancho Palos Verdes
New Mexico Hispanic Cultural Center, Albuquerque, NM
Mr. Carl Nolte, San Francisco
Mr. Jeff Norman, Oakland
Mr. & Mrs. Tom Noyes, San Francisco
Mansurali Nurmuhammad, Union City
Mr. Dan O'Brien, Pacific Grove

NEW MEMBERS

Mr. James G. O'Callahan, Los Angeles
Ms. Eileen O'Hara, San Francisco
Mr. Keith G. Olsen, Crockett
Mr. & Mrs. Detlev Olshausen, San Mateo
Ms. Donna C. O'Neil-Francesconi, San Francisco
Rev. David K. O'Rourke, O.P., Oakland
Mr. & Mrs. Bernard Orsi, Belvedere Tiburon
Dr. Douglas K. Ousterhout, San Francisco
Mr. Jeffrey A. Ow, Berkeley
Ms. Martha Pahnke, Daly City
Mr. & Mrs. Kenneth J. Paige, San Francisco
Ms. Mitzi Palmer, San Francisco
Palos Verdes Library District, Palos Verdes Peninsula
Mr. John Panter, San Diego
Jacqueline Panzella, Pinole
Mr. Max H. Parker, San Jose
Mr. & Mrs. Ross Parmer, Richmond
Bharat Patel, San Jose
Mr. Paul Sweeney Perez, Oxnard
Ms. Penny L. Perlmutter, San Francisco
Mr. Preston M. Perluss, Vincennes, France
Mrs. Lorette Petersen, Carmel
Arland Petersen & Tere Massa, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Blair W. Peterson, Ross
Ms. Karen Peterson-Pullman, La Mesa
Mr. Robert V. Peugh, Newcastle
Mr. Ian Pfeiffer, Washington, DC
Mrs. Beulah Pfotzer, Antioch
Mr. Joseph Phelps, Saint Helena
Ms. Marylee Phillips, San Francisco
Phillips & Spallas, LLP, San Francisco
Ms. Yvonne Pierik, San Bruno
Mrs. Janice Pipp, Irvine
Mr. Mark Pollard, Berkeley
Mr. Steve Poole, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Patric T. Powell, San Francisco
Ms. Frances G. Preissner, Benicia
Ms. Sandra L. Price, Saint Helena
Mr. J. P. Purves, Lancaster
Mr. Stewart Putney, Menlo Park
Biage & Bonney Quattrocchi, Santa Rosa
Ms. Jennifer Raike, San Francisco
Rancho Cucamonga Public Library, Rancho Cucamonga
Ms. Kim Raney, Modesto
Mr. Richard E. Ray, Bellflower
Mr. & Mrs. Charles M. Reed, Huntington Beach
Ms. Karen Reiss, Napa
Ms. Patricia Relfe, Placerville
Mr. Mark R. Richards, Sacramento
Mrs. Barbara H. Riggins, Walnut Creek
Mrs. Susan Robbins, San Jose
Mr. Stephen Roberts, Placerville
Mr. Forrest G. Robinson, Ph.D., Santa Cruz
Ms. Lynda Robinson, Orinda
Ms. Lynn Robinson, Torrance
Mr. Ted Robison, Oakland
Ms. Helen Robison, Palo Alto
Mr. Burton Rockwell, San Francisco
Mr. Carlos Rodriguez, San Francisco
Mrs. Teresa Rogoway, San Jose
Mr. David Rolph, San Francisco
Mr. Ben Rose, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Edward Rosenstiel, Woodside
Ms. Constance Rothstein, Glendora
Ms. Elana Rourke, Santa Barbara
Mr. Charles H. Ruppert, Berkeley
Ms. Nancy Russell, San Francisco
Mr. Mark Sabin, Palo Alto
Ms. Mary Beth Saffo, Cambridge, MA
Mr. Joe Salberg, San Jose
Mr. Zachary Salem, Richmond
San Joaquin Elementary School, Stockton
Mr. Jasper G. Schad, San Francisco
Mr. Roger P. Scharmer, Mill Valley
Mr. Peter Schiffman, Davis
Mr. Ian Schmidt, Redwood City
Mr. David D. Schmidt, San Francisco
Mr. John Schnorr, San Francisco
Mr. James Schwabacher, San Francisco
Mr. David Schwan, San Jose
Mr. Richard Schwartz, Berkeley
Mr. Richard Schwind, Los Gatos
Mr. Ernest L. Scott, Jr., Baltimore, MD
Ms. Leigh Sealy, San Francisco
Ms. Elynore Seaman, Portola Valley
Ms. Nancy Seaton, San Francisco
Ms. Yvonne Seely, Walnut Creek
Ms. Mabelle M. Selland, Fresno
Mr. J. Bradford Senden, San Ramon
Ms. Leslie Sheets, Livermore
Mr. Gerald E. Sherwood, Fountain Valley
Ms. Diane Sidd-Champion, San Francisco
Ms. Claudette Sigg, Berkeley
Mr. Alan C. M. Silbergh, Oakland
Silver Giving Foundation, San Francisco
Mr. Lawrence J. Simon, Pleasant Hill
Mr. Albert C. Simonds, Ojai
Mr. Charles F. Sims, Sonoma
Ms. Dorothy Skala, Menlo Park
Ms. Sara M. Skinner, Santa Rosa
Mr. & Mrs. David Sliptzin, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Parker Smiley, Oakland
Mr. Richard Smith, Cupertino
Mr. Donald E. Smith, Laguna Hills
Ms. Jeanne M. Smith, Walnut Creek
Ms. Ann Smith, Pacific Palisades
Danyel Smith, Brooklyn, NY
Ms. Karen Smitham, San Francisco
Mr. Jim Smoldt, San Francisco
Mr. Kent Snyder, Santa Rosa
Henry & Janette Snyder, Berkeley
Mrs. Sheldon Softky, Menlo Park
Ms. Janice A. Sommer, Los Altos
Taka Inouye Sonoda, San Mateo
Sonora High School Library, Sonora
Mr. David Griffiths Sox, Pleasant Hill
Ms. Jeannie Spingola, San Francisco
Ms. Lydia Stack, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Geoffrey Starns, Pomona
Ms. Kathy Steadman, Berkeley
Ms. Arlene Stenger, Sonora
Ms. Suzie Steres, Calabasas
Mr. Philip Fay Stevenson, San Francisco
Mr. Richard Stites, San Rafael
Mr. Nelson Stubbins, Alameda
Mr. & Mrs. Dewaine Stults, Daly City
Jane & Terence Sullivan, San Francisco
Ms. Joan Sullivan, Los Osos
Mr. Craig Svonkin, Riverside
Ms. Danielle Swiontek, Goleta
Ms. Rosamaria Tanghetti, Sacramento
Mr. John B. Taylor, San Francisco
Ms. Carol Thenot, Fish Camp

Irs. Joanne Thompson, Redwood City
. C. Thurman, Martinez
Is. Wendy Tokuda, San Francisco
Ir. James W. Tolleson, Baypoint
Is. Joanne M. Travers, Sutter Creek
Ir. Alan Tripp, San Francisco
Ir. & Mrs. Norm Tuttle, San Francisco
Is. Karen Ulring, San Francisco
Ir. John R. Underhill, El Cerrito
Ir. Fortunato Velasquez, Seattle, WA
Ir. Christopher VerPlanck, San Francisco
Ir. Jim Vettel, San Jose
Ir. Robert H. Von der Lieth, Walnut Creek
Ir. Jack Von Euw, Berkeley
Ir. Dan S. Wages, Berkeley
Ir. Steve Walden, Albany
Is. Nancy A. Walker, El Sobrante
Is. Martha B. Walker, San Francisco
/alnut Creek Historical Society, Walnut Creek
Mr & Mrs. James Walsh, Los Gatos
Toodie Walt, Palos Verdes Peninsula
Mr James Walters, Palm Desert
Ms. Cipi Ware, San Francisco
Frances Webb, Pleasant Hill
Mr. Allan Wegner, Del Mar
Ms. Terri Wehrmeister, San Francisco
Mr. Kevin Weinert, Tehachapi
Mr. William J. Weiss, San Mateo
Ms. Michele Wellck, San Francisco
Mike Weller, San Francisco
Mr. Robert A. Wertsch, San Francisco
Western Washington University, Bellingham, WA
Mr. Gerard Westmiller, San Francisco
Mrs. Sue Wets, Cotati
Mrs. Siv Wheeler, Los Altos
Mr. John Wheelwright, Point Reyes Station
Mr. Ed White & Mrs. Patti White, Los Altos
Ms. Joanne Whitfield, San Francisco
Mr & Mrs. Jefferys B. Wiener, Novato
Mr. James M. Wiggins, Moraga
Mr Mark L. Wightman, Hillsborough
Mr. Philip Willkie, San Francisco
Ms. Vicki Lee Wittrock, Simi Valley
Ms D. Quincy Woltensperger, Novato
Mr. Philip R. Wolff, San Jose
Ms. Jeannie Woo, San Francisco
The Hon. Mae C. Woo, San Francisco
Mr. William Wood, Santa Barbara
Mr. R. S. Woodward, Montecito
Ms. Monica Wyatt, Santa Monica
Mr. & Mrs. Irving Yalom, Palo Alto
Ms. Marcelia Yeh, Berkeley
Ms. Donna Yick, San Francisco
York University, North York, ON, Canada
Ms. Mary I. Ziegler Placentia
Ms. Mary Jane Zirkel, San Mateo



ed States Postal Service

atement of Ownership, Management, and Circulation

Telephone
(415) 357-1848 ext. 15

Spring 2000

Extent and Nature of Circulation	Average No. Copies Each Issue During Preceding 12 Months	No. Copies of Single Issue Published Nearest to Filing Date
a. Total Number of Copies (Net press run)	[illegible]	6,033
b. Paid and/or Requested Circulation (2)	1,789	1,801
d. Free Distribution by Mail (2)	[illegible]	5
(3)	[illegible]	0
e.	0	[illegible]
g.	[illegible]	5,800

Instructions to Publishers

THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY is a statewide membership-based organization designated by the Legisl ture as the State Historical Society. Its mission is to engage the public's interest and participation in collecting, preser ing, and presenting art, artifacts, and written materials relevant to the history of California and to support historic research, publication, and educational activities.

A quarterly journal published by CHS since 1922, *California History* features articles by leading scholars and writers focu ing on the heritage of California and the West from pre-Columbian to modern times. Illustrated articles, pictorial essay and book reviews examine the ongoing dialogue between the past and the present. Articles appearing in this journal a abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts* and *America: History and Life.*

OFFICERS

Maribelle B. Leavitt, San Francisco
President
John K. Van de Kamp, Arcadia
Vice President
George W. Rowe, San Francisco
Treasurer
Peter J. Musto, San Francisco
Secretary
Betsy Leland Link, Ph.D., Los Angeles
Regional Vice President
Toby Rose, San Francisco
Regional Vice President
Donn R. Schoenmann, San Francisco
Regional Vice President
Charles J. Soderquist, Ph.D., Sacramento
Regional Vice President

TRUSTEES

Donald D. Crawford, Jr., Sea Ranch
Charles A. Fracchia, San Francisco
Edward Helfeld, San Francisco
Huell Howser, Los Angeles
Robert S. Macfarlane, Jr., Pacific Palisades
Andrew C. McLaughlin III, Ph.D., San Francisco
Russell R. Miller, San Francisco
John T. Olds, San Francisco
Helen Rodriguez, San Francisco
John A. Schram, Kenwood
A. Jess Shenson, M.D., San Francisco
Victoria Steele, Ph.D., Los Angeles
John A. Traina, Jr., San Francisco

EMERITI

Louis Heilbron, San Francisco
President Emeritus
J.S. Holliday, Ph.D., Carmel
Executive Director Emeritus
David B. Hudnut, Tiburon
President Emeritus
Edith L. Piness, Ph.D., Mill Valley
President Emerita
Stephen L. Taber, Esq., San Francisco
Trustee Emeritus

STAFF

Michael Duty, *Executive Director*
Brenda Baldwin, *Library Cataloger*
Larry D. Campbell, *Deputy Director*
Diana Daniels, *Fine Arts Registrar*
Judith Deaton, *Director of Operations*
Lina Gonzales, *Accounting Assistant*
Tanya Hollis, *Assistant Librarian*
Margaret Kelley, *Receptionist*
Kathryn Kowalewski, *Photography Assistant*
Lisle Lee, *Director of Development*
Frances Link, *Store Manager*
Cristina Magpantay, *Accounting Manager*
Chelsea Pickslay, *Director of Education*
Ray Rengo, *Membership & Development Associate*
Judy Sakaguchi, *Store Clerk*
Marlene Smith-Baranzini, *Associate Editor, California History*
Larisa Somsel, *Strategic Initiatives Coordinator*
Erengo Suto, *Receptionist*
Marian Ueki, *Graphic Design*
Crissa Van Vleck,
Rights & Reproductions Assistant
Wendy Welker, *Photo Archivist*

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL FOUNDATION

David B. Hudnut, Tiburon
President
George H. Link, Esq., Los Angeles
Vice President
David J. Clark, Esq., Lafayette
Treasurer
Dr. Francis Rigney, San Francisco
Secretary
George Basye, Esq., Sacramento
DeWitt F. Bowman, Mill Valley
Mrs. William Goodan, Pasadena
Mrs. Maurice A. Machris, Los Angeles
William G. Myers, Santa Barbara
Mrs. Julian Peabody, San Francisco
Edith L. Piness, Ph.D., Mill Valley
Richard Rosenberg, San Francisco
Donn R. Schoenmann, San Francisco
William Sharon, El Cerrito
Thomas A. Techentin, Los Angeles

CONSULTANTS

Diane DeBruno, Retail Operations
Jennifer Kaiser, Marketing/Public Relations
Sandra Madison Reinhardt, Finance

CALIFORNIA HISTORY
Published quarterly 2000 © by CHS

$40.00 of each membership is designated for California Historical Society membership services, including subscriptions to *California History* and the *California Chronicle.*

ADMINISTRATIVE HEADQUARTERS/
NORTH BAKER RESEARCH LIBRARY
678 Mission Street
San Francisco, California 94105-4014
(415) 357-1848
FAX (415) 357-1850
Website: www.calhist.org

Manuscripts for publication and editorial correspondence should be sent to Editiorial Office, CHS, 678 Mission Street, San Francisco, CA 94105-4014. Manuscripts should be typed, double spaced, with notes on separate sheets, and submitted in duplicate with a stamped and addressed return envelope. The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or opinions of the authors. Books for review should be sent to James Rawls, Reviews Editor, California Historical Society, 678 Mission Street, San Francisco, CA 94105-4014.

LC 75–640289/ISSN 0162–2897
Periodicals Postage PAID at San Francisco an at additional mailing offices.
Publication number 084180

POSTMASTER
Send address changes to:
California History
678 Mission St.
San Francisco, CA 94105-4014

WELLS FARGO - BORN WITH THE WEST

Ever since 1852, Wells Fargo has met the financial needs of Americans with integrity and reliability. Born with the American West, Wells Fargo has served millions of customers for nearly 150 years at the frontiers of financial innovation.

That's why Wells Fargo has such a passion for history. It's like gold to us. So, we are both bibliophiles and bankers. Collectors and loan officers. Antiquarians and asset managers.

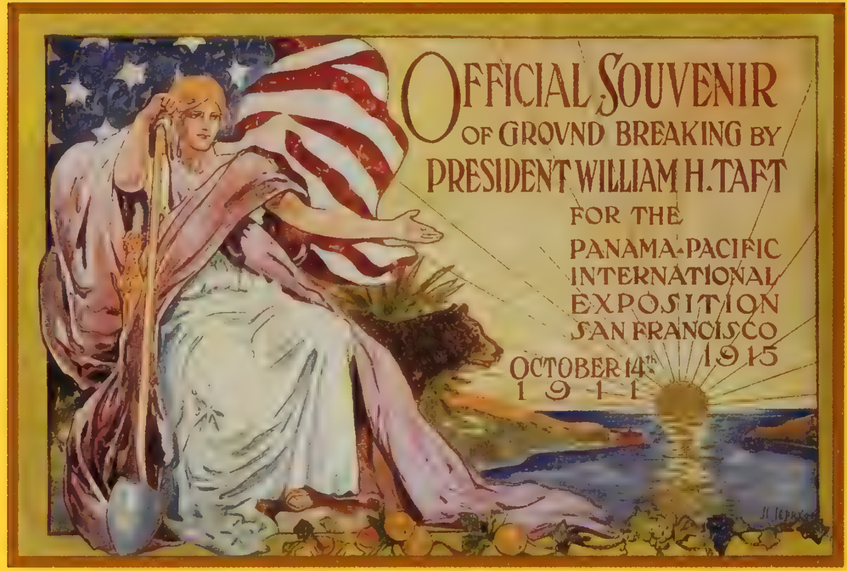
We don't just talk about history. We make it, and we preserve it. We have the largest corporate history department in the United States. Our historical archives and library resources are extensive. Each year we welcome thousands of visitors to our network of Wells Fargo History Museums. Our record of serious historical research and publication is recognized as being truly outstanding.

We invite you to become part of our history. Take a stagecoach to adventure at one of our Wells Fargo History Museums. Contact your local Wells Fargo branch for all your financial needs. Experience Anytime, Anywhere Banking at its best in ten western states. Be sure to visit our World Wide Web site at http://wellsfargo.com.

To illuminate the past. To preserve the present. To enlighten the future. That's Wells Fargo. Give us history any old time.

WELLS FARGO

Member FDIC


OFFICIAL SOUVENIR
OF GROUND BREAKING BY
PRESIDENT WILLIAM H. TAFT
FOR THE
PANAMA-PACIFIC
INTERNATIONAL
EXPOSITION
SAN FRANCISCO
1915
OCTOBER 14th
1911

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
Administrative Headquarters and North Baker Research Library 678 Mission Street, San Francisco 94105 (415) 357-1848
Website: www.calhist.org

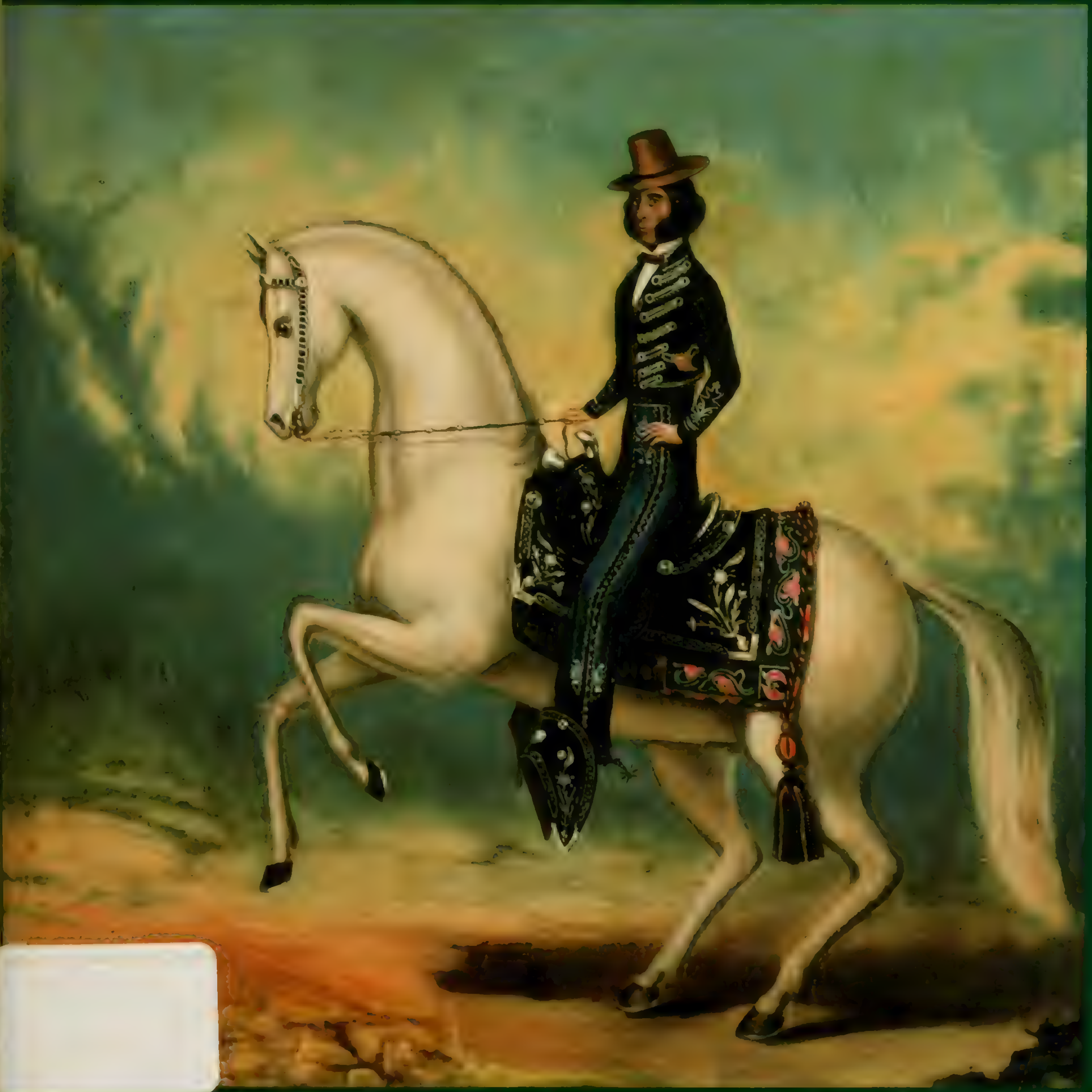
iter 2000-2001

GAZINE OF THE CALIFORNIA

3 9042 05164880 3

CALIFORNIA HISTORY

WINTER 2000/2001



Milestones—

JANET R. FIREMAN

In the previous issue of California History, we said good-bye and paid tribute to the magazine's long-time editor, Dr. Richard Orsi. Dick saw the publication through a somewhat rocky period in the history of the organization and managed to maintain consistently high standards. His strong guiding hand will certainly be missed, but we are very happy to welcome to the California Historical Society an equally strong individual to guide the journal into its next phase.

Dr. Janet Fireman brings a wealth of experience and talent to the role of editor of California History. *Those in the field of Western history know her well. She has been in charge of the history collections at the Museum of Natural History of Los Angeles County for many years and will continue in that capacity in addition to her duties as editor. She has been an active leader in the Western History Association, and served as its president in 1998/99. She has been an advisor to many prestigious organizations including the Autry Museum of Western Heritage, the Huntington Library, the San Diego Historical Society, and the Historical Society of Southern California. In addition, she has been an active participant in the California Historical Society, serving as the program chair for the Society's annual meeting held in Los Angeles.*

She has authored numerous journal and magazine articles in the fields of western and California history. She is widely known both in California and throughout the West in academic and museum circles and we are very proud that she will be bringing her diverse talents to the journal.

Janet R. Fireman.
Photograph by Dick Meier, Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County.

Janet's tenure as editor of the journal is not the only change that we are celebrating. The journal's offices will move to new quarters generously provided by Loyola Marymount University in Los Angeles. We are very pleased to begin what we think will be a very productive partnership with LMU, the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County, and CHS. As the official historical society for California, we feel strongly that CHS should have a presence in southern as well as northern California. Moving our editorial offices to the campus of LMU is just the first step in creating a stronger organization throughout the state. We hope to use this move as a springboard for providing more services and programs in the Los Angeles areas and look forward to partnering with other organizations to bring the mission of telling the many stories of California to a wider audience.

While Janet's academic and scholarly experience will indeed be assets to CHS and California History, *she equally brings a keen intelligence, a strong dedication to preserving the journal's high standards, and also importantly, a sense of humor to the task of editor. There is no doubt that under Janet's leadership, the journal will change somewhat in tone and in other facets as well. What will not change is that the journal will continue to be the preeminent record of scholarship in the field of California History.*

The magazine, which has been in continuous publication for well over seventy years, is an important cornerstone for CHS. It is, in a sense, our signature product and we are confident that it will reach even greater heights under Janet's leadership.

STEPHEN BECKER
Executive Director

ON THE FRONT COVER: Henri Pénelon (1824-1874), *Don Vicente Lugo*, n.d., oil on canvas, 40 $\frac{1}{8}$ in by 40 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. *Courtesy Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County, History Collections.*

BACK COVER: Jules Tavernier (1844-1889), *April Showers, Napa Valley*, n.d., oil on canvas, 20 in. by 30 in. *California Historical Society, Louis Sloss, Jr. Collection. FN–32368.*

THE MAGAZINE OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

CALIFORNIA HISTORY

VOLUME LXXIX No. 4

Winter 2000/2001

STEPHEN BECKER
Executive Director

JANET R. FIREMAN
Editor

MARLENE SMITH-BARANZINI
Associate Editor

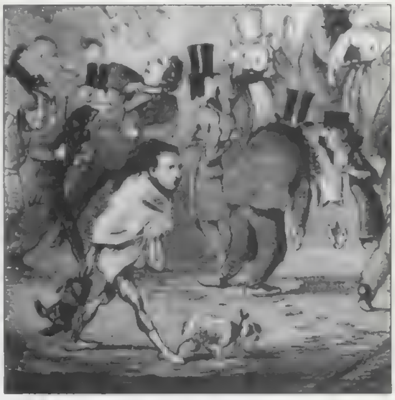
JAMES J. RAWLS
Reviews Editor

CHARLES N. JOHNSON
Checklist Editor

THE ARTHUR H. CLARK COMPANY
Design/Production

Editorial Consultants
GORDON M. BAKKEN
JACQUELINE BARNHART
LONNIE G. BUNCH III
LARRY E. BURGESS
ROBERT W. CHERNY
RICHARD W. ETULAIN
JAMES N. GREGORY
JUDSON A. GRENIER
RICHARD GRISWOLD DEL CASTILLO
ROBERT V. HINE
LANE R. HIRABAYASHI
DAVID HORNBECK
LAWRENCE J. JELINEK
PAUL J. KARLSTROM
HARRY KELSEY
HIM MARK LAI
RUDOLPH M. LAPP
LAWRENCE B. LEE
R. JEFFREY LUSTIG
SANDY LYDON
CLEMENT MEIGHAN
SALLY M. MILLER
IRENE MORAN
GEORGE H. PHILLIPS
LEONARD PITT
MICHAEL SMITH

Editorial Assistants
ZACHARY BARANZINI
HEATHER HAWLEY
PETER ORSI
JOSHUA PADDISON
K. CHRISTIE VOGEL



154

KILLS FASCISTS

180

208

154 *Splendide Californie!:* Selections by French Artists in California History, 1786-1900
by Claudine Chalmers

180 Come Back, Tom Joad: Thoughts on a California Dreamer
by Bryant Simon and William Deverell

192 Taming the Wilderness within: Order and Opportunity in Gold Rush Sacramento, 1849-1850
by Mark A. Eifler

208 Cadwalader Ringgold, U. S. Navy: Gold Rush Surveyor of San Francisco Bay and Waters to Sacramento, 1849-1850
by Alan Fraser Houston

222 Reviews

229 California Checklist

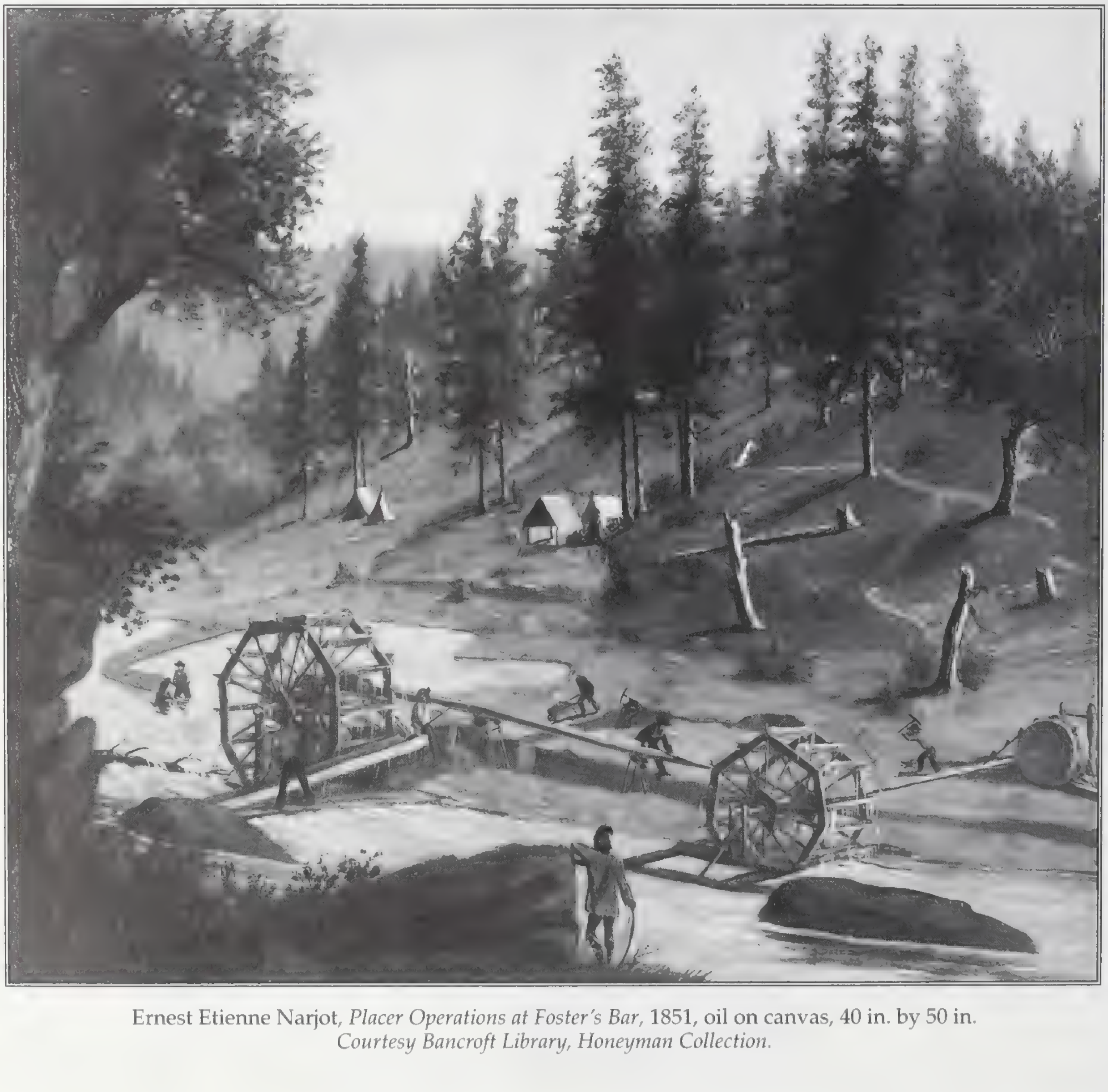
231 Notes

236 Donors

239 Yearly Contents and Index
by Robert Clark

Editorial Offices and support for
California History are provided by
Loyola Marymount University,
Los Angeles.

California History (ISSN 0162-2897 LC 75-640289) is published quarterly by the California Historical Society (CHS), 678 Mission Street, San Francisco, CA 94105. Subscription: Regular annual membership is $50.00. Periodicals postage is paid at San Francisco, CA and additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: send address changes to CHS, 678 Mission Street, San Francisco, CA 94105.



Ernest Etienne Narjot, *Placer Operations at Foster's Bar*, 1851, oil on canvas, 40 in. by 50 in.
Courtesy Bancroft Library, Honeyman Collection.

Splendide Californie!

Selections by French Artists in California History, 1786-1900

by Claudine Chalmers

Nineteenth-century California was not a destination for the faint of heart, given the uncertainties of sea travel and the difficulties of a land crossing through the enormous American wilderness. Yet many visitors from France made their way to the remote territory, starting in 1786, and left enduring accounts of its beauty and growth. Although many of these French documents still await translation, they form a vital part of California's early literary history, enriching our knowledge and understanding of that distant time.

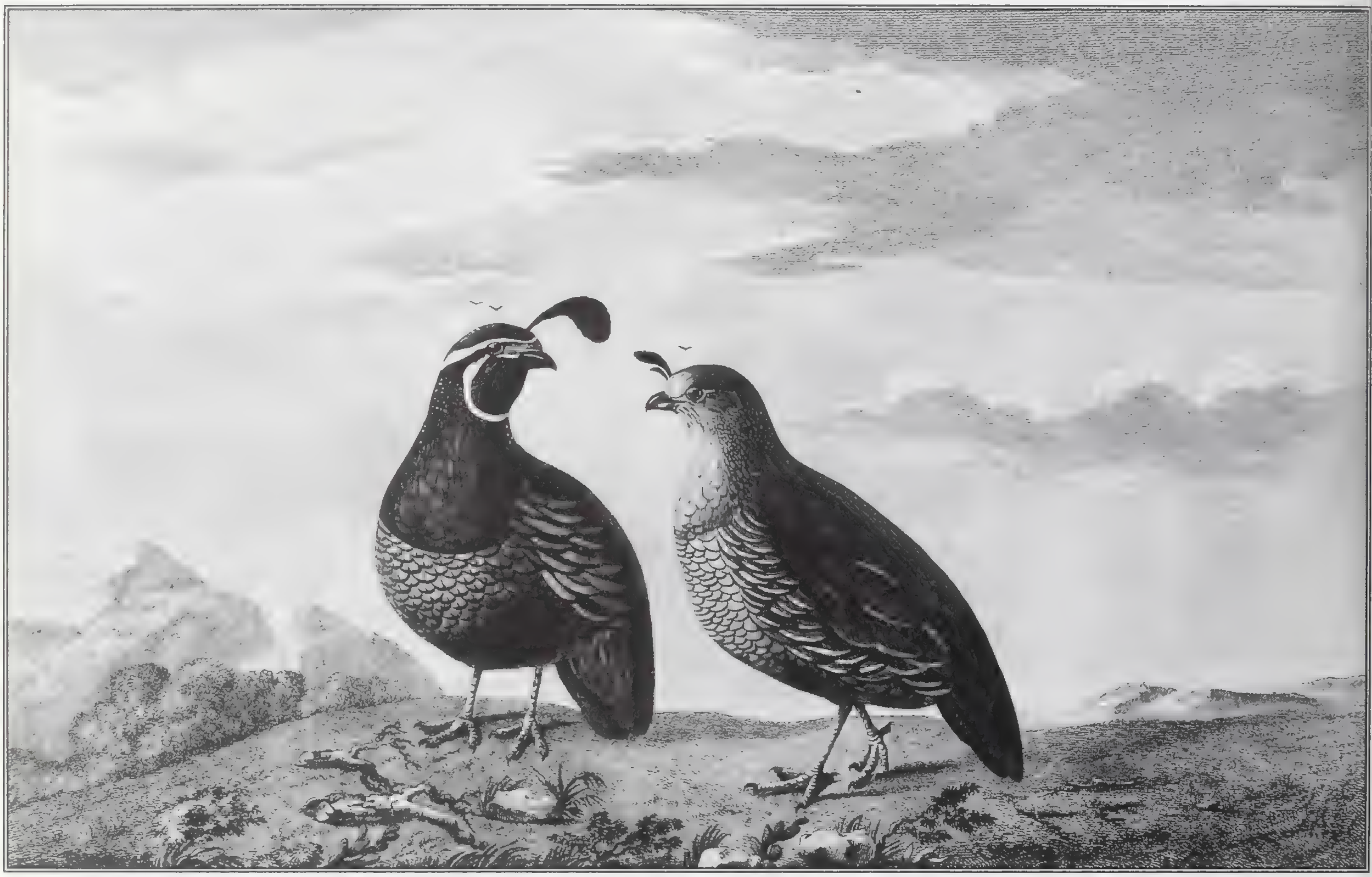
Many of these French visitors wielded the brush as well as, or better than, the quill, yet their pictorial representations of the Golden State are less familiar. This visual collection, however, is as substantial and significant as the body of French travel literature. French images of California date to 1786, with the first sketch of California by the artist Duché de Vancy, who sailed from France with Captain Theoura Lapérouse. They include such treasures as Duhaut-Cilly's views of California settlements outside Monterey, and the first view of Yerba Buena, renamed San Francisco, owed to the brush of French Swiss sea-captain and watercolorist Jean-Jacques Vioget. In many cases, however, accounts of the artists' lives remain largely obscure or have been perpetuated with factual errors. Others have fallen into oblivion.

Bringing these pictures and biographical sketches together gives a better idea of how Californian and French cultures met, and how they defined each other. The longer a man is out of his own country, the stronger his ties to it, said Captain Duhaut-Cilly. French travelers—writers and artists alike—described California in terms of what was familiar to them, be it the abundance of mistletoe in its oak trees, the fantastic vision of Santà Barbara mission as a gothic castle, or the soft, glittering colors of the California quail.

Many French travelers and immigrants experienced a special rapport with California, sometimes with Indians; always, it seems, with the Californios. At mid-nineteenth century, they flocked to California's gold mines earlier and in greater numbers than did most other Europeans. The French largely outnumbered the Chinese in the early days of the Gold Rush. Later still, they brought with them an artistic legacy and habitual bohemian lifestyle that helped shape the Golden State's budding art community. Toward the end of the century, the sons of early pioneers to California revisited their dual cultural roots by studying in Paris and painting in California. Young Ernest de Saisset, for example, torn between his two countries, wrote to his father from Paris in 1890, "I wish, my dear Father, that my country might not be further away than London, or even than New York."

This article is adapted from *Splendide Californie! Impressions of the Golden State by French Artists, 1786-1900* (Book Club of California, 2001). The selections presented here, among the most memorable and significant images of California, begin with the observations of daring French sea captains who risked their own and their crews' lives to explore the little-known waters of the Pacific. They sought new outlets for trade, conducted scientific investigations, and challenged the weakening Spanish presence in the West. The educated French public of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries hungered for tales of exploration to uncharted parts of the world. Reports of these scientific voyages were popular and

This article features works that appear in the
CHS exhibition, "Splendide Californie!"
on view from March 1 to June 10, 2001
at the society's headquarters in San Francisco



Jean Louis Robert Prévost, artist, Le Pagelet, engraver, *Perdrix, mâle et femele, de la Californie* (California Quail), from Jean-François Galaup, *Comte de Lapérouse, Voyage de La Pérouse autour du monde, 1797*, California Historical Society.

were a source of prestige for the explorers. The professional draftsmen and illustrators who accompanied French-sponsored expeditions around the world were instructed, according to one account, to execute "portraits of the natives of the different countries, their dresses, ceremonies, games, buildings, boats and vessels, and all the productions of the sea and land," to enhance written descriptions of the places visited.[1]

This is how some of the earliest views of California happened to be drawn by French artists. Since such pictures were intended principally to document observations and voyages, artists' attention to detail became valuable from a historical point of view. Three of these rare images are particularly noteworthy: the first recorded view of California, by Duché de Vancy in 1786; and the first two views of settlements outside the ports of Monterey and San Francisco, by Duhaut-Cilly in 1827 and 1828.

The earliest visual record of exploration to the California coast was created by Gaspard Duché De Vancy (1756-1788), who traveled around the world aboard one of two ships commanded by Count Galaup de Lapérouse. The young Frenchman, penniless despite his noble lineage, had studied art under Joseph Vien, a renowned neo-classicist painter in Paris. Duché de Vancy's family connections led to his opportunity to sketch Queen Marie Antoinette from life, although without official permission.[2] He ecame a court artist, frequently painting women's ortraits, love scenes, and promenades or coach ides in the manner of Antoine Watteau, a far cry rom the scenes and characters that he later encountered in his travels around the world.

In August 1785 de Vancy left Brest, France, aboard Lapérouse's ship *La Boussolé*. It was a prestigious ssignment, as King Louis XVI was an avid geographer who spared no effort or expense in the hope of making Lapérouse's voyage the best exploration to date of uncharted parts of the world.[3] During the expedition, de Vancy was assisted by two natural history draftsmen, Guillaume Prévost and his nephew Jean-Louis Prévost, whose ornithological sketch of a pair of California quail, shown here, remains the earliest known European record of California wildlife. From Brest the Lapérouse expedition sailed to South America, Hawaii, and Alaska before heading south again to Monterey in September of 1786. The group's assignment was to sail routes never before followed by previous navigators, "in order to multiply discoveries and to considerably advance the great work of the complete description of the terrestrial globe."[4] De Vancy's undertaking appears particularly important in that light. His instructions reveal that he was obliged to turn all of his drawings over to Count de Lapérouse at the end of the voyage.

The young artist produced a great number of sketches during the expedition's first year of exploration. Only fourteen of the drawings found their way back to France, however. Although the count forwarded journals, maps, and drawings from Macao, Kamchatka, and Botany Bay, the greater part of the expedition's documents apparently was lost in the wreck of the two ships at Vanikoro in the South Seas, north of New Hebrides. One of the sketches that remained in California, of Carmel Mission in 1786, survived. The original was very likely presented to the padres, probably as a token of appreciation for their hospitality.

Many years later, "the English captain [Frederick William] Beechey, passing through Monterey, offered a rather considerable sum for this picture," reported Captain Abel Dupetit-Thouars in 1837, "but Father Don Ramon, the superior of the mission, refused to sell it." Indeed, Beechey mentioned in his own journal that he "much wished to possess this valuable relic, with which however the padre was unwilling to part."[5] The "relic," as Beechey called the drawing, had been made when the mission was only sixteen years old. The work is the oldest known view of a California site. One can hardly wonder that the padres would not part with de Vancy's sketch. It captured a momentous event in their lives and those of the Monterey colonists: the first time the isolated settlement had allowed a foreign (i.e., non-Spanish) ship to anchor in the bay.

There was much excitement and activity during the French explorers' ten-day visit. The visitors were guests at celebratorious dinners at the Spanish governor's house, and reciprocated with entertainment aboard *La Boussolé* and *L'Astrolabe*, and enjoyed horseback rides through the coastal hills. When word later reached the mission that the two ships had disappeared, the sketch may have become even more precious to the padres. De Vancy's sketch, however, vanished sometime after secularization of the missions in the 1830s. Two copies of it were made before its disappearance. One was attributed to Tómas de Suría; the other, shown here, to José Cardero. In 1791 both artists had visited Monterey with Italian navigator Alejandro Malaspina.

Following de Vancy's sketch, the next French views of California were also sketches, the work of the French navigator Auguste Bernard Duhaut-Cilly. Born in Saint-Malo in 1790, he had begun his maritime career at age seventeen under the command of the famous royal corsair Robert Surcouf. He spent seven years in the Royal Navy, and then joined the merchant marine. He captained several ships on extensive trading trips to Brazil, Havana, and Buenos Aires before taking command of *Le Héros* for a trading voyage around the world.

After sailing to Rio de Janeiro, Valparaiso, and Mazatlán, *Le Héros* reached San Francisco on January 26, 1827. In order to sell his cargo, Captain Duhaut-Cilly called at the ports of San Diego, Monterey, Santa Barbara, and San Pedro, stopping at the missions and pueblos, and later spent several weeks at Fort Ross. The resourceful Duhaut-Cilly disposed of his cargo at good prices, all the while making abundant notes on the places and people he visited His detailed, lively account of his dealings with the Californians covers a range of subjects, from bear hunts and earthquakes to harvests at the missions. He drew coastal maps and sketched three settlements that he visited: Monterey, San Luis Rey, and Ross. The views, demonstrating his skills as a draftsman, are so detailed that they served as models in restoration of the sites. Greatly impressed by the buildings of Mission San Luis Rey, he noted, "At the distance we were from it, and in the uncertain light of dawn, this edifice, of a very beautiful design, supported by numerous pillars, had the look of a palace." Monterey, however, did not live up to his expectations as California's capital. He wrote:

"One should not expect to see a considerable city upon arriving here; such an idea might deceive anyone as to where the right anchorage is. The first buildings one sees upon rounding Point Pinos are those of the presidio; they form a square of two hundred meters on each side, and since they have only a ground floor, look merely like long storehouses, roofed with tiles. To the right of the Presidio, about forty houses of rather pretty appearance are scattered about a small verdant plain, also roofed with tiles and whitewashed outside. That is, with as many thatched huts, what the capital of Upper California consists of."[6]

Duhaut-Cilly returned to France with all of his crewmen alive and well—a matter of great pride for him—and then published his abundant notes in 1834 and 1835, including in them the first known sketches of San Luis Rey and the fortified Russian hamlet at Ross. The report was well received and earned the Breton traveler the prestigious Légion d'Honneur award.

A decade passed before thirty-three-year-old Lt. François Edmond Pâris stopped at Monterey in 1839, on his third world voyage under Capt. Cyrille Pierre Théodore Laplace. Pâris had shown great skill as a seaman, hydrographer, and artist aboard *L'Astrolabe*, under the command of Dumont d'Urville in 1826–1829, which led to his appointment to Captain Laplace. When they reached California on the fifty-two-gun frigate *L'Artémise*, Laplace and his officers called at Bodega, San Francisco, Santa Cruz, and Monterey. By then Carmel mission was old and abandoned, its high roofs and walls crumbling away.

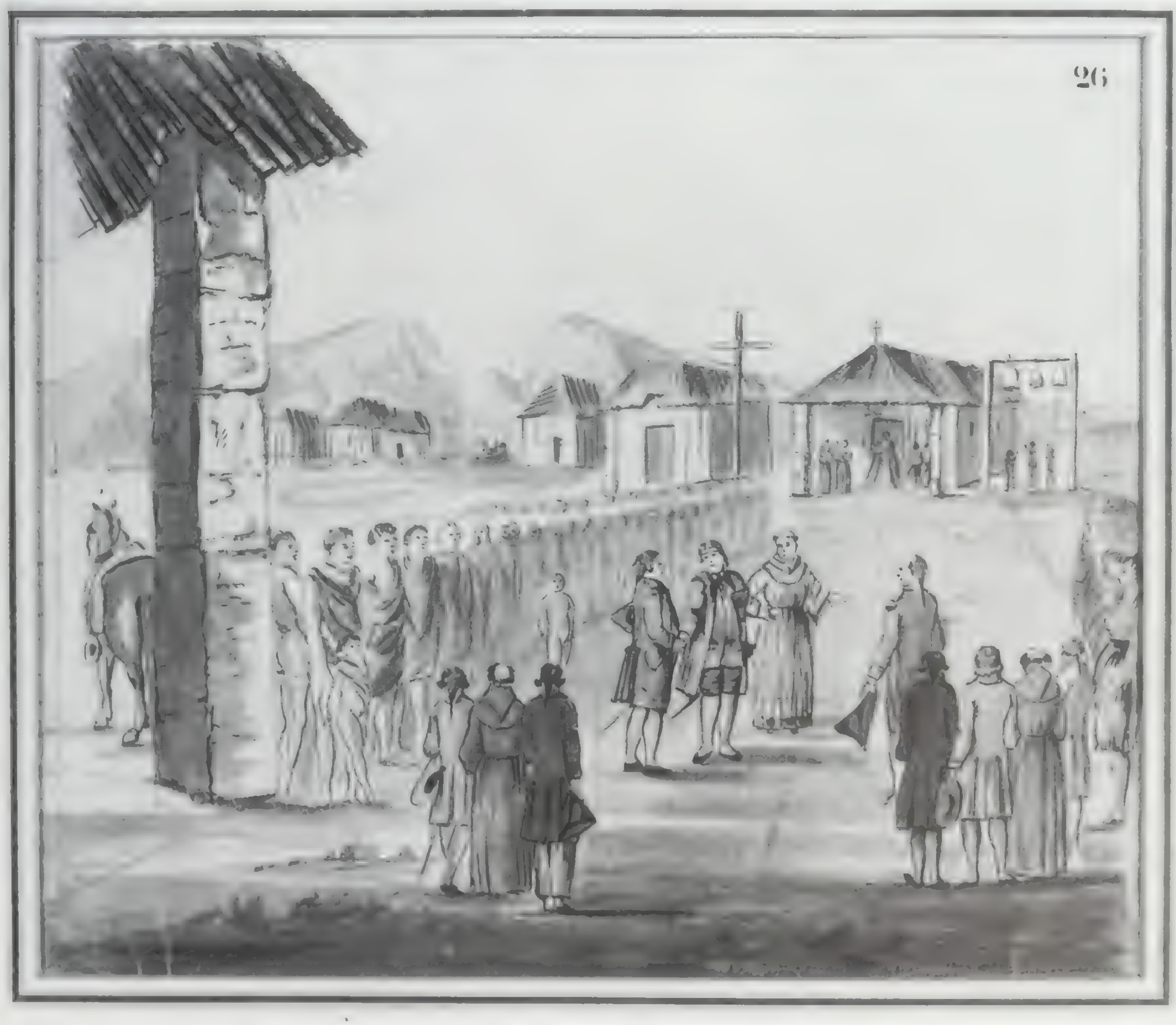
One might have expected a formal sketch of the mission from a lieutenant trained at the Navy Schoo of Angoulème, and indeed, Pâris's original watercolor of the mission has an almost photographic quality, despite its small size. Yet the details that he chose to represent, together with the painting's light, delicate hues and composition, transform what could have been a mere rendering into an evocative scene. Laplace, an excellent artist himself, recognized Pâris's talent. His official, six-volume report, *Campagne de Circumnavigation de la Frégate l'Artémise pendant les Années 1837, 1838, 1839 et 1840*, contains more than twenty lithographed views and sketches by the lieutenant, from the coasts of Africa and India to those of Asia and the Philippines. Pâris's watercolor of the Carmel mission was also reproduced in lithographic form for the publication.

His world voyages behind him, Pâris captained half a dozen ships, from corvettes to steamers, and served in the Crimean War and the siege of Sebastopol. He received many official honors and, upon retirement as a vice-admiral in 1871, was appointed director of the Musée de la Marine du Louvre and elected to—and later made a president of—the prestigious Academy of Sciences. He died in Paris at the age of eighty-seven.[7]

While French voyages to the Pacific in the early nineteenth century were generally carried out as trade missions, in the 1830s a surge of voyages again sought primarily scientific, rather than commercial, exploration. One of the notable artists of this later period was Louis Jules Masselot. Born in 1815 in Roches-sur-Rognon, a small village in northeastern France, Masselot studied at the prestigious Ecole Polytechnique in Paris. In 1836 he was appointed to serve under the command of Capt. Abel Aubert Dupetit-Thouars. The expedition left Brest in 1836 for a scientific voyage to the Pacific and around the world. After stopping at the principal ports along the coast of South America, the *Vénus* reached Monterey, Alta California, in October 1837.

The expedition spent nearly a month in Monterey and then sailed south to Mazatlán, returning to France in 1839. During the voyage, sketches were made by Masselot and Romuald Georges Ménard, another young officer. The expedition's substantial report, *Voyage autour du Monde sur la Frégate Vénus pendant les années 1836-1839*, was published from 1840 to 1864. It consisted of eleven volumes of text and four folio atlases, including an *Atlas Pittoresque* of about one hundred hand-colored engravings, including sketches of California and California Indians. According to the captain, Masselot executed "most faithful renderings" of the costumes, two of which are shown here, of the peoples they met.[8]

The expansion of worldwide trade in the early nineteenth century and the collapse of the Napoleonic empire encouraged other Frenchmen to travel far from home in quest of personal fortune. Many drifted to the Pacific and settled in South America and Mexico. French whalers and traders, such as Jean-Jacques Vioget, began arriving

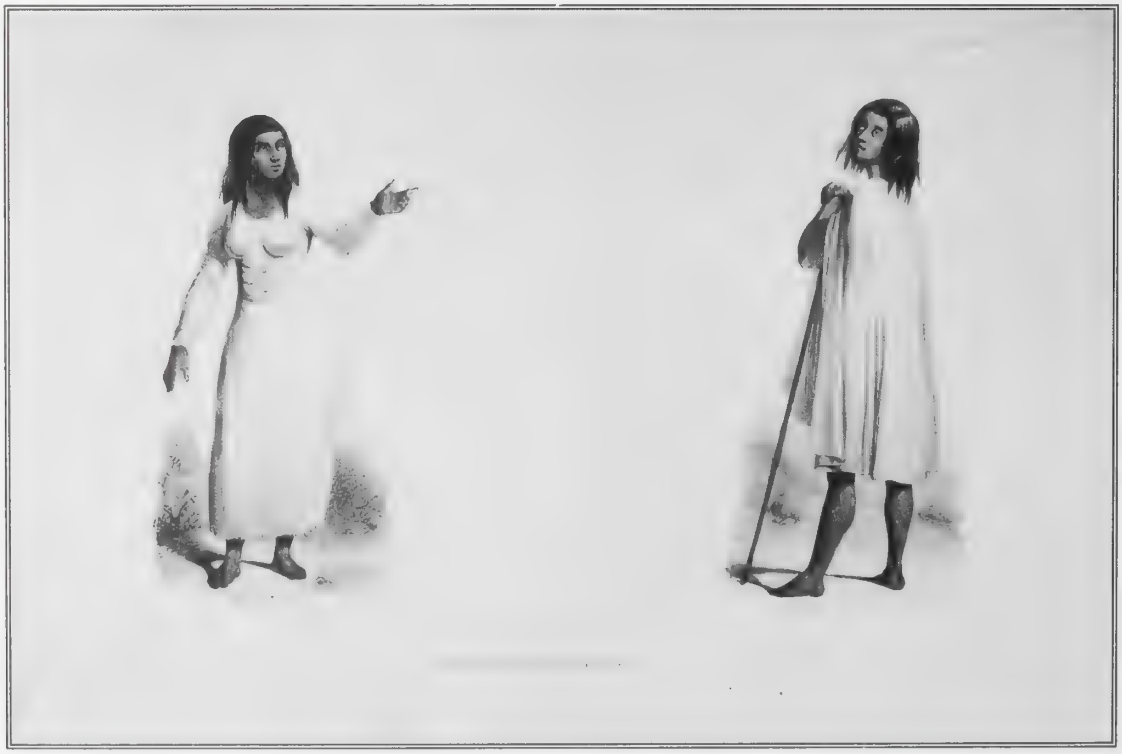


Attributed to José Cardero, *Reception of Lapérouse at Carmel Mission 1789*
(original by Gaspard Duché de Vancy, 1786), brush drawing over pencil, 8 ⅜ in. by 10 [illegible] in.
Courtesy Bancroft Library, Honeyman Collection.

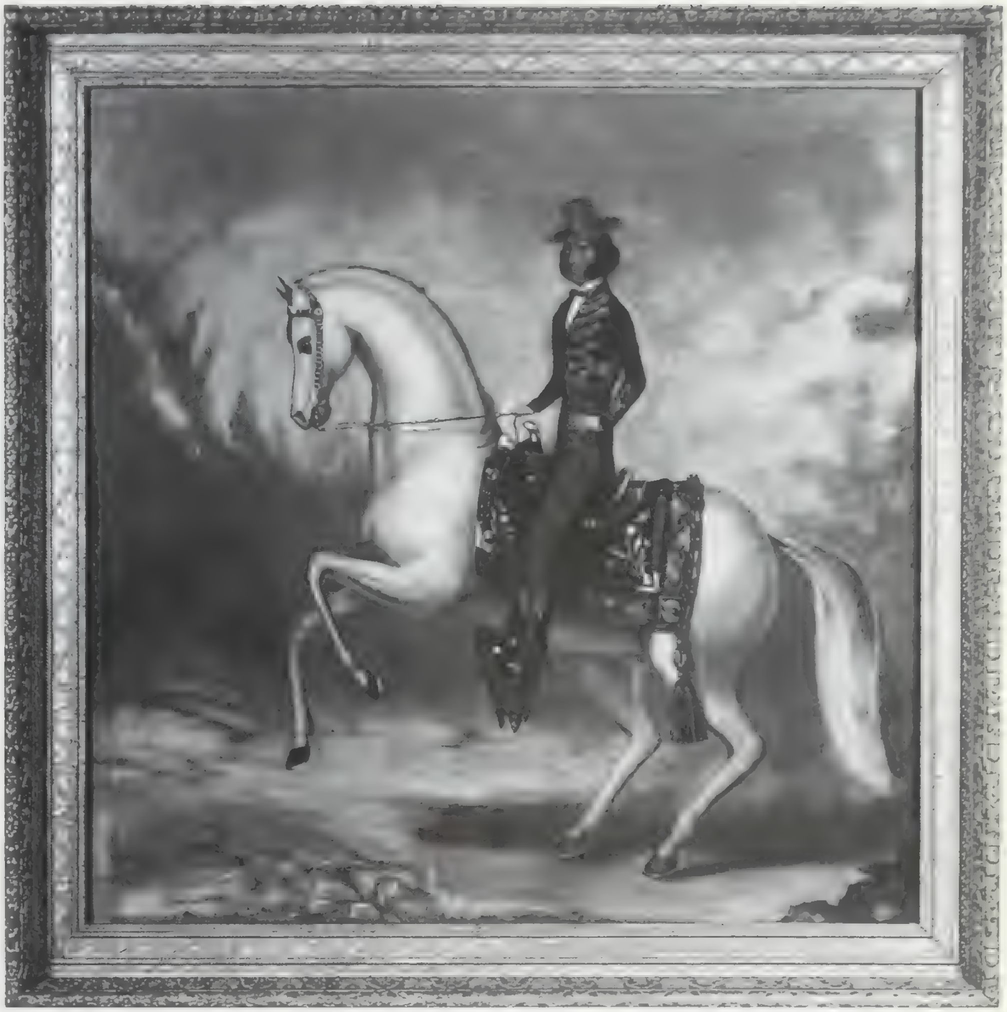
in California's ports when the Spanish territory lost its colonial hold and opened to foreign trade. French settlers from Mexico and Latin America trickled north, as did Victor Prudon, who came overland with the Híjar-Padrés colonists.[9] Their relatively large numbers by the 1840s led to the establishment of a French consulate at Monterey. The first consul, Louis Gasquet, arrived in May of 1845. The second, Jacques Moerenhout, appointed in 1847, was an excellent artist.

Very few artists depicted California during this period. Those who did were generally either self-taught or trained as military observers. The French artists in California during this period, many of whom were settlers, had generally received some training as draftsmen or artists. Moerenhout, for example, was apprenticed in drawing and architecture. Another was Jean-Jacques Vioget, who had apprenticed to a naval officer. He painted an early watercolor of Yerba Buena in 1837 and became an important early resident of the hamlet. Victor Prévost had sketched for French and American news magazines, and Charles Guillou had been educated as a doctor.

An exception was the artist Henri Pénelon. Self-taught, he came to California slightly later than many of the others of this period. Bypassing the lure of the Gold Rush, he would become the favorite portraitist of California families as their era of grandeur came to a close. Pénelon chose Los Angeles over San Francisco when he arrived from his native Lyon, France, sometime during the late 1840s or early 1850s. He became the pueblo's first resident artist, and in an 1854 directory he was listed as a painter.[10] His patrons and subjects were for the most part members of prominent Californio families of southern California, such as Don Antonio María Lugo, Don Vicente Lugo, and Don José Antonio Carrillo.



Louis Jules Masselot, *IndigËnes de la haute Californie*, 1837, hand-colored lithograph, 6 in. by 8 in. *Private collection.*



Henri Pénelon (1824-1874), *Don Vicente go*, n.d., oil on canvas, 40 ⅛ in. by 40 ¼ . *Courtesy Museum of Natural History of Los Angeles County, History collections.*

Such men felt a kinship with the French, perhaps in part because of their common religion and related languages. One Californio whom Pénelon painted, Don Antonio Labory, was in fact a Frenchman from Bordeaux whose birth name was Antoine Laborie. He had come to California in 1844 to work with vintner Jean-Louis Vignes, also known as Don Luis del Aliso.[11] Pénelon also painted Laborie's father-in-law, José Andrés Sepúlveda.

Pénelon's portraits bear the rigidity of the self-taught artist, but they are evocative of his subject's characters. He represented the wealthy and prominent Don Vicente Lugo (shown here and on the front cover), in the courtly pose of a nobleman. Wearing an elaborate, traditional costume adorned in silver, and painted astride his horse, Lugo exemplifies the powerful Californio at the height of his glory. The artist continued painting portraits until perhaps 1873, when he began working in photography. In February 1874, on the eve of his return to Los Angeles from a brief photography trip to Prescott, Arizona Territory, he suddenly died.[12] His portraits of early Californians, capturing a short-lived era, hold significant historical value.

At nearly the same time that Pénelon established himself in southern California, the artist Charles Henri Victor Prévost arrived in Yerba Buena and created perhaps the best known images of that little settlement. Prévost depicted it at two early stages in its transformation from Spanish outpost to cosmopolitan center. The Frenchman, born in 1820 in La Rochelle on the Atlantic coast of France, had studied art in Paris under Paul de la Roche and Horace Vernet. According to a biographical note written by his son in 1901, Prévost sailed to New York in 1848, the same year he married his wife, Louise Béraud.

Their first child, Emmanuel, was born in May 1850.[13] Because the record fails to confirm his presence in California in 1847 or 1849, his depictions of Yerba Buena from this time present a mystery. It is possible that while in New York he drew on stone two views of San Francisco, one showing the small village in 1847, the other showing it in January of 1849, when, renamed San Francisco, it had started to grow. For these drawings on stone, Victor Prévost, as he signed himself, may have artfully copied a sketch done by some other visitor to California in those years. The oil painting of Yerba Buena, dated 1847, closely resembles Prévost's 1847 drawing. Prévost's family believed the oil painting was from his brush.

Prevost also lithographed two San Francisco views shown here. They both bear the line "Entered according to the act of Congress in the year 1849 by Robert Wells," which suggests that both were created and copyrighted at the same time, perhaps to document the city's rapid changes. They were lithographed by the New York firm of Sarony and Major, for whom Prévost worked in the 1850s. During this period, he also sold scenes of New York life to French newspapers such as *L'Illustration*.

During a visit to France in 1853, Prévost studied the new art form of photography under the pioneering photographer Gustave Le Grey. When Prévost returned to New York, he traded his brush for a camera and began experimenting with the calotype process, a waxed-paper process that he introduced to America. When it failed commercially, Prévost returned to painting and drawing, which he taught, along with physics, at Madame H. D. Chegaray's Institute for young ladies in New York City. During the 1860s and 1870s, he operated a boarding school at Fort Washington, in upstate New York.

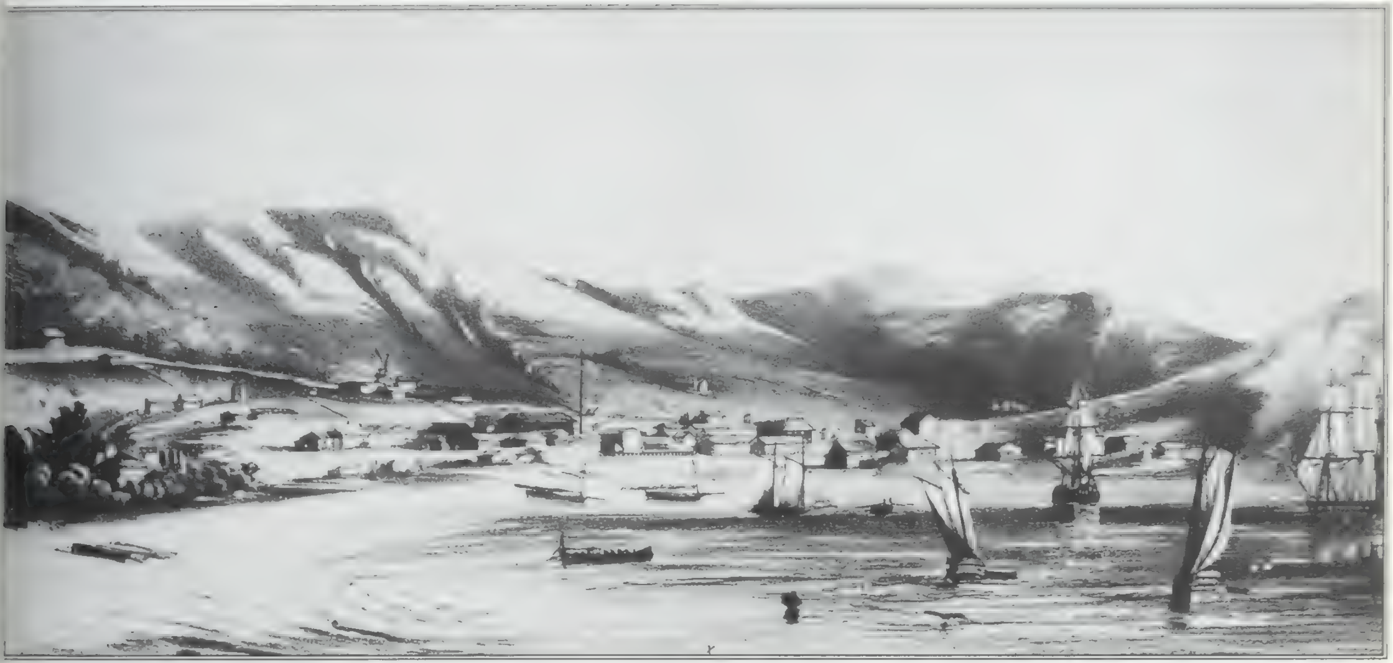
Thousands of Frenchmen ruined by their nation's political turmoil were lured to California's gold fields between 1849 and 1854. Immigration companies hastily formed in Paris to facilitate the departure of these Argonauts and to speculate on the gold that they would mine in California. Investors bought stock in the companies that chartered ships, booked passages, and organized small armies of French miners who were sworn to bring back a percentage of the profits reaped from their prospecting. Up to ninety such companies existed between 1849 and 1852, and fierce competition to capture the public's imagination and business was reflected in their names: "The Golden Fleece," "The Golden Hive," "The Seine & the Sacramento," "The Californienne," "The Fortune," and the like.[14]

All of these companies failed. They lacked cohesion, initially during the six-month voyage around the Horn, and on arrival in California they succumbed to the chaotic world of San Francisco. In the mines, each man soon realized he must fend for himself. The companies' aggressive advertising, however, had lured an enormous number of Frenchmen to California, many with entrepreneurial skills. Among them were many kinds of performers and artists, whose talents were profitable. Artists who painted signage, for example, were paid an ounce of gold per letter for a shopkeeper's sign; sketchers sold work to lithographic firms that produced lettersheets, a form of illustrated stationery that sold for a dollar or two, and on which miners wrote to friends in the East.

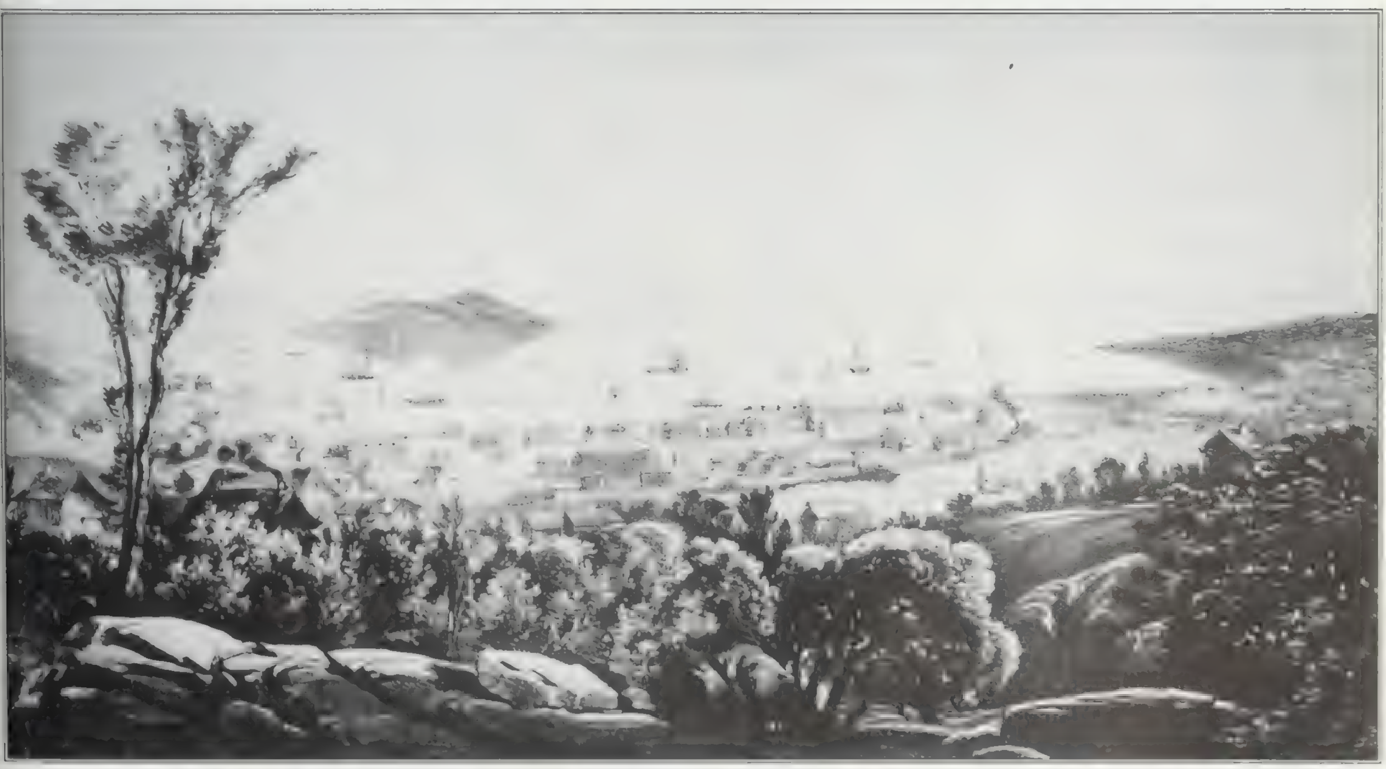
Some artists, such as Louis Jules Rupalley, sketched or painted for pleasure, recording colorful experiences in the land of gold. Others, such as Ernest Narjot, created nostalgic reminders of the grand gold-rush adventure long after placer mining had ceased, while Antoine Claveau specialized in painting costly panoramas and large-scale scenes.

An avid traveler, thirty-nine-year-old Rupalley, a native of Dozuley, near Caen, in Normandy, signed up for passage to California with "Le Mineur," one of the numerous Paris-based immigration companies.[15] The ship *Le Louis* left Le Havre on September 4, 1850, Rupalley serving as one of the expedition's leaders. He made his first drawings off the coast of Madeira and in Antarctic waters near Cape Horn. After he and his companions landed in San Francisco in February of 1851, according to the notes in his scrapbook, Rupalley worked for a time as a painter and decorator for a Mr. Mulnchaer, whose large house in North Beach, identified as "near the small laguna," later became the American Hospital.[16]

After traveling briefly through the mines, Rupalley settled in the small boomtown of Greenwood, north of Coloma. This site may have been the inspiration for *Monte*, shown here, a lively gambling



Charles Henri Victor Prévost, *San Francisco Upper California in 1847*, 1847, lithograph.
California Historical Society, Charles Templeton Crocker Collection.



[Lower] Charles Henri Victor Prevost, *San Francisco Upper California in January 1849*, 1849, lithograph. *California Historical Society.*

scene that Rupalley composed and sketched circa 1850. Gathered around a small table and game of monte stands a motley crowd of adventurers, among them a mountain man in buckskins, a card shark, a Chinese immigrant, and a Mexican dressed in the traditional sarape and sombrero.[17]

Rupalley spent nearly seven years roaming through the foothills. Pursuit of gold was not his only interest, however. He was an assiduous botanist who executed nearly a hundred sketches of California plants and insects. He obviously consulted Indian tribesmen about local flora, giving Indian names to flowers that he drew. His scrapbook includes a portrait of a young California Indian woman accompanied by his wrenching comment "sixteen years old, costs a pound of hunting powder and a bottle of brandy."[18]

Rupalley left California in 1857 aboard the French ship *Surprise*, and the last sketches in his scrapbook are views of coasts of South America. He gathered in that large book lettersheets and newspaper clippings that he annotated, as well as his own sketches of plants and landscapes. In France, Rupalley resumed a quiet life, raising his family and serving as tax collector for the city of Caen. The circumstances and date of his death have not been located.

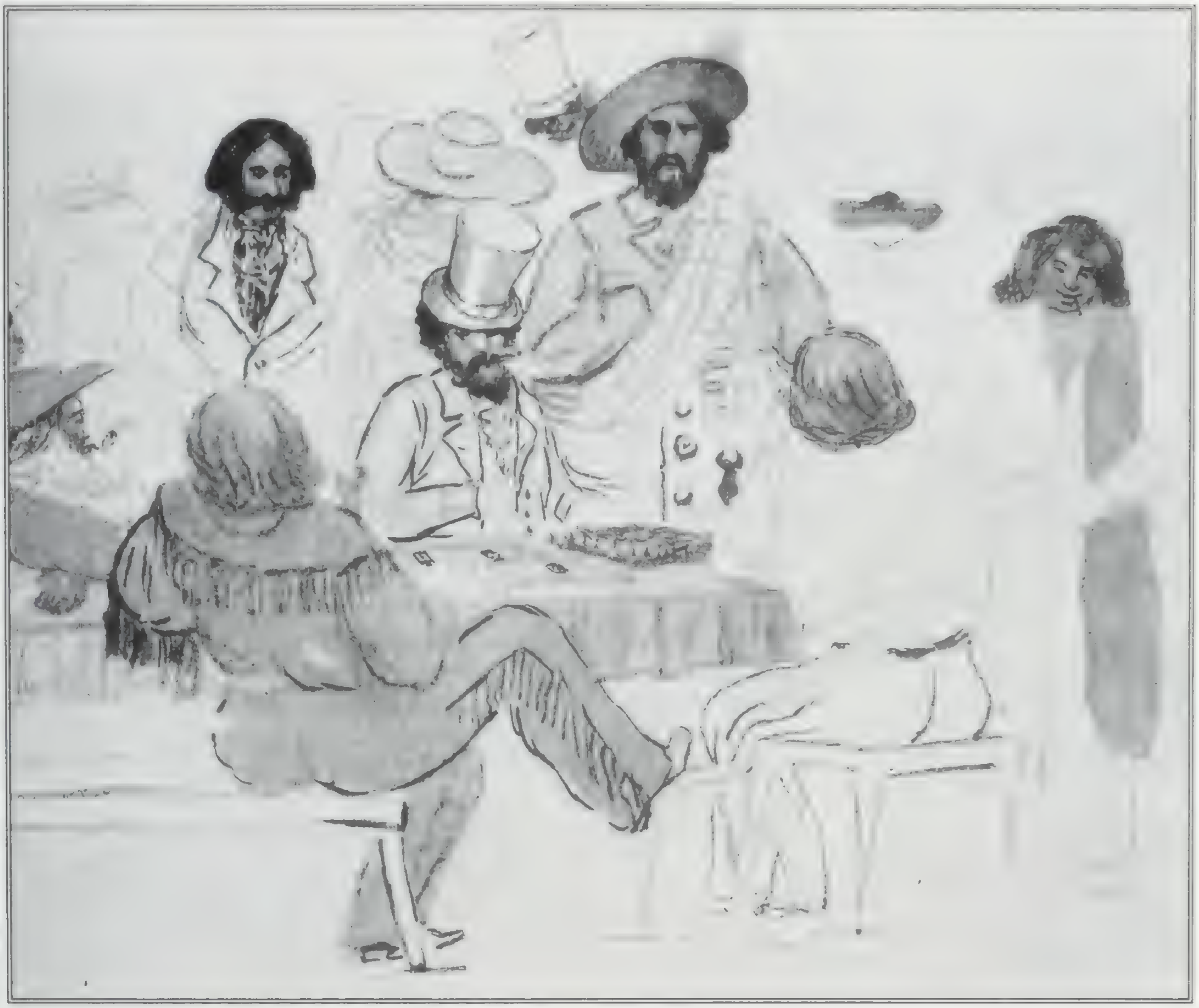
Another prolific French artist who also visited California and spent time at the mines was Ernest Etienne Narjot. Born December 15, 1826, in Saint-Malo, a city of great French corsairs, the adventurous twenty-three-year-old, who had begun art studies in Paris at a very young age, was swept into the early excitement of the Gold Rush and left for California in 1849.[19] By 1851 the Breton was mining at Foster's Bar, near Downieville, in the Northern Mines. There he painted his only factual rendering of the mines, a view of a waterwheel operation. Its documentary quality is notable when compared to his later paintings of the Gold Rush, executed in the 1880s, which rely heavily on reminiscence. In 1852 Narjot joined a French expedition to Sonora, Mexico. Hundreds of French miners, Narjot among them, had become disenchanted with gold mining and next sought their fortune in Mexico's northern province under banners of two French aristocrats, the Marquis de Pindray and Count de Raousset-Boulbon. They planned to take silver mines from the Apache Indians, establish an agricultural colony, and create settlements that would act as a buffer between the United States and Mexico. The undertaking failed.[20]

Narjot remained in Sonora, settling on a ranch in Metape, and marrying Santos Ortiz. He continued to paint, producing numerous illustrations of border life and battle scenes in Mexico and Arizona, some of which still survive. Narjot's lightest canvases, the ones most filled with breeze and sunlight, depict ranch life in the Mexican province. Uncertain international politics, however, including Emperor Maximilian's overthrow, prompted the Narjots to take Santos's mother and return to San Francisco in 1866.

There the artist opened a studio at 621 Clay Street, accepting all commissions in order to survive. Among them were a sketch of the centennial celebration of the birth of Napoleon I that he did for the *San Francisco News* in August 1869, and a portrait of much-loved Catholic Archbishop José Sadoc Alemany, a man so modest that he would not pose, even for his friend. Narjot was forced to do the portrait from memory after studying the archbishop's features in the course of their meetings.[21]

The founding of the San Francisco Art Association in March 1871 strengthened the art community and formed the city's cultural heart. Founding members included Juan B. Wandesforde, Thomas Hill, Gideon J. Denny, William Keith, French architect Pietro Mezzara, French-Canadian engraver Edward Bosqui, and Narjot.[22] Narjot's commissions for portraits, landscapes, figures, and genre paintings increased, and he also undertook book illustration, creating twenty-four sketches for Col. Albert S. Evans's *A la California: Sketches of Life in the Golden State*, published in San Francisco in 1873. He did extensive fresco work for churches and public institutions, and in 1885 taught the male life-class at the California School of Design. He exhibited regularly and was a faithful contributor to Art Association and Mechanics' Institute exhibitions and agricultural fairs. By the late 1880s Ernest Narjot was considered one of California's most accomplished painters.

He maintained his French connections, doing a portrait of French President Adolphe Thiers and contributing at least three pictures to the French Relief Fund during the Franco-Prussian War, all exhibited at French-Canadian Henri Payot's bookstore in San



Jules Rupalley, *Monte*, ca. 1850, pen drawing, approx. 6 ½ in. by 10 ¼ in.
Courtesy Bancroft Library, Honeyman Collection.

Francisco. Narjot also did portraits of several French pioneers, including those of M. Friant, Xavier Van de Casteele and his wife, Henrietta. He traveled widely throughout California in search of subjects, painting views of San Francisco, Marin, Sonoma, Menlo Park, Palo Alto, New Almaden, Santa Monica, and Santa Catalina Island.

The magical lore of his native Brittany influenced Narjot's art, especially in his portrayal of women like Andromeda and Ophelia. He received a gold medal at the 1888 California State Agricultural Fair for a four-panel screen depicting mythical maidens—a Druid priestess, Spanish and Chinese women, and Caroline, "Princess of the Panamints." He took a silver medal at the fair the following year for a canvas based on the Bret Harte tale "Miggles," depicting an unlettered girl tending to an old friend wasting away from disease.

Family legend held that before coming to California in 1849, Narjot had visited old Druid sites in Wales and the monoliths at Stonehenge. The artist himself believed that his most outstanding work was *The Sacrifice of a Druid Priestess,* which he painted in 1881. In 1890 Narjot painted a self-portrait that posed him in front of an empty canvas, palette and brush cast on the floor, musing absent-mindedly against a backdrop of various mementos of his adventures in California and Mexico. The next year after an absence of twenty-five years, Narjot made a return trip to Sonora. There he received a number of commissions for portraits and landscapes.[23]

Now at the zenith of his career, Narjot's last honor was a commission to paint a fresco that would decorate the Leland Stanford tomb on the grounds of Stanford University. During this work, paint fell into the artist's eyes, severely damaging his eyesight. Although he continued to paint after the loss of eyesight in one eye, he suffered irreversible mental and emotional decline. By 1894 he could scarcely walk without assistance. His wife, who spoke English poorly, barely kept the family together by selling Narjot's paintings.[24] When a *San Francisco Call* journalist alerted the community to the artist's misfortune, in January 1897, thirty prominent California artists came to Narjot's aid with a benefit sale of their work. Among them were William Keith, Thomas Hill, Arthur Mathews, and Narjot's former pupil, Amédée Joullin.

Narjot died the following year, on August 24, 1898.[25] His funeral service was held at Notre Dame des Victoires church in San Francisco. Most of Narjot's unsold paintings, which were held at the San Francisco Art Association, were destroyed during the earthquake and fire of April 18, 1906. The few that were saved were exhibited at Raphael Weill's department store, the White House. The Leland Stanford fresco and tomb that had been so costly to Narjot also were destroyed in the Great Fire.

After a stay in the mines long enough to "see the elephant," many French artists returned to ever-crowded, ever-rowdy, cosmopolitan San Francisco, a choice subject for their art. Some, such as Frédéric (Fritz) Wickersheim and Antoine-Théodore t'Scharner, recorded sights of the boomtown in personal sketchbooks. Others, among them J. J. Rey, Alexandre Edouart, Antoine Claveau, Adrien Coquardon, and Edward Jump, also found that they could make a better living with pen and brush than with pick and shovel.

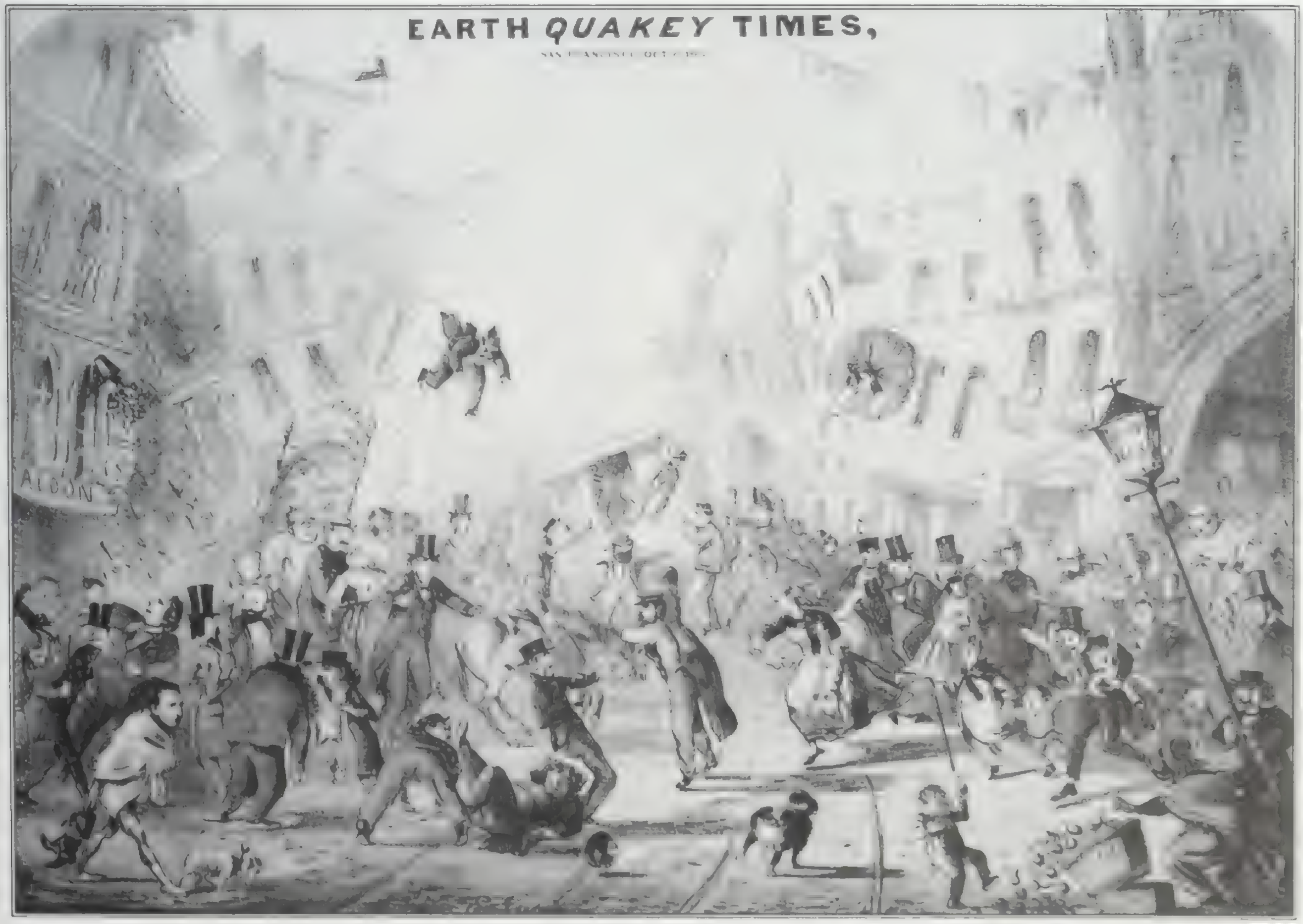
As San Francisco's French community expanded in size and activity and its businessmen thrived, French entrepreneurs became patrons of the arts. French-speaking pioneers often worked together and supported each other's enterprises. Rey's lithographic and printing firm actively represented artists such as Coquardon (noted for a sketch of Weaverville), sometimes hiring them outright, as they did Xavier Van de Casteele.[26] French-Canadian printers Henry Payot and Edward Bosqui also favored French businesses and artists' work, producing their business stationery, stock certificates, and special publications.

Few Frenchmen, however, endeared themselves more to San Franciscans than did Edouard Jump. Born on rue du Faubourg du Roule in Paris on February 8, 1831, he was the son of Joséphine Méquin and John Jump, a foreign language teacher whose name was often misspelled as "Jomp" in the Parisian business directories of the late 1840s. Edouard Jump, caught up in the California gold-rush excitement, left Le Havre aboard the British ship *William Money*, reaching San Francisco on November 10, 1851. He headed for Stockton aboard the *Kate Kearney* and worked briefly in the placers of the Tuolumne River. Like many of his compatriots, however, the twenty year old seemed to feel more at ease in San Francisco, to which he soon returned.

Young Jump, whose talent with portraits and cartoons had impressed some of the *Money*'s passengers, found employment with lithographers Benjamin Butler and Louis Nagel, who taught him the rudiments of their art.[27] Publisher James Hutchings soon noticed the young Frenchman's talent and in 1857 made him his companion-sketcher on a trip to the Fall River (Shasta County) waterfalls. Increasingly confident in his art, Jump developed a highly individual style of satirical group scenes that brought him recognition as the "Prince of Cartoonists." He was particularly skillful at reproducing likenesses of men and women after only a glance. Faces that were more difficult to render he was said to sketch on his thumbnails to consign them to memory. His *Steamer Day in San Francisco* group scene captures the frenzy that seized San Franciscans twice each month, when scheduled steamers arrived from or sailed for the East Coast.

Another of Jump's famous San Francisco group scenes, *Earthquakey Times*, came out after the jolt that shook the city on October 8, 1865. Five days later, his sketch was already advertised for sale in the *San Francisco Morning Call*: "Buy one, everybody," a reporter enjoined, "and smile." Indeed, several bathers at the North Beach Sanitarium Bath House ad run out of the building "in the severely classic ostume in vogue in the Garden of Eden before the ntroduction of fig-leaf aprons," the *Alta California* eported, and Jump was there to catch them, as he vas another woman who ran screaming into the treet, carrying something that "at first was taken for dressed chicken," but turned out to be her infant. A grumpy San Francisco journalist predicted, "We nticipate hearing that Jump has been arrested for ibel" since so many celebrities were among his vicims. San Franciscans, fortunately, had a good sense f humor.[28]

While he lived in San Francisco, Jump created atirical illustrations for the magazine *Puck*; advertising lithographs such as his *Squarza's Drinks* scene; watercolor sketches of popular establishments; landscapes such as *Rancho Los Meganos,* prepared for James T. Sanford of New York, and a town view, *Crystal Peak,* for J. V. Hollingsead. He even may have produced a still-life oil that bears his signature, recently in the collection of the late Edan Hughes. The popular Jump left the city in the late 1860s, distributing copies of a self-portrait entitled *The Last Jump,* in which he rises above a busy city street in a hot-air balloon, long-haired and bearded in the same manner that he represented himself, complete with palette and easel, in another of his most famous sketches, *San Francisco at the Fair.*



Edouard Jump, *Earthquakey Times,* San Francisco, Oct. 8, 1865, lithograph. *California Historical Society.*

In the late 1860s Jump settled in Washington, D.C., as had another San Francisco favorite, Mark Twain, who, as a correspondent for the *Alta California,* wrote that "Jump the caricaturist, of San Francisco, is here as artist for Frank Leslie's. He has made a water-color sketch of Pennsylvania Avenue, which is attracting a good deal of attention . . . This is just the city for Jump, where the faces of the nation's distinguished men are so familiar. In this picture . . . [are] portraits of Seward, Welles, Banks, Spinner, Horace Greeley, General Butler, Charles Sumner, Grant, Sherman, . . . and others. . . . The execution is excellent, and the hits are good."[29]

Twain and Jump boarded at the same house in Washington. These two solid craftsmen with an uncanny eye for the satirical planned to join talents to produce a book about the Sandwich Islands, although ultimately the project did not materialize.[30] A newly married Jump and his wife left Washington for Montreal, where the Frenchman attempted to launch an illustrated newspaper that eventually failed. Their now-itinerant life took the couple to New Orleans, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and other western and southern cities where he met with continuing success as illustrator, portrait painter, and cartoonist, always able to command a large salary and extra money for sketches. Jump also reportedly received large sums of money from his family in Paris, at one time as much as $3,000 in gold.[31] The talented, convivial artist had a fondness for liquor, however, and three years after he and his wife settled in Chicago in 1880, a distraught Jump took his own life, leaving behind his wife and daughter.[32]

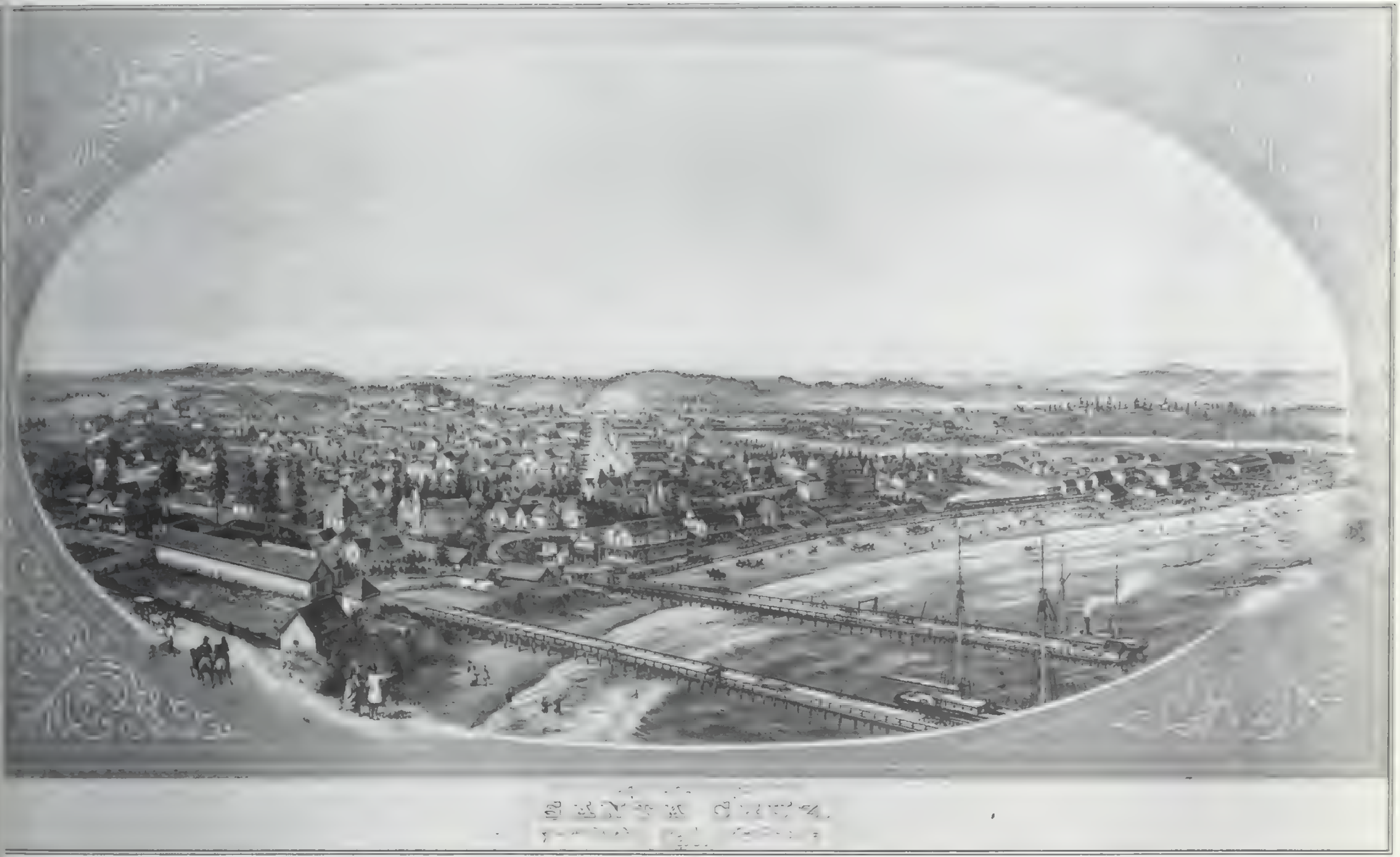
Perhaps the most familiar pair of names in San Francisco illustrations is that of the team of Britton and Rey, who formed a successful lithographic business in the nineteenth century. Jacques Joseph Rey was born in Bouxwiller, a small Alsatian town at the foot of the Vosges mountains northeast of Strasbourg. The young Alsatian studied drawing and lithography and was accomplished in music and languages long before he reached California. He was said to possess charm and humor as well. Little wonder that he was hired, when still a young man, as a traveling companion to a nobleman wishing to visit Russia.[33]

Rey left France in 1850, the year his father died, reaching San Francisco via Panama. In 1852 he met Yorkshireman Joseph Britton, with whom he founded the lithographic firm of Britton & Rey. Britton generally was responsible for the business aspects of the firm, although he could sketch and draw on stone when necessary. Rey did much of the artistic work and it was with pen and paper in hand that the Frenchman visited the mines. Over the years he compiled an unequaled record of life during the California Gold Rush, from views of small mining towns like Scott's Bar and French Bar to the booming city of San Francisco, from ironic descriptions of the joys and sorrows of the miner's adventures to depictions of floods and seasonal hardships in the young state.

Together Britton and Rey became the largest and most successful producers of lithographic work in California, a west-coast counterpart to Currier & Ives. Their friendship was further cemented by Rey's marriage to Britton's sister Jane Ann. A bachelor all his life, Britton shared the Reys large San Francisco home, the site of many artistic gatherings.

A large part of the vast Britton & Rey collection consisted of pictorial lettersheets, but their activities extended to many other forms of lithographic work, including billheads, checks, and stock certificates for mining companies. They associated with other French artists and businessmen too, for example, printing Adrien Coquardon's 1852 sketch of Weaverville; and mining stock certificates for tycoon François A. Pioche and journalist Etienne Derbec. The firm also executed a finely detailed, panoramic view of Santa Cruz, shown here. With the development of color printing, Britton & Rey became one of the earliest firms to produce actual postcards, mostly of California and San Francisco scenes. Although after Rey's death in 1892, Britton virtually ceased commercial printing activities, their legacy remains an aesthetic and fundamental aspect of California's visual history.

In Medieval times, the word "Bohemian" was used to describe the Celtic people of Bohemia, and later it broadened to include nomadic people assumed to be from Bohemia. By the seventeenth century, the word applied to anyone with an irregular lifestyle; by the mid-nineteenth century it was solidly associated with the literary movement known as romanticism, and suggested the vagabond



Britton & Rey, *Santa Cruz, Cal.*, n.d., lithograph. *California Historical Society, FN-05446.*

way of life, often the artist or student who also manifested hostility to "bourgeois" standards. The Bohemian was viewed as the antithesis of the stable, hard-working, somewhat dull, and materialistic "average" citizen.

Three French artists who appeared in California in the 1870s—Jules Frenzeny, Jules Tavernier, and Léon Trousset—were true Bohemians. Traveling through the western U.S., depicting the grandeur of landscapes newly seen after the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, they easily lived in a vagabond manner. In 1874 the New York-based Harper brothers hired Frenzeny and Tavernier to sketch the American frontier for their magazine, *Harper's Weekly*. They provided a remarkable account of life in the western states, and when they reached California in the summer of 1874, they joined San Francisco's art community, becoming active members of the newly founded Bohemian Club.

Jules Tavernier's arrival in San Francisco reflected both his solid talent and determination to follow his trade. Born in Paris on April 27, 1844, Jules Wilhelm Tavernier spent his early years in England. At age seven he moved back to Paris, later studying at L'Ecole des Beaux-Arts with Félix Barrias, a specialist in Asian subjects. Tavernier exhibited his first two pictures at the Paris Salon in 1864 and contributed to the salon regularly until 1870. When the Franco-Prussian War erupted in July 1870, Tavernier enlisted with the 84th Battalion, the famous Artists' Volunteer Brigade.[3] As soon as the war ended, he went briefly to London and then sailed to New York. Soon after, he began collaborating with his former art school friend Paul Frenzeny.

On their transcontinental sketching journey for *Harper's* in 1874, Tavernier produced resplendent oils of Indian villages, such as Red Cloud's encampment in Wyoming, and other sketches and watercolors that the partners sold along the way to supplement their incomes. Their engravings of settlers fighting fires or windstorms, Indian raids, cattle drives, ghost towns, and scenes of frontier law attracted much attention, and the two artists were well known by the time they reached the West Coast in the summer of 1874.[35]

The flow of Comstock silver by the late 1860s and the wealth resulting from completion of the transcontinental railroad had turned San Francisco into an artist's haven. The blue-eyed Tavernier, who never lost his French accent, was short, healthy-looking, excitable, and charismatic, filled with a contagious joie de vivre. His first studio, in true Bohemian style, was a simple loft over a macaroni factory in North Beach. But in 1875, the restless artist found more inspirational scenery in Monterey.

While other artists of the period sought grand or sweeping vistas, such as those of Yosemite Valley, Tavernier explored the undiscovered Carmel and Monterey area, attracting wide attention to the region and founding its first art colony there in 1875. "Few people [then] thought of Monterey as a health resort or as a picturesque paradise," wrote journalist DeeJay Mackart. "They flocked to Santa Cruz, where there were firm sands and combing breakers to delight surf-bathers, but 20 miles southward across the bay nobody dreamed of going for pleasure. The road to Point Cypress was enough to break the heart of the driver. . . . Tavernier was accustomed to camping in this wonderful oasis, and two of his finest and most imaginative pictures were produced from impressions here gathered."[36]

Tavernier showed what could be done with quiet scenery, such as every mile affords along the Californian coast. Numbers of painters afterward turned to Monterey as to a spiritual center. Tavernier was indeed a great artist, but his failing was an aversion to labor. He painted grand pictures in the air with his thumb and grew enthusiastic over their potential value, but it was not until the screws of material existence had tightened upon him to the last thread that he would put these inspirations on canvas. Then he would slam his studio door and seat himself before a canvas, which would forthwith begin to bloom with ravishing form and color.

His quarters on Alvarado Street, the first art studio in Monterey, became a mecca for visiting artists and writers. Besides Frenzeny, the circle included Julian Rix, Joe and Isobel Strong, Gideon Jacques Denny, William Keith, Léon Trousset, and poet Charles Warren Stoddard. But in late 1878, his series of satirical illustrations of Monterey citizenry appeared in a San Francisco newspaper, offending many of the Monterey townspeople. Tavernier's celebrated presence in the seacoast town quickly tarnished, and he returned to San Francisco, immediately immersing himself in the fast-paced art community there. He became vice president of the San Francisco Art Association and a founder of the San Francisco Palette Club, a dissident and short-lived group that protested what it considered low selection standards for Art Association exhibits. Tavernier also was art manager of the first Authors' Carnival given in San Francisco.[37] In 1880 he moved into a former courtroom on Montgomery Street, converted into a large, light studio. It became the heart of Bohemia, a meeting place where artists and other luminaries of the San Francisco art scene were invited twice a week, and where legendary parties were thrown, the grandest of all when the Taverniers and the Strongs entertained the brilliant Irish playwright Oscar Wilde.[38]

Tavernier, however, was plagued by his lack of self-discipline and his consequent perennial bad debts. When Joe and Isobel Strong decided to move to Honolulu, he elected to join them. By 1887 the Taverniers were settled in Oahu, where he and Strong shared a studio.[39] Tavernier was the first artist of high caliber to depict Hawaii, and he soon had a following of budding island artists. He painted tropical scenes—mountains, waterfalls, and shady pools—and his productivity was greatly enhanced by the beauty of the islands. But the volcano Kilauea on the island of Hawaii particularly kindled his imagination. He painted and sold scores of pictures of it, and planned to exhibit his large volcano panoramas across the United States.[40]

But misfortune and tragedy interceded. Tired of her husband's constant improvidence and of his growing drinking habit, Lizzie Tavernier returned to San Francisco.[41] Because Hawaiian law required at residents pay their debts before leaving the slands, Tavernier was prevented from following her ack to California. His health had failed when he ied on May 18, 1889, at age forty-five, alone in his tudio on Hotel Street in Honolulu. His grave there s marked by "a rough granite block" shipped to the sland by the Bohemian Club, to mark the passing f this "talented and extravagant little Frenchman vho lived, painted and died by his own code of passionate intemperance."[42]

Little is known about the French artist Léon Trousset, whose career in California can be reconstructed only through his fine oil paintngs, friendships, and bits of news gleaned from art ections of various newspapers. Although his earlist known works are pen and ink sketches done at ort Davis, Texas, in 1867, the commissions that he btained in California confirm his presence in the tate by the early 1870s. His large oil on canvas, *Moss anding*, was executed about 1873 in Castroville, vhere he was said to be related to the Vierras, one f the city's prominent families.[43] He also obtained ommissions in Sonoma County, among them two watercolors of the Aguillon Winery, located in what oday is the Salvador Vallejo Adobe at the intersection of Vallejo and Salvador streets on the town's central plaza.[44] In 1875 he painted *View of Oakland across Lake Merritt* before joining the Monterey Bohemian colony, where his forty-two-inch-long watercolor of Monterey originally hung in the artists' favorite tavern.

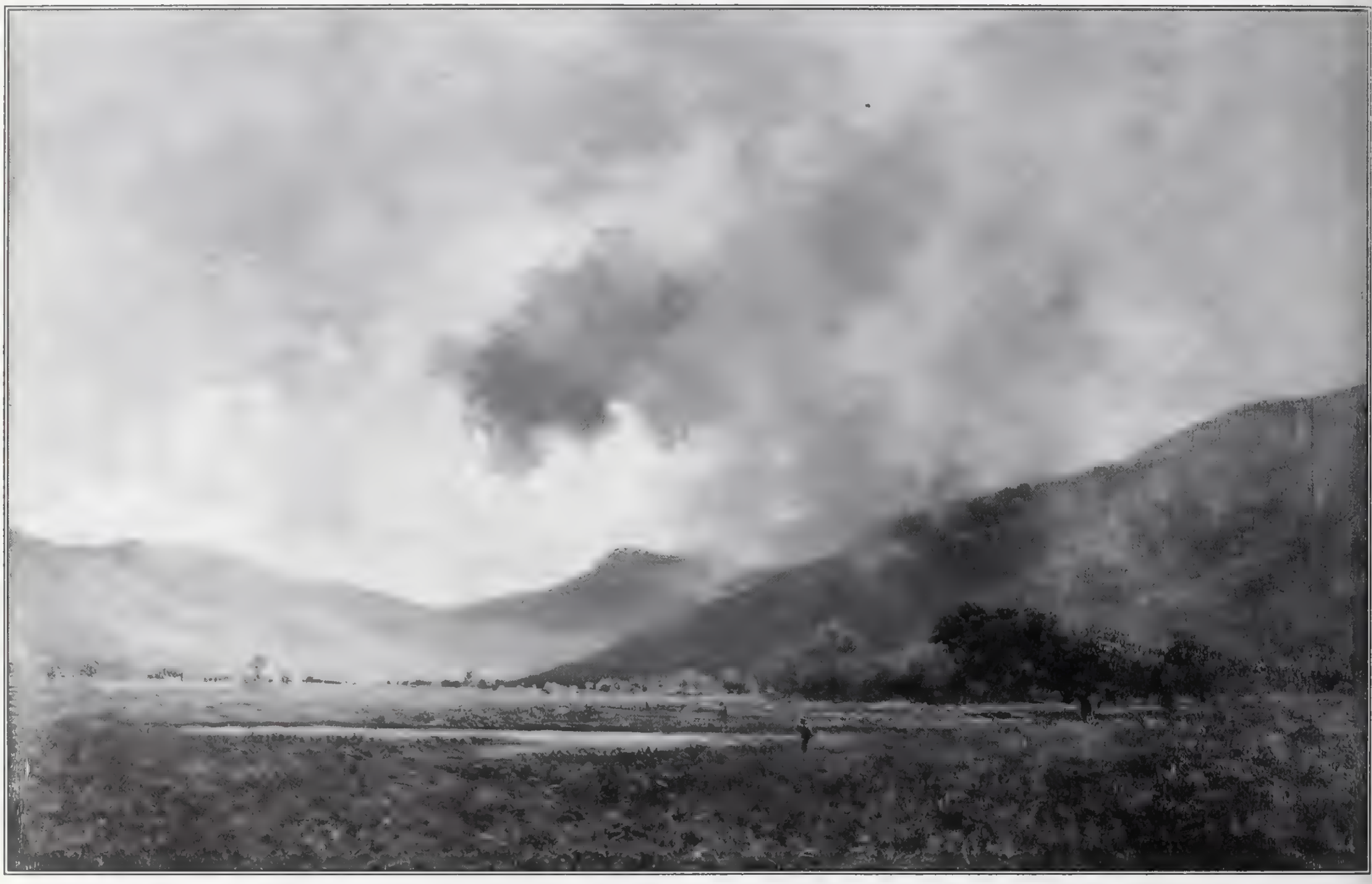
Never in one place for long, Trousset moved on to Castroville, where by February 1876 he was employed in "life-size religious paintings" for the city's church. He then went to Los Angeles, where he worked for the Cathedral of St. Vibiana in April, and back to Castroville in June with French fresco painter Alexander Zins. Returning to Monterey, the artist painted several images with historical themes, including Fr. Junípero Serra's first mass at his founding of the mission at Carmel, and *Monterey—Father Serra's Landing Place*, which hangs in the mission's museum entrance. Trousset's scattered works further trace his wanderings in the 1880s to New Mexico, Texas, and finally to Mexico, where he married, adopted a child, and settled permanently.

Christian-Henri Roullier was born in Lyon, France, in 1845, and was an infant when his parents arrived in gold-rush San Francisco. After much difficulty, Roullier senior found employment at the White House, a pioneer department store owned by a popular and successful French businessman, Raphael Weill. From then, the Roulliers' life took a prosperous turn.[45] Christian-Henri resided with his family in San Francisco at the beginning of his career. During the Franco-Prussian War he was listed, with other members of the city's French community, as a local subscriber to a French patriotic fund. He subsequently traveled to Paris to study painting with Jean-Léon Gérome, the leading teacher of the day. He also studied sculpture with W. E. Fremiet and explored both media throughout his life.

A successful artist, Roullier exhibited widely in France. His work was included in most Paris Salon exhibits between 1878 and 1914. He exhibited at the San Francisco Art Association and the Mechanics' Institute of San Francisco in 1883, suggesting that he had returned to San Francisco, perhaps working with Jules Tavernier, whom he depicted in buckskin and knee-high boots in an oil entitled *Tavernier Painting*. Roullier probably joined the gregarious Tavernier in Monterey as well. Among his portraits, he executed two of Josiah Stanford, now in the collection at the Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University.

When in France, Roullier and his sister Blanche spent half of their time in Paris, the remainder at a beautiful property the family bought in the small town of Saint-Nizier sous Charlieu, some ten miles from Roanne. Blanche became a successful pastellist who also exhibited at the French salons and received several awards. Like his friend and fellow-painter Armand Charnay, Roullier painted rustic, local scenes of his native region, except for a few canvases of Tunisia done in colors reminiscent of his California work. He died in Paris on July 25, 1926. A retrospective exhibit of his work was held at the 1926 Paris Winter Salon.

Between 1852 and 1870, under Napoléon III the city of Paris was transformed. Wide, gas-lit boulevards and public parks beautified old neighborhoods, and new quays and bridges rejuvenated the banks of the Seine. By the 1880s, France's capital had become the "City of Lights," a resplen-



Jules Tavernier, *April Showers, Napa Valley*, n.d., oil on canvas, 20 in. by 30 in.
California Historical Society, Louis Sloss, Jr. Collection.

dent cultural and artistic hub for people from around the world. Students from many countries enrolled in Parisian art schools and studio workshops. They sought training at the government-run Ecole des Beaux-Arts, which offered tuition-free, highly structured instruction, or at private art schools such as the Académie Julian, an atelier run by Rodolphe Julian.[46] There, for a monthly fee, students could draw or paint from live models or take instruction from such masters as Gustave-Rodolphe Boulanger, Adolphe-William Bouguereau, Jules-Joseph Lefebvre, and Tony Robert-Fleury.

In the United States, the long-standing devotion to British art cooled in the excitement generated by Parisian art schools and the Paris Salon, an annual exhibition of France's most celebrated painters. The impressionist movement was in full bloom in France, and San Francisco, by now the undisputed art center of the West, was not immune to the general infatuation for French art. A large number of California artists sailed to France to study, swelling the ranks of American art students seeking French instruction. Among them were sons of French pioneers who had arrived with the Gold Rush and made California their home. These Franco-California artists renewed their French roots by studying at the Parisian schools, then taking their skills back to America. Such was the experience of four artists born in California between 1860 and 1867: Amédée Joullin, Eugène Pagès, Eugène Tanière, and Ernest de Saisset. Their art blended two cultures, two sensitivities.

Amédée Joullin was born in San Francisco of rench parents on June 13, 1862. Although his father, tienne Joullin, wished to see him learn the printer's rade, Amédée studied art at the San Francisco chool of Design under Virgil Williams for a year and half, and then under Jules Tavernier for another ear and a half. The young Joullin was Tavernier's onstant companion for the two years he spent working in Tavernier's large studio.[47] Joullin eceived from his talented mentor inspiration for his ater passion for Indian subjects, together with harsh essons in perfection of technique that he would ever forget.[48]

After his studies, in order to finance a trip to Paris e hired himself out as a scene-painter for the Cal- fornia Theater. From 1882 to 1884 he studied at the Académie Julian and the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, hold- ng first and second rank in his composition classes. Returning to San Francisco in 1885, he opened a studio at 207 Sansome, where he painted and taught. He spent the decade from 1887 to 1897 as an instructor at the San Francisco School of Design. He proved as demanding with his students as Tavernier had been with him, according to Canadian painter Emily Carr, who attended one of his still-life classes. Joullin and artist Emil Carlsen devoted many years to developing the school's curriculum.

Once the conception of a painting was fixed in his mind, Joullin completed his canvases very quickly. Like his mentor Tavernier, he was preoccupied with making color glow out of seemingly monochromatic or dark sceneries, like sand dunes or street scenes: His canvas *French Poultry Market*, of a dilapidated shop on Merchant street, was painted on an overcast day so he could explore the challenge of rendering a dark scene.

Turning to Chinatown, Joullin started a series of studies in 1888, fully exploring the subject in 1890 with his painting *Interior of a Joss House*, which brings out gleaming reflections of copper and brass objects against the room's general darkness. San Francisco Mayor James D. Phelan purchased the large canvas for a thousand dollars, the highest price yet paid for work by a local artist. It provoked hostility between Joullin and Theodore Wores, another artist who was also painting Chinese scenes at the time. The *San Francisco News Letter* of March 19, 1892, recorded the controversy, noting that "Artists who select similar subjects for their brush, are as sensitive of criticism as ladies of comment upon their complexions. There are two gentlemen in this city who have made a hit in their treatment of a certain class of work. One especially has been received in foggy England with much enthusiasm. . . . The other who is talented but lazy as a gopher on a wet day, plunged into the same line, and sold a big picture. Now it is worth a mile's walk to hear the delicate manner in which they speak of their work. . . ."[49]

Joullin next directed his interest to Mexican and Southwestern Indians. His series of Indian canvases dates to 1892. By 1897 he resigned his professorship at the Mark Hopkins Institute of Art to paint in Mexico, creating Aztec temple scenes, landscapes, and interiors. When he returned to San Francisco, his work was hailed by critics, who wrote: "Amédée Joullin, the well-known artist and Bohemian, has returned to the city after an absence of many months in Mexico, where he was engaged in sketching subjects that will prove a novelty to lovers of art here. He is occupying the old studio of the late Jules Tavernier. . . . Mr. Joullin is not creating a new school of art. He has . . . sought a field that California artists have neglected, and it has proved prolific and interesting. All of his work [contains] . . . the rich coloring of the Southern clime. He returns with the most flattering notices from the Mexican press."[5]

A few years later, Joullin traveled to New Mexico to record the life of the Pueblo Indians. Clearness and precision, together with his professed passion for color, gave Joullin's Indian canvases a tremendous sense of atmosphere. All found ready collectors, such as his *The Weaver*, which was purchased by Phoebe Hearst for $1,500. During the next several years, he exhibited variously at the National Academy of Design, the Union League Association in New York, the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis, and the Société des Artistes Français in Paris.[5] In 1900 and 1906 he exhibited at the Paris Salon, receiving honorary French titles both times. With the success of his New York exhibit, he received the honor of the commission to paint the historic driving of the last spike of the Northern Pacific Railroad. The twenty-foot-long scene hangs today in the state capitol at Helena, Montana.

In 1910, Joullin held his first collective exhibit at San Francisco's Helgesen galleries, showing nineteen large oil canvases and twelve smaller sketches of scenes in Paris, Mexico, and California, with the "eucalyptus trees, brown hillsides and sand dunes" of the bay area dominating. The exhibit attracted wide attention. Just before his final exhibit opened at the De Young Museum in 1917, Joullin died, following a brief illness. The memorial exhibit included nearly forty of his canvases.[53]

California-born Jules Eugène Pagès settled in France after going to Paris to study art. Born in San Francisco in 1867, as the son of Jules François Pagès, he had grown up in the fertile artistic milieu of his father's engraving studio where Julian Rix, Joe Strong, and Jules Tavernier often gathered. From his early days, Jules Eugène absorbed the principles of drawing, apprenticing to his father and then training at the Mark Hopkins Art Institute. He worked as an illustrator for the *San Francisco Examiner*, doing decorative designs, cartoons, portraits, and full-page illustrations such as his *Bastille Day* scene. With his savings, he was finally able to enroll in the exclusive Académie Julian in Paris, studying under Benjamin Constant and Jules Lefebvre, who became his friend. To support himself, he worked as an illustrator for the *Monde Illustré*.[54]

Whenever necessary, Pagès took illustrating jobs to earn money for his Académie expenses. For a period, he illustrated for the *San Francisco Examiner*, and then was employed by William Randoph Hearst's *The American* in New York, where he was offered the direction of its art department. He declined that prestigious position, however, and in 1897, at age thirty-two, he won a gold medal at the Paris Salon for his *Corner of the Studio*. Family legend has it that he used some of the award money to build an "American-style" bathroom in his studio on Montmartre.

In 1902 he was appointed a professor at the Académie Julian—the first American to achieve that position. He remained in France for several years, working from his studio in Paris as well as from a studio-home on Bréhat, off the northern coast of Brittany. He traveled and painted in Italy, Holland, Spain, and Belgium, and in 1905, at age thirty-eight, he won the "Hors Concours" medal, the most prestigious an artist could achieve. This honor entitled him to henceforth exhibit his works at the Salon without going through the pre-selection process. Only a few California artists had earned that high award before him. Pagès, at thirty-five, became first assistant to eighty-year old instructor Jules Lefebvre, and was generally looked upon as the likely successor to the Académie's famed older artist.

Returning to San Francisco in June 1906 after the earthquake and fire, Jules Eugène created a large canvas entitled *The Reconstruction of San Francisco*, a testimony to the public spirit and citizens' courage after the devastation of their city. The view is from below the Bank of California, looking up and over the Merchant's Exchange. The painting, which measured twelve by six feet, caused a stir both at the Paris Salon of 1909 and later in San Francisco. "The spirit of San Francisco pervades the picture and strikes its own note, the familiar every day scene caught and depicted on canvas, for the future generations to see, rendering the painting one of the most striking of its day," commented one San Francisco newsman.[55]

Pagès returned to Paris in October 1907, following the death of M. Julian, director of the Académie. The artist spent much time in Paris during this period, in order to meet his teaching and directing responsibilities at the Académie, which remained open during World War I. He sometimes went to the war zone to paint, and once found himself under fire while sketching. His oil of the Church at Saint-Gervais bears the mention (in French), "Church of Saint-Gervais, where a shell from "Bertha" exploded, Holy Friday, 1918." "Bertha" was the nickname of a powerful German cannon that had fired 350 shells on Paris between March 23 and August 9, 1918, named for Bertha Krupp, daughter of the German industrialist who had manufactured the weapon.

Despite his success in France, Pagès always remained a Californian. He did not consider himself an expatriate, rather, one who worked in the environment most conducive to his best effort, as he remarked in an interview. During his visits to California, he arranged the shipment of student works from the San Francisco Art Institute to be sent to Académie Julian's competitions. As a result, some of those students obtained one-year scholarships in Paris. From Paris, Pagès also shipped paintings to exhibits in San Francisco and Los Angeles on a regular basis.

When news of Pagès gold medal for *Corner of the Studio* became known in San Francisco, Senator William Phelan, businessman Raphael Weill, and other prominent San Franciscans jointly purchased the painting, presenting it to the San Francisco Art Association to encourage young painters. Weill, owner of the White House department store, Bohemian Club member, and a first class chef, hosted a special dinner in Pagès's honor in December 1906. The artist was later made an honorary member of the Bohemian Club. He also maintained friendships with members of the city's Cercle de l'Union, as well as with the Alliance Française.[56]

Pagès had spent enough time painting in California that he was able to hold an exhibition exclusively devoted to his California paintings at the Steckel Galleries in March 1914. These included views of the Oakland harbor, San Francisco's Chinatown, Mission Creek, views of the waterfront, Indian villages around Los Angeles, and an unusual triptych of the Los Angeles skyline. His sweat-shops and factory searches for the ideal working-class model made news. He believed that working men and women—his favorite subjects—"speak more eloquently of the soul within." Pagès selected as his model Adele Libby, described as "a sad, sweet-faced girl with the eyes, mouth and nose of a madonna."

In 1915, Pagès became a member of the International Jury of Awards of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, where he exhibited some of his own works. His *Tower of Jewels* canvas depicted one of the most popular of the Fair's pavilions. Many years later the *San Francisco Chronicle* noted that Pagès had become recognized in France and other European countries as perhaps the finest portrayer of French life. Although he once defined impressionism as "the real renaissance of modern art," Pagès was not considered an impressionist of the Monet school, but rather an artist with a very personal style, influenced by several different artists. Critic Antony Anderson described it as "a clean, direct and vivid impressionism, air and sunlight, a delightfully facile technique," while the noted Bohemian sculptor Haig Patigian called Pagès a "sublimated impressionist. His subjects are unlimited, and he excels in figure composition, landscapes and paintings of types and localities with equal facility and grace."[56] Pagès believed that Californian artists expressed more individuality than European artists, and of his own work, like Joullin, he felt he could not paint his subjects properly unless he knew them.[57]

During World War II, Pagès remained in Paris until forced from his home by the invasion of the Germans in 1941. In his seventies then, he returned to San Francisco, where he spent the final five years of his life. He lived until May 1946, when he was stricken by a heart attack in front of his Washington Street studio, only a few steps from the house of his birth.

California-born French artist Eugène Tanière, who studied at the California School of Design, was influenced by his instructor Amèdee Joullin, who later sponsored him at the Académie Julian in Paris. Tanière's father, French Argonaut Etienne Tanière, had been among the four thousand Frenchmen to obtain free passage to California in the early 1850s under the "Golden Ingot" philanthropic lottery organized in Paris during the economic recession that coincided with the discovery of gold in California. Tanière senior also received some financial help from the French government when he arrived in San Francisco. He and his wife, Jeanne Hélène Provost, opened a boarding house there, and later operated the Metropolitan Restaurant on Montgomery Street. Eugène, the youngest of their three children, was born in 1862.[58]

In 1867, the Tanière family moved to Dijon, France, where Eugène attended school sporadically—the precocious and independent-minded child ran away from school several times. Following the Franco-Prussian War, which stranded the family in France, they returned to California. Young Tanière developed an interest in painting and began studying art at the California School of Design while working with his older brother as a clerk for French merchants Sabatié & Company. In 1885, he left the city to study at the Académie Julian.

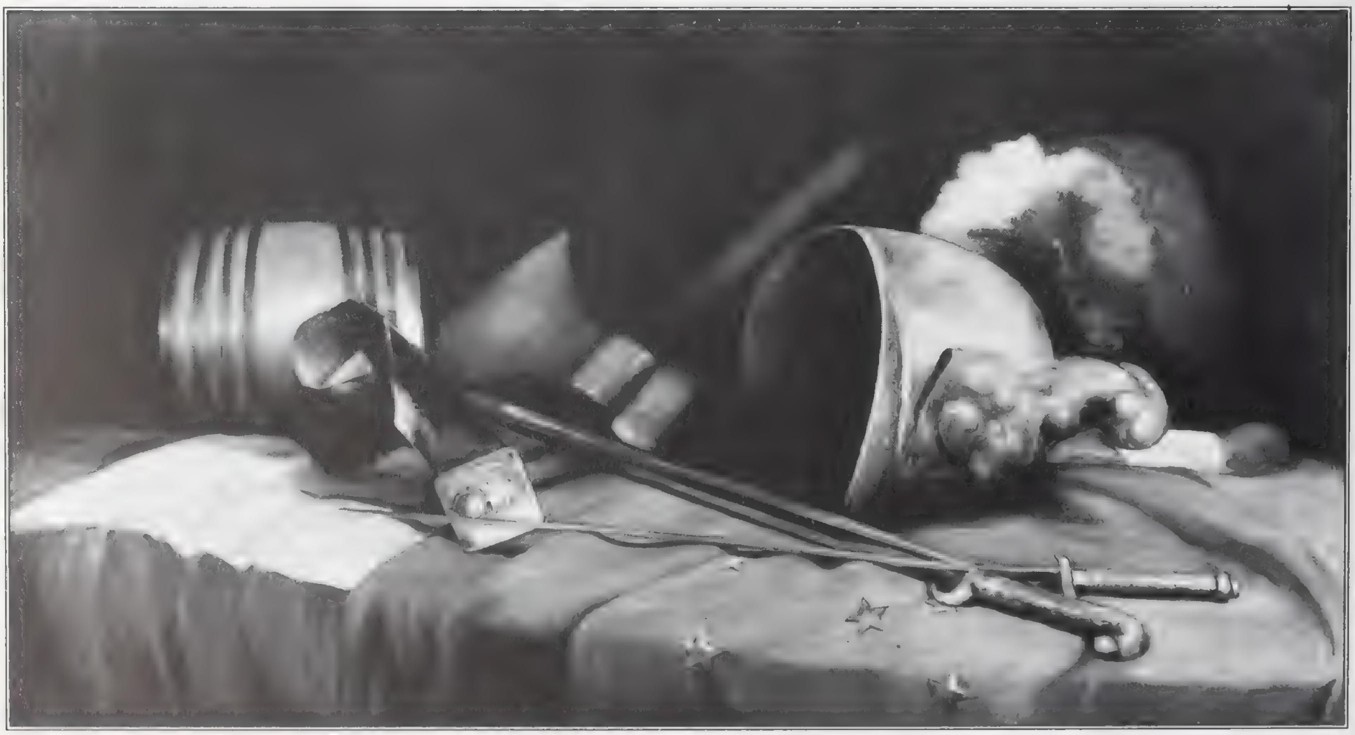
Tanière spent the next six years studying art in Paris. He left the Académie in 1891, the year the celebrated Henri Matisse enrolled there. Returning to San Francisco, Tanière opened a studio and resumed studies at the California School of Design. At the same time he gave art instruction to eleven-year-old Emile Roure, a student of French ancestry who later became an artist in Los Angeles.[59]

Tanière specialized in still-lifes, portraits, and painting intricate scenes on porcelain plates. His career began to blossom in 1891 when he exhibited seven paintings at the Twenty-sixth Industrial Exhibition of the Mechanics' Institute. The next few years were productive for Tanière, whom the Art Association called "an artist of great promise." But the thirty-three-year-old painter met an early death in an accident at the corner of Fulton and Fillmore streets. On March 28, 1895, he lost control of a racing bicycle that he had purchased that very day and crashed into a bituminous rock machine blocking the intersection.

For second-generation French artists who did not leave the United States to study abroad, such as Pauline Aimée Schoenmakers, fellow artists returning from Paris became cultural " links." Schoenmakers, who produced most of her work in the ten years from 1889 to 1899, painted more than a hundred fine canvases, portraits, still-lifes, and landscapes. Instructors such as Joullin, who taught French techniques at the California School of Design, influenced her work.

Born in San Francisco in 1867, to a Belgium father and French mother who had met in New Orleans before continuing west to California, Schoenmakers began sketching at age seventeen. Much of her encouragement came from her older half-sister, Julia Aimée.[60] Schoenmakers attended the California School of Design in the late 1880s, one of many women art students for whom the school made its life-size antique statue casts from France "presentable," by masking or removing the statues' "superfluous appendages."[61]

Schoenmakers explored many media before settling on oils and watercolors. Like Canadian painter Emily Carr, she took classes from Joullin, who taught at the School of Design between 1887 and 1897.[62] Their common fluency in the French language and



Pauline Schoenmakers, *After the War*, n.d., oil on canvas, 40 ½ in. by 22 ¼ in. *Stephen H. Meyer Collection.*

ulture no doubt made Schoenmakers receptive to is teaching. Her best pieces, in fact, were studies in etals, Joullin's particular strength. In 1894, at age wenty-seven, Schoenmakers received a bronze edal at the San Francisco Mid-Winter Fair for *After he War*, shown here, which depicts French weapons ying on a coffin draped with both an American and French flag. That same year, Schoenmakers also was warded an Avery gold medal by the Mark Hopkins nstitute of Art for a painting of a French horn.

Like Joullin, painter Eugène Tanière was also a trong influence on her life and art. Her family and he Tanières had become acquainted through the arge Franco-American community in San Francisco, and the young artists, who were the same age, ecame close friends. Schoenmakers executed a portrait of Tanière as a young man. His abrupt death in March 1895, was a great blow to her.

At age twenty-eight, Schoenmakers retired as an artist. Her marriage to Christian H. Westphal in January 1899, and the birth of their first child in December of that year, marked the end of her artistic career. She never returned to painting, although she returned to the California School of Design in the 1930s to study sculpture. She lived in San Francisco until her death in 1946.

The son of a prominent Santa Clara pioneer family, Ernest Pierre de Saisset, born in 1864, first studied art at the University of Santa Clara, where he received a "Drawing Prize" for an oil painting in 1883.[63] In 1886, like many other young American artists of the period, he sailed to Paris to study at the Académie Julian. With the help of his paternal uncle, who lived in Paris, Ernest found a studio close to the Académie in the Faubourg Saint-Denis district. For nine years the young Californian studied under Bouguereau, Lefebvre, and their colleagues, learning to draw and paint from models and nature. His monthly expenses give evidence of his lifestyle: rent, 42 francs (fr.); school, 25 fr.; paints and canvases, 35 fr.; washing, 12 fr.; food, 125 fr.; oil for lamp, 4 fr.; concièrge, 15 fr.[64]

In frequent correspondence—alternating often between French and English, even within the same letter— to his father, a graduate of the University of Paris, Ernest expressed his longing for the sunny weather and wide-open spaces of San Jose, inquiring about the town's changes, his father's new herd of colts, and requesting that the *San Jose Mercury News* be sent to him. He also reported on "the cold dreadful winters in Paris," his artistic progress, dreams of being exhibited at the Salon, and the high cost of living in Paris, which his father underwrote. De Saisset's younger brother, Pierre (Peter), joined him in 1893 to study violin at the Paris Conservatory. Their letters to their father described their lives in Parisian art and social circles of the 1890s.[65]

Successful and competitive at the Acadèmie Julian, De Saisset was nonetheless frustrated by what appeared to him to be the Paris Salon's favoritism for native French students.[66] He returned to California in 1895, bringing with him numerous oils of French scenes. Here he continued painting. His subjects included nudes, rural scenes, and landscapes of Palo Alto and his family's three-thousand-acre ranch in Alameda County. He also did portraits of prominent local residents and family members, such as a beautiful, evocative oil of his mother having tea on the patio of their Victorian home at 478 Guadelupe Street (now South Market Street) in San Jose, a house his father had bought in 1861.

His life cut short by illness, on December 4, 1899, at age thirty-five, Ernest de Saisset died unexpectedly of rheumatism. He was buried in the Santa Clara Mission cemetery. His grave lies near the De Saisset Art Museum, founded in his memory by his younger sister, Isabelle, at the University of Santa Clara.

By the 1890s, photography had begun to supplant drawing and engraving as a form of illustration. Many artists who had documented early scenes of California history successfully turned to photography, including Victor Prévost, Alexandre Edouart, and Henri Pénelon. In this period, other French artists drifted to California, among them Henry Farny, Maurice Del Mué, and Paul de Longpré, who in Los Angeles came to be known as the "King of Flowers."

Paul De Longpré's father, Jean Antoine Marie Victor, was a *dessinandier*, a painter-artist, who contributed to the fame of Lyon as the world's chief center of textile designs. The author of forty books on fabric design and patterns specifically for the silk industry, he exhibited his work at the Lyon Art Salon of 1849.

De Longpré and his wife, Marie Thérèse Pinchaud, had several children who followed in their father's footsteps: Marie-Victor Raoul, born in 1843; Raoul Henri, born in 1859; and Paul, born in April 1855. Paul not only loved to draw, a skill that ran in the family, but also had an early sense of the commercial aspects of art: he sold his drawings to playmates when he was seven years old. By age twelve, he was able to earn a living painting flowers on folding fans for one of Lyon's silk manufacturers.[67]

On September 14, 1876, with his parents and brothers present, Paul married Joséphine Estiévenard. The couple moved to Paris. De Longpré's flower paintings were exhibited at the Paris Salon of 1877 and again in 1879.The young artist gained wide popularity in France at a time when original artwork was still highly prized for home decoration.

In 1889, however, the bank where de Longpré and his wife kept their savings failed. The couple was left with only a few hundred dollars that they had invested elsewhere. De Longpré boldly opted for a new start and sailed for New York in October of 1890 with Joséphine and their daughters, Alice and Blanche. The first few years were difficult until, in another daring move, de Longpré set up a one-man exhibit of his work. The show was a success and de Longpré's work subsequently was exhibited not only in New York but also in Philadelphia, Boston, and Chicago.

While his career was picking up, the artist was dealt a new blow: he was diagnosed with a brain tumor. Surgery left him weakened, and a mild climate was advised, so De Longpré moved to Los Angeles with his family, which included a third child, Pauline, born in 1898. He resumed painting flowers in watercolors and oils and again met with success. He loved Los Angeles and wrote a friend in 1900: " I have finally found the ideal place to live. The entire world should rendez-vous in Los Angeles, yet it is so little-known; there is enough land around the town to build five or six cities the size of Paris, with the mountains as a backdrop."[68]

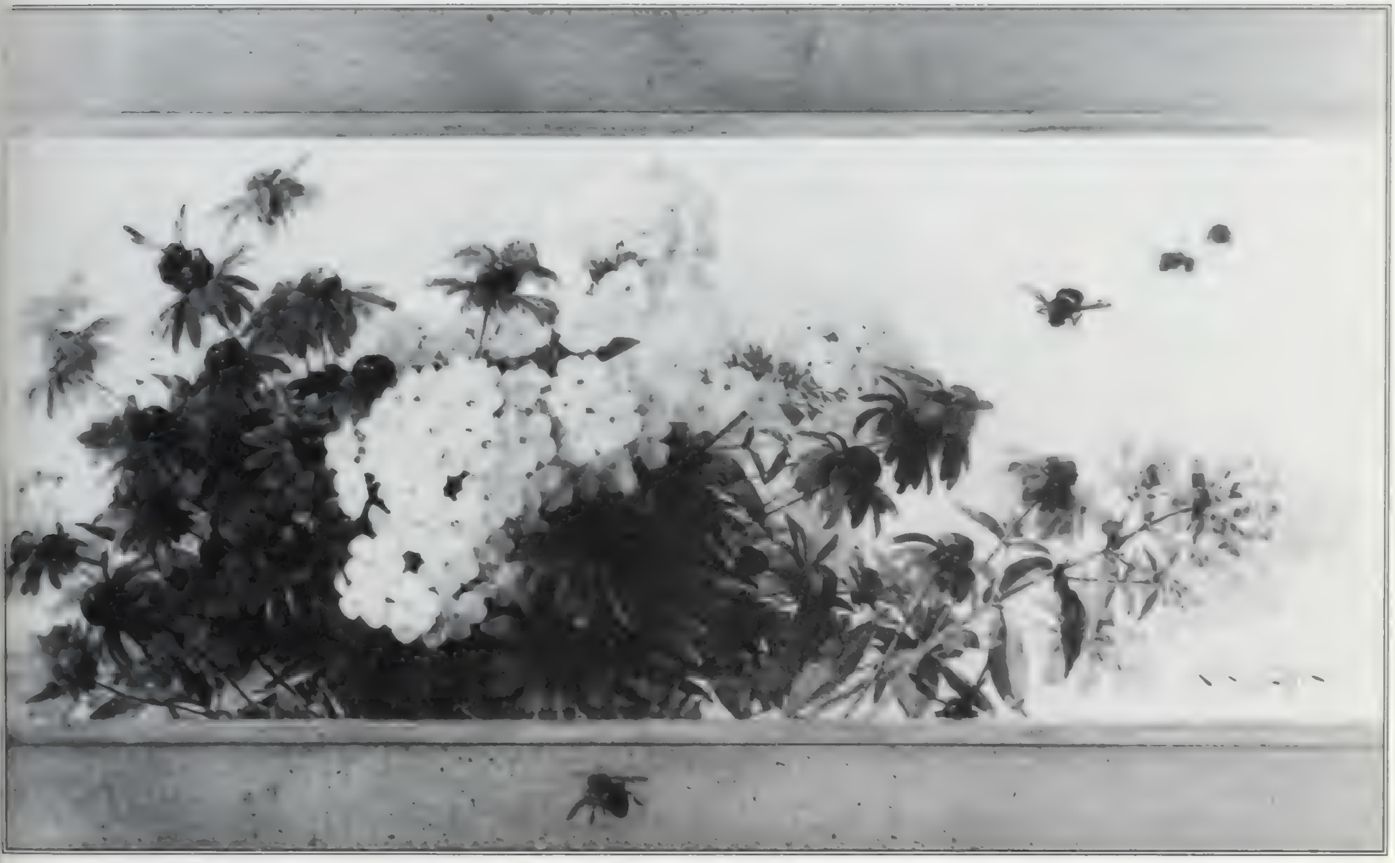
Most of the land in Hollywood then was owned by Harvey and Daeida Wilcox. Daeida Wilcox was one of twenty thousand people who attended a popular exhibit of de Longpré's work in 1900. She dreamed of making Hollywood a cultural center and wanted the painter to become a resident of the budding community. Accordingly, as the story was told, she gave the de Longprés three large adjacent lots in exchange for three of his flower canvases.[69]

There, at the corner of Cahuenga and Prospect avenues (now Hollywood Boulevard), de Longpré built a mansion with twin towers flying American and French flags. The interior was filled with oriental rugs and ornately carved furniture. It was lit with scores of light bulbs, though electricity was still a novelty. De Longpré's paintings covered every inch of wall space or were set up on easels throughout the house. The grand hall was turned into a permanent exhibit of hundreds of his canvases. His brother Raoul joined him and painted there as well.

The "Roi des Fleurs," King of Flowers, as he became known, planted at his home a three-acre rose garden with more than four thousand rose bushes and a profusion of California flowers that he could paint in bloom throughout the year. His estate quickly became a tourist attraction. Postcards of it were printed and sold, streetcars from downtown Los Angeles stopped at the corner of his property, and a popular sightseeing company called the Balloon Route Excursion featured his house on its tours. Twenty-five thousand visitors came in a three-month period alone in 1905 to admire his flowers and, upon invitation, his paintings in the grand hall or in his studio. De Longpré's most famous visitor was President Theodore Roosevelt, who visited in 1903. The Washington White House today owns one of de Longpré's canvases, undoubtedly from that time.[70]

The dynamic French artist died at an early age, fifty-six, on June 29, 1911. His customary annual exhibit was held as a memorial in 1912. His wife and their two youngest daughters then returned to France. De Longpré's palatial home effectively died with its owner, while Hollywood grew and prospered around it. It was demolished in 1927. De Longpré Avenue and de Longpré Park evoke the memory of the " Roi des Fleurs," Hollywood's first living legend.

In the nineteenth century, in part because of the written reports and visual interpretations by these adventuresome French travelers, writers, and artists, California became solidly implanted in the European mythology as a legendary territory, later a new Eldorado, the Golden State. Throughout

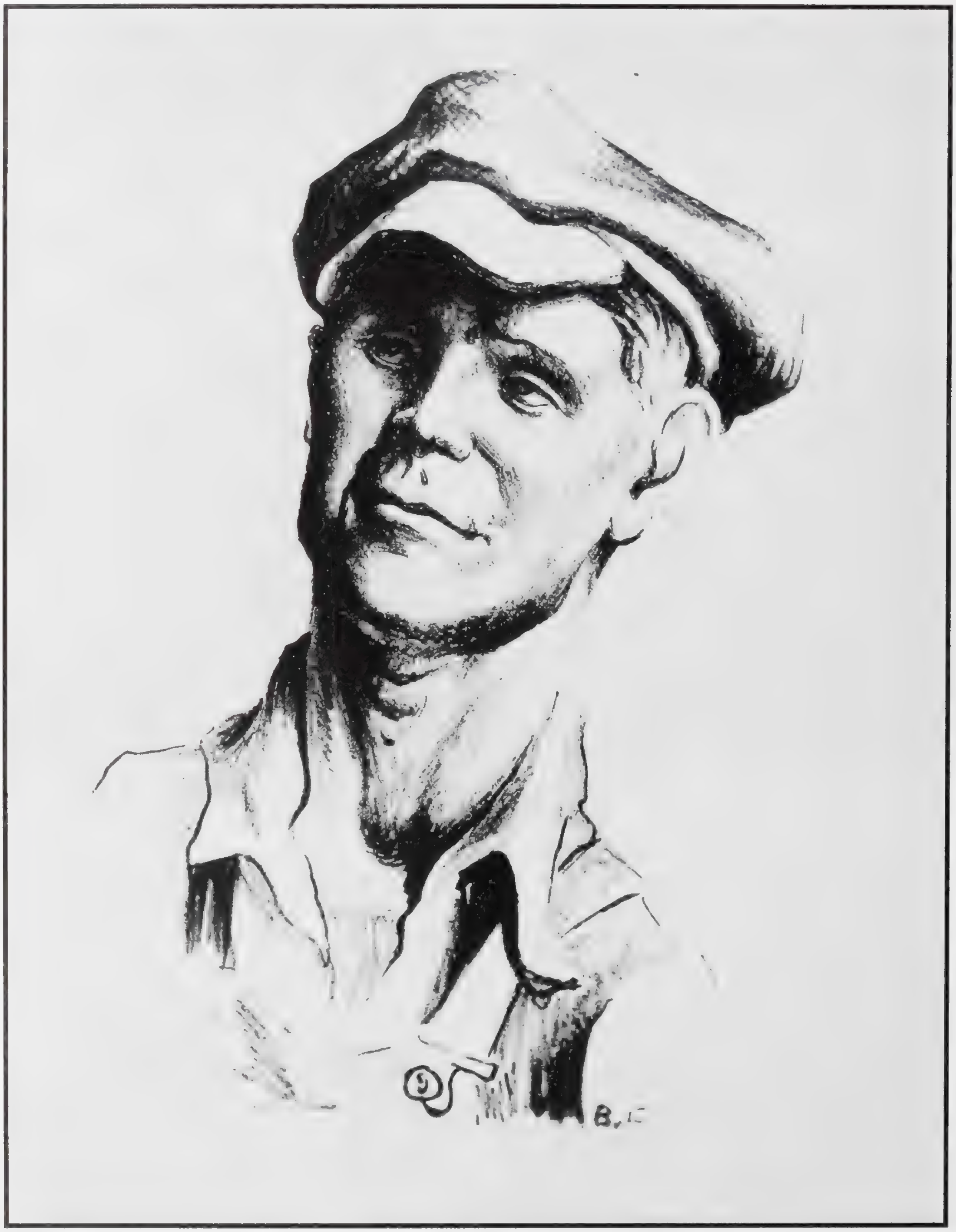


Paul de Longpré (1855-1911), *Black-eyed Susans and Phlox*, 1899, watercolor, 11 ¼ in. by 27 ¼ in.
Private Collection. Photograph courtesy Garzoli Gallery, San Rafael, Calif.

France, hills and neighborhoods took the name "Californie." The expression "Faire une Californie," in the days of the Gold Rush, meant finding great success. While historic French documents have long contributed to the ongoing attraction the French have for California, the presence of the French visitors and settlers discussed here greatly influenced and shaped California's culture from within. Their influence, beginning early in the state's history, flourished with French associations and families whose roots lie deep in California's past. The rich and unique saga of French artists in California uncovers the constant, underlying influence of the French, not only in the evolution of California art from its beginnings, but also in the discovery, settlement, and growth of the entire state.

See notes beginning on page 231.

Claudine Chalmers, born and raised in Cannes, France, was a freelance writer for Random House before completing her dissertation on the French in gold-rush San Francisco, at the University of Nice, 1991. She is now at work on several projects and exhibits concerning the French in California. Her art history book, Splendide Californie! Impressions of the Golden State by French Artists, 1786-1900 (*The Book Club of California*) *is forthcoming.*



Tom Joad, by American artist Thomas Hart Benton (1889-1975). This stark drawing of the novel's leading character was one of a collection of powerfully executed landscapes and portraits that illustrated the 1940 limited edition of John Steinbeck's 1939 *The Grapes of Wrath.* *Courtesy of the Center for Steinbeck Studies, San Jose State University.*

COME BACK, TOM JOAD

Thoughts on a California Dreamer

by Bryant Simon and William Deverell

"Steinbeck's Tom Joad lives."
—David Wyatt, from *Five Fires*[1]

California fiction has its characteristic themes: redemption, hope, reinvention. In California letters, perpetual conscience bears inspiraional witness to struggle. California fiction is replete vith California myths and dreams, large and small. ome are real. Some come true. Some are make-elieve, fictions of deception or fictions of inspiraion.

Whether fictions are of deception or inspiration lepends on who holds the highest interpretive round. Think of the fictional productions of nineeenth-century California and what they mean, or upposedly mean, in today's classrooms, today's ssays and conversations. Bret Harte's gold miners nd gamblers; Frank Norris's McTeague, Annixter, anamee, and Presley. Better yet, Norris's inaninate but nonetheless terribly alive Octopus: that ehemoth born of technology and corporate ruthessness still figures in California popular conciousness.

And Ramona, of course Ramona. Helen Hunt ackson's tragic heroine, a figure the author meant o be at the eye of a protest storm over the treatment f California native populations but who instead ecame appropriated as the sun-dappled feminine con of a romantic California past, a Ramona of wistul sentiments and sighing nostalgia.

Appropriation happens. It happens to all literary igures that enter the popular lexicon and popular magination, without fail and without exception. amiliarity breeds malleability, as subtle and complex fictional characters become stock figurines oped to purposes often deeply at odds with authorial intent, context, or ambitions. Appropriation happens to Gatsby and Huck Finn and Captain Ahab. It happens to Tom Sawyer and Nick Adams, to Holly Golightly and Faulkner's Snopes.

It happens, too, to Tom Joad, California's most enduring fictional figure of the twentieth century, John Steinbeck's most important character, the protagonist of *The Grapes of Wrath*. For sixty years, people have refigured Tom Joad and his itinerant Oklahoma family. Tom Joad, Steinbeck's figure of smoldering witness, the passive observer turned violent activist and communitarian conscience, has been grabbed by figures right and left to stand for something, represent something, or, in recent vintage, to represent nothing at all, rendered void of the political meaning deliberately invested in him by John Steinbeck (and others). Joad is nothing short of the masculine and twentieth-century version of Ramona, bent to fancy.

"The Joad family of John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath* now spends its Sundays at the country club," ran the opening line to a newspaper article of recent vintage, as if generational and occupational mobility of the Joads is now the last word on the novel and its characters. Ironically, identity gets all the more slippery when fictional characters are rendered as real, country club or not. Unlike each of those make-believe individuals mentioned above, with the notable exception of Ramona, Tom Joad and the Joads have always been seen not as imaginary at all, not fictional, but real. This only complicates the meaning and depth of their popular appropriation. As one prominent literary critic of the 1940s saw it, "The Joads are alive; it is impossible to regard them as mere characters in a story."[2]

"You may remember that the Joad family in Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath* began their western journey at Sallisaw, Oklahoma," wrote writer and singer Worden McDonald. "I knew the Joads very well." He wasn't alone. For if the Joads were real, they could be found. And they were: by Congressional hearings investigating California agricultural and migrant worker conditions, by labor organizers investigating sweat-shop conditions in 1940s New York City, even by Carey McWilliams, who entitled a chapter in one of his non-fiction chronicles after the Joads. "Of the million-plus migrants to come into California between 1930 and 1940," historian Kevin Starr writes, "the Joads . . . quickly became the few migrants to be known by name."[3] Steinbeck himself went back to Oklahoma to look for the Joads to see how they fared in the Fifties.

But Tom Joad isn't real. Tom Joad is a myth, with all the attendant attractions, all the false and real promises of myth, and all its complexities of identity and meaning, like the California Dream of which he is a part. Tom Joad is John Steinbeck holed up in a Los Gatos writing cottage. Tom Joad is Steinbeck in the Central Valley learning about want and Dust Bowl misery at the shoulder of Farm Security Administration figure Tom Collins. Tom Joad is director John Ford and screenwriter Nunnally Johnson putting together a Warner Brothers film. Tom Joad is Henry Fonda saying a fierce good-bye to his make-believe mother. Tom Joad is Woody Guthrie. Tom Joad is Woody Guthrie's son, Joady Ben. Tom Joad is Bruce Springsteen singing a sad song. Tom Joad is Worden McDonald's son, singer Country Joe McDonald, called Joad and Joady by his father all his life. Tom Joad is folk-rock artist Steve Earle. Tom Joad is the Maoist rock group Rage Against the Machine, with its brutal rendition of Springsteen's "The Ghost of Tom Joad."

Because Steinbeck hit a nerve with the invention of Tom Joad, because of the character's remarkable and lasting stature in American culture, Tom Joad is malleable. Our purpose in this essay, part of a longer discussion about Tom Joad and American culture, is to suggest a reconsideration of Tom Joad or, more accurately, of the many Tom Joads. One of these Tom Joads is an avowedly political figure.[4]

Appropriation and interpretation of course began with the novel. Its troubled (though overwhelmingly successful) reception began the process of complex cultural resonance. Of course there were battles. Steinbeck knew he'd get them; he'd seen as much in the wake of his *Grapes of Wrath* test-drive novel, *In Dubious Battle*. *Grapes* sold like hotcakes, but it also got panned in some circles and banned in some places. Marked as communist or, at the least, a fellow-traveling manifesto, the novel ran into the teeth of California's Associated Growers and assorted politicos out to debunk the story of tough Depression times in the radicalizing crucible of the California Central Valley. The growers, in concert with allies in the state capital, even went on a hunt for the Joads themselves and found the happy, contented, and carefree Hoad family. *The Grapes of Gladness*, released not long after Steinbeck's masterpiece, told *their* improbable story.

Politicized backlash was as much a response to Tom Joad as it was to the entire film, the whole novel, or any individual scenes. Tom Joad scared people because Steinbeck wanted him to. The novel, he said, "had a job to do." Director John Ford softened the message somewhat, by leaning into Ma Joad's matriarchal benevolence, but Henry Fonda's furious Joad burned through the screen nonetheless. His daughter recalls that Tom Joad was Fonda's favorite character, by far, of the hundreds he played throughout his long career.

But it must be pointed out that Henry Fonda's Tom Joad was fairly one-dimensional. He gave the figure a face, a famous soliloquy and, it should be noted, a hat, soon to be marketed as the Joad Cap—but not much else. Nor did Fonda's off-screen politics match his character's on-screen fire or fervent hopes for a more expansive California dreamocracy. Henry Fonda was but one Tom Joad.

But so too was Woody Guthrie. No single person —not Fonda, not Steinbeck, not Tom Collins, to whom the novel was dedicated—better exemplified, even personified the character of Tom Joad, than

Bruce Springsteen.
Copyright 1996 Sony Music.
Courtesy Shore Fire Media, Ltd.

Woody Guthrie. Not long after the film version of the novel had its 1940 debut, Guthrie went to New York at the invitation of actor Will Geer to play at a benefit concert for the John Steinbeck Committee for Agricultural Workers. Fast becoming a recognized balladeer of the Dust Bowl, Woody played a few traditional songs and hillbilly tunes, along with Leadbelly and Aunt Molly Jackson.

Once the concert was over, Guthrie was not ready to call it a night. He grabbed his friend Pete Seeger and asked him if he knew where to find a typewriter. The Victor record people, he told Seeger, "want me to write a song about *The Grapes of Wrath*." Seeger did know where to find a typewriter, and the two folk singers headed off to an apartment on the lower East Side. They stopped for a jug of wine. At the apartment, Guthrie went right to work. Writing without notes and typing at lightning speed, he typed verse after verse. He walked in circles around the room. He played chords and sang in a low, muffled voice. It was late, and Pete Seeger went to bed. When he woke the next morning, he found Woody Guthrie curled up asleep on the floor, the seventeen verses of "Tom Joad" still in the typewriter. Woody Guthrie was tremendously proud of his new song. "I think the ballad of the Joads is the best thing I've done so far," he said.[5]

Guthrie's Tom Joad was drawn first from John Ford's Tom Joad, not, if the distinction matters, on John Steinbeck's Tom Joad. "Good movie," Guthrie told Pete Seeger. "Go see the Grapes of Wrath," Woody urged readers of his column in the *Daily Worker*. "Best cussed pitcher I ever seen."[6]

Woody Guthrie created a *Grapes of Wrath* and a Tom Joad for the masses, even broader masses than those who bought the best-selling novel. There are "people back in Oklahoma haven't got two bucks to buy the book, or even thirty-five cents to see the movie," Woody explained, "but [my] song will get back to them." Set to the tune of the ballad of the West Virginia outlaw John Hardy, Guthrie's "Tom Joad" closely follows the action of John Ford's film version of *The Grapes of Wrath*.[7]

"We got to git away Tom," Ma Joad says in the song's early stanzas. Of course the Joads go to California, because Steinbeck sent them there and because the redemptive California Dream has long been tied to westward mobility. Guthrie's Joads head west to the "promised land," where "there was work for every single hand." The road was hard. Once in California, the Oklahoma migrants find that the land of milk and honey is really a place of raw meanness: jungle camps, hungry little kids, a vicious deputy sheriff, the barrel of a gun. California's false promises tested fragile faith. The minister Casey begins to preach a new gospel, telling "workin' folks . . . to stick together." His this-world faith arouses the anger of a "vigilante thug," who clubs the preacher dead. "He laid preacher Casey on the ground," Guthrie sang. Outraged, Tom Joad then kills the deputy and sets out for a life on the run. Quoting Ford's film almost verbatim, Guthrie's ballad ends with Tom telling his mother:

> Ever'body might be just one big soul
> Well it looks that a way to me
> So everywhere you look in th' day or th' night
> That's where I'm a gonna be ma
> That's where I'm a gonna be.
> Wherever little kids are hungry and cry
> Wherever people ain't free
> Where men are fightin for their rights
> That's where I'm gonna be, ma
> That's where I'm a gonna be.[8]

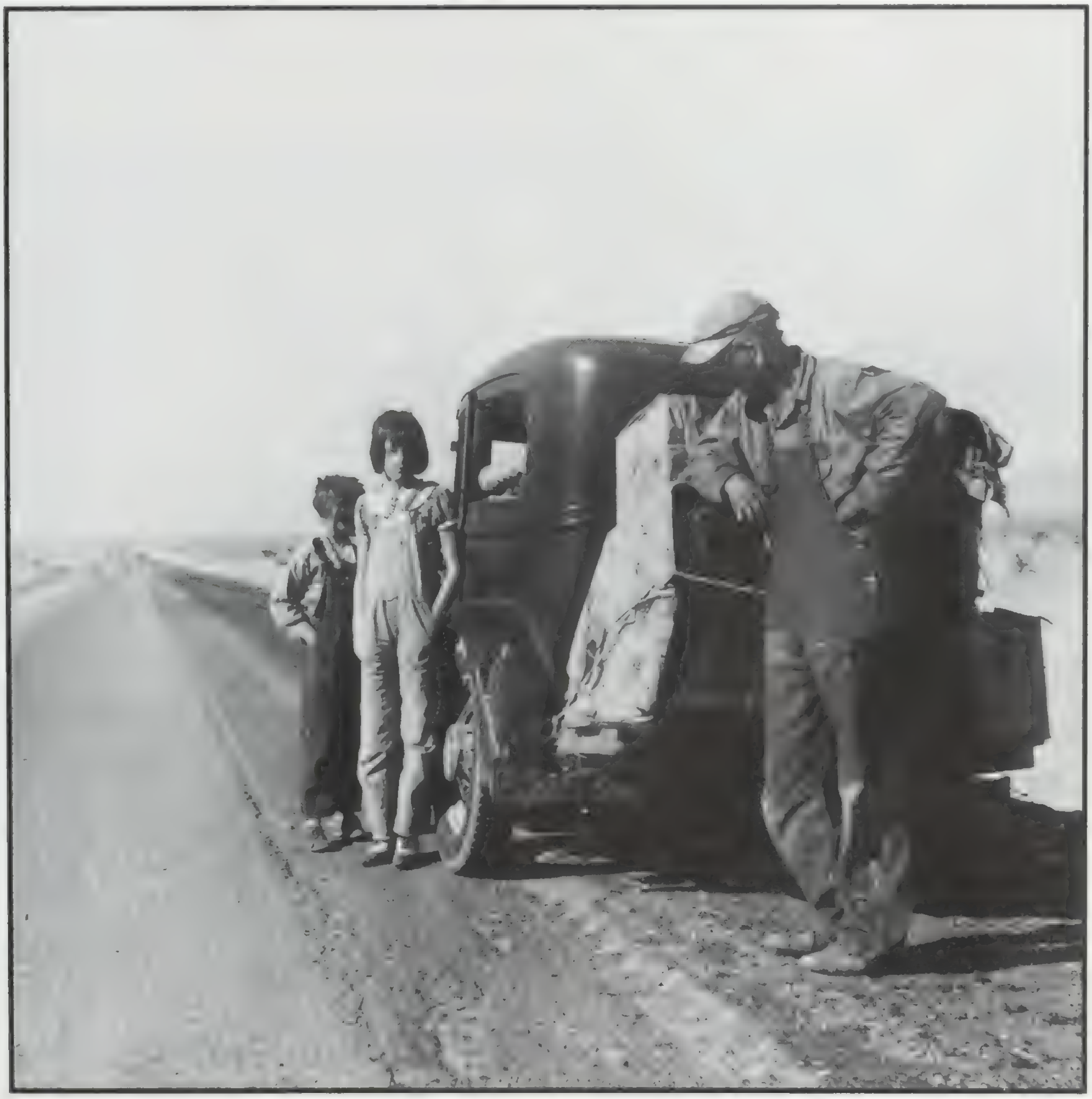
Like the novel and the film, Guthrie's song was long. It was, he joked, a "long son-of-gun." "Take a deep breath," he said, "and sail into it."[9] Seventeen verses and more than seven minutes long, "Tom Joad" could not be pressed onto a single record and so originally appeared as "Tom Joad, Part I and Tom Joad, Part II." Nevertheless, Guthrie's Joad story is a pared-down version of Ford's sprawling narrative, which was, of course, itself a pared-down version of Steinbeck's own sprawling narrative.

But while Guthrie's "Tom Joad" might have boiled down the action from the Steinbeck and Ford stories to essential details, his version of the Joad story and the Tom Joad character delivered a clear political message. His was, in fact, a clearer political message than those offered by either John Steinbeck or John Ford.

In the novel, and again in the film, Tom Joad vows to spend the rest of his life bearing witness to inequity and struggle. Woody Guthrie's Joad does the same, but with an important twist. He turns Tom Joad into a dogged union organizer with an uncompromising Popular Front agenda. Perfectly mirroring Guthrie's own down-home, left-wing politics, his Tom Joad addresses the battle between the rich and the poor, and the need for working people to stick together if they ever want to end their hardships. Woody Guthrie celebrated the film for its focus on Everyman, the ordinary working man. "You was the star in that picture," he wrote to readers in *The Daily Worker*. "Go and see your own self, and hear your own words, and your own song." But Guthrie wanted Joad and the people to go one step further. Telling a "true" story of the people was not enough for him. It was the starting point in a call to action. In other words, where the movie ends, Guthrie's Tom Joad begins.

Like Ford's Joad—his model—Guthrie's Joad will be there, "wherever little kids are hungry" and "wherever people ain't free." But he will be there as a partisan voice "wherever men are fighting for their rights." Less like the Fonda character, Woody Guthrie's Tom Joad is closer to a Californian Joe Hill, the Joe Hill who told his followers, just before he was hanged, "Don't Mourn, Organize."

Woody Guthrie did not simply cut scenes and imagery for his "Tom Joad" from the film version of *The Grapes of Wrath*. The singer knew something about Tom Joad and his family, real or not. Born in Okemah, Oklahoma, in 1912, Woodrow Wilson Guthrie grew up in relative comfort. His father was a successful real estate broker, a player in local politics. Beginning in 1918, though, hard times hit the family. Charley Guthrie's business dried up, and his political connections dissolved. Woody's mother, Nora, who had taught him how to sing, began a long and tortured battle with depression exacerbated by the debilitating, and undiagnosed, progression of Huntington's chorea. Mysterious fires plagued the family. Their house burned down. Nora scorched Charley with a kerosene lamp. Woody's baby sister Cathy burned to death doing chores. The family fell apart. Nora ended up in a run-down sanitarium, unable to recognize Woody. She died there in 1927. Broke, beaten, and robbed of, in Murray Kempton's



Stranded on the highway during their journey to California, this Oklahoma sharecropper family was photographed by Dorothea Lange, whose well-known photographs documented the plight of migrant workers during the 1930s. Their stories served as the raw material for John Steinbeck's classic novel. *Courtesy of the Bancroft Library.*

phrase, "every illusion of hope," Charley Guthrie left Oklahoma and settled in the panhandle town of Pampa, Texas, barely eking out a small-farm living.[10] Woody moved with him in 1929, but he did not stay long. He never stayed anywhere for long. "I'm a road man," he later confessed.[11]

In the middle of the 1930s, as the great dust storms blew across the Southwest, Woody, always restless, crisscrossed the country, going from Texas to California and back a couple of times. Along the way, he ran into the "bum blockade" set up by the Los Angeles Police Department along the California-Arizona border, where he heard well-to-do women and men contemptuously spit out the word "Okie" at people like him. During this time, Woody never held a steady job. He picked fruit, painted a sign or two, helped out a carpenter, and sailed with the merchant marine. But mostly he just got by, cadging meals by singing Okie songs in bars, on skid row, and in the migrant camps.

In the spring of 1937, Woody moved to the Los Angeles suburb of Glendale. Soon after, he hooked up with a cousin on local radio station KVFD. Mixing folk ballads and homespun humor, their daily show quickly gained a loyal following. The partnership eventually broke up, and Woody started his own show. His programs began to strike louder and more explicit political themes. Woody combined songs about the dust storms and the bitter plight of the migrants. Woody's radio show caught the attention of local labor leaders and members of the Communist Party.

By the late 1930s, Guthrie appeared regularly at Communist Party rallies and tailored his songs to his new audience. He knew that party members revered, and were in some ways jealous of, "real" working people—people like him who came over to their side because of their day-to-day lives, not because of what they read in party pamphlets and heard in parlor debates. As Woody once boasted: "Most proud of anything, if anything, is the fact that I seem to have been born a shade pink, and didn't have to read many books to be a proletariat." "As long as the pore folks fights the rich folks war," he wrote in September 1939, "you'll keep having pore folks, rich folks, and wars . . . I wood have lots of fights if I had another feller to fight them for me."[12]

As Woody's identification with the Left strengthened, he became something of a local celebrity. Woody met the actor Will Geer, and the two men struck up a friendship. In the fall of 1939, Geer left southern California for New York and the starring role in the Broadway production of Erskine Caldwell's *Tobacco Road*. He soon suggested that Woody join him. It was Geer who had organized the Steinbeck migrant-worker fundraiser where Woody asked Pete Seeger to find him a typewriter.[13]

Four months after the benefit, in July 1940, RCA's Victor Records released Woody Guthrie's "Tom Joad." The song was part of Guthrie's famous collection *Dust Bowl Ballads*, which he dedicated to John Steinbeck.[14] Produced by legendary musicologist Alan Lomax, *Dust Bowl Ballads* echoed many of the themes sounded in Steinbeck's novel and Ford's film. Critics praised the collection not so much for Guthrie's voice or his music, but because of its authenticity. Woody Guthrie, commentators said, was real. His life was the life of the hard-hit Okie characters in his songs. Both the critics and Guthrie —Woody once dubbed himself the "dustiest of the dust bowlers"—understood the importance of this search for what was real and played it up.[15]

Dust Bowl Ballads, the editors of the Brooklyn *Eagle* suggested in 1940, "tell a moving story as only Singer Guthrie can tell it—with true understanding of the plight of the 'Oakies,' the Arkies, and the Texies."[16] Other commentators pulled selected, and sometimes imagined, events from Guthrie's life to demonstrate the singer's authenticity. In the spring of 1940, Steinbeck's friend, actor Burgess Meredith, introduced Guthrie to a radio audience as "one of those Okies who, dispossessed from their farms, journeyed in jalopies to California."[17] One critic wrote, "Here is a wry-witted word-volcano, a prophet singer, who was *there* with the migratory workers in the California orchards, with the assembly-line robots trying to become men in the union organizing drives . . . Guthrie was there—on the trains, the highways, the torpedo–threatened merchant marine sea lanes."[18] Guthrie was, in other words, both real victim and honest witness.

The strongest proof that Guthrie was real was his resemblance to Tom Joad. Observers repeatedly paired, and even confused, the songwriter with the Steinbeck character. It didn't matter that Tom Joad was a fiction. For many, he was the real, the most real and most recognizable, emblem of the Great Depression. That remains the incredible power of fiction. Its creations can become templates for reality, even though they are but representations of the world, imagined truths. California radio producer Ed Robbin's description of Guthrie could just as easily have been a description of Tom Joad. Guthrie, Robbins insisted, "had ridden . . . the jalopies," just like Joad.

He had "worked the orchards and the fields," just ke Joad. Woody Guthrie had also "faced the cops nd the clubs of vigilantes." An RCA press release or *Dust Bowl Ballads* boasted that Guthrie's songs, document . . . the great contemporary scene so dramatically related by John Steinbeck in his book, 'The Grapes of Wrath'." The singer "is himself an Oakie.'"[19] *The Daily Worker* went even further, suggesting that Guthrie was a Joad himself. "He can tell you about the Dust Bowl," an unnamed writer pointed out, "the original characters of 'The Grapes of Wrath.'"[20] What made Guthrie real, then, was not ust his experiences on the road or in the migrant camps or skid–row bars, but his resemblance to Tom Joad. Life imitated art. Ironically that's what made t real and authentic.

"The story of Tom Joad is one that a lot of boys went through," Guthrie wrote, linking his stories, and his legitimacy, to *The Grapes of Wrath*.[21] "These songs are about my folks and my relatives—about a jillion of them—that got hit by the drought, the dust and the wind, the banker and the landlord and the police all at the same time. It was these things all added up that caused us Okies to pack our wives and children into the rattletrap jallopies and light out down the highway in all directions, mostly to California."[22] He knew. He had ridden the rails, he had driven Route 66. He had picked the fruit and lived the life. He was the real Tom Joad. He was the man with the son named Joady Ben.

The Joads were in Woody Guthrie; the Joads, he insisted, *were* him. "The Grapes of Wrath," he wrote, "you know is about us a pullin' out of Oklahoma and Arkansas, and down south, and a driftin' around over the state of California, busted, disgusted, down and out, and a lookin' for work." It "shows you how come us to be that way," Woody continued. Like the song "Tom Joad," the lesson of the story was to organize. "The Grapes of Wrath," Woody insisted, "says you got to get together, and raise old billy hell till you get your job, and get your farm back and your house and your chickens and your groceries and your clothes, and your money back."[23] Working together, people could turn the world right side up.

Tom Joad remained at the center of this moral drama about America, an America of possible redemption, saved from its ugliest impulses by the power of conscience. In later years, Woody Guthrie, sick with Huntington's chorea and unable to perform, kept coming back to the ghost of Tom Joad. Fifteen years after he typed out his ballad of Tom Joad, he wrote a short play about the Okie Everyman. Tom Joad still mattered, he was still needed to face the vigilante man and not back down. And he still promised to stand by hungry and crying children, organize the unorganized, and fight for "folkes . . . fightin f'r their rights."[24]

Woody Guthrie and Tom Joad, linked beacons of redemption and mythic promise. Just a few years ago, Steve Earle, one of the leaders of the new wave of Americana music sweeping the country, worried that the nation was "going straight to hell." "There's killers on the highway," he sang, "there's foxes in the henhouse":

> So come back Woody Guthrie
> Come back to us now
> Tear your eyes from paradise and rise up again somehow
> If you run into Jesus maybe he can help you out
>
> Come back Woody Guthrie to us now
> I followed in your footsteps once back in my travelin' days
> Somehow I failed to find your trail
> Now I'm stumbling through the haze.[25]

A couple of years before Steve Earle tried to rouse the spirit of Woody Guthrie, Bruce Springsteen also began a wistful search for political meaning in modern America. He, too, reached back to the 1930s. Springsteen went looking for the ghost of Woody Guthrie and found Tom Joad. Not surprisingly, Bruce Springsteen's Tom Joad sounded a lot like Steve Earle's Woody Guthrie.

Springsteen's 1995 album, *The Ghost of Tom Joad*, is something of a state of the union address. And state of the union addresses are, by definition, reports on the vitality of the American Dream. Tom Joad stands at the heart of this report and Springsteen's ambivalent reckoning.[26] It is this tragic and complicated figure, not Henry Ford, Abraham Lincoln, or some Horatio Alger hero, who is Bruce Springsteen's quintessential American figure.

In the late 1930s, the written or sung Tom Joad bore witness to the problems of the nation, and, at least in Bruce Springsteen's vision, he continues to do so. As he sings,

> Mom, wherever there's a cop beatin' a guy
> Wherever a hungry newborn baby cries
> Where there's a fight 'gainst the blood and hatred in the air
> Look for me Mom I'll be there
> Wherever there's somebody fightin' for a place to stand
> Or a decent job or helpin' hand
> Wherever somebody's strugglin' to be free
> Look in their eyes Mom you'll see me

In his concert dates tied to the album, Springsteen demonstrated the importance of Joad for the 1990s by opening every show with this song. Speaking directly to his audience, he then repeated Tom Joad's soliloquy from the film. It is the *promise* of American democracy, Joad and Springsteen remind us, that binds a nation and people together.[27]

Somewhere between the lines of Tom Joad's words and Springsteen's song lyrics lies Bruce Springsteen's expressly communitarian vision of a just America. In this view, if any members of the nation remain ill-fed, ill-clad, or ill-housed, it is the duty of the haves to help the have-nots. "The country," the singer recently said, "is judged not by just its accomplishments, but by its compassion, by the health and welfare of its citizens."[28] On more than one occasion he said, "nobody wins unless everybody wins; there ain't no party unless everybody's invited."[29] This is not an American or California Dream of acquisition, conspicuous consumption, or trying to keep up with the Joneses: it "ain't," in Springsteen's words, "about two cars in a garage; it's about people living and working together without stepping on each other." When anyone in America is left out of the American Dream, the dream itself is an illusion. "I don't think there is any such thing as an innocent man; there is a collective responsibility."[30] Springsteen has constructed his communitarian and democratic notion of America from an array of sources. Henry Steele Commager and Allan Nevins's *Pocket History of the United States*, which he read on tour traveling through Europe in the mid-1980s, taught him that "the idea [of America] was that there'd be a place for everybody, no matter where you came from, no matter what religion you were, or what color you were, you could help make a life that had some decency and some dignity to it."[31] The lessons he took from American politics, from the legacies of the New Deal and the protest movements of the 1960s, were lessons about racial, economic, and social egalitarianism.

So what has happened to that vision of America as community? And why must Tom Joad be brought back as a witness for contemporary America? In *The Ghost of Tom Joad*, Springsteen taps into the historical moment of the nation's deepest economic crisis. This is a meaningful reference, and the point is that the connections to the Great Depression are real: structural failures in the economy, not individual shortcomings, now as then, destroy community and make a mockery of the American good life. Too many people have been left out of the promise to justify the success of those who have made it. This is an album about people on the road, wandering ever westward, living beneath railroad tracks, "sleeping on a pillow of solid rock" and "bathin' in the city aqueduct." This is an album, and this is an America, stalked by the specter of the Great Depression. "Hot soup on a campfire under the bridge, shelter lines stretchin' round the corner, welcome to the new world order," Springsteen sings in the title song, sardonically telling us that not much is new at all.

These notions about the past and these explicit references to Tom Joad represent more than a metaphor, more than a comparison to patterns of economic uncertainty and loss in the Depression and today. The singer's stark exploration about the inherently American continuities in westward wanderings and the realization of the limits of dreams also signifies the album's and the artist's aesthetic, and inextricably ties *The Ghost of Tom Joad* to powerful traditions of American narrative and image-making. The echoes that can be heard long after the singer's voice dies out are the words, ideas, sounds, and pictures not only of a novel's or a film's Tom Joad, but of John Steinbeck and John Ford, of Dorothea Lange and Paul Taylor, and of Woody Guthrie and Carey McWilliams. These are the artists whose words and mages help make up the great documentary impulse f the 1930s, and it is to their example and work that pringsteen owes allegiance in this album.[32]

The documentary genre was the major artistic hrust of the 1930s, the artistic and intellectual focus f the era was, as historian William Appleman Villiams reminds us, "the documentary idiom." The asis of documentary is an idea or statement that vhat is being portrayed is real, it happened, it exists. he storyteller says to the audience: "I was there. I aw it with my own eyes. I am an eyewitness. Trust ne." That eyewitness role is critical: Steinbeck lived n the Central Valley and wrote newspaper articles bout it; Lange drove up and down the state; the conomist Paul Taylor lived "on the ground in the hirties." We've seen how Guthrie embodied, or ried to embody, that spirit through the Joad character. The same documentary impulse works in Springsteen. His stories, many derived from firsthand accounts of contemporary journalists, are trustworthy: true if not real, real if not true.[33] It is worth noting that Springsteen actually provides footnotes for his *Ghost of Tom Joad* lyrics, citing books, articles, and film.[34]

However, truth, whatever that may be or mean, is not exactly the point. In *Documentary Expression and Thirties America*, historian William Stott writes that the 1930s documentaries were not necessarily designed to reveal some sort of essential reality but were expressly intended to elicit emotion and empathy. Think of Dorothea Lange's *Migrant Mother*. This is a photograph that triggers feelings of pain, sadness, and loss. Cultural historian Warren Susman, in his essay on the 1930s, writes that "the whole idea of documentary, not with words alone but with sight and sound, makes it possible to see, know, and feel the details of life, to feel oneself part of some other's experience."[35] One cannot read Carey McWilliams's *Factories in the Field*, the brilliant non-fictional companion to *The Grapes of Wrath*, and not imagine or feel what it would be like to be a poor migrant worker picking vegetables in the hot sun of California's Depression-era Central Valley.

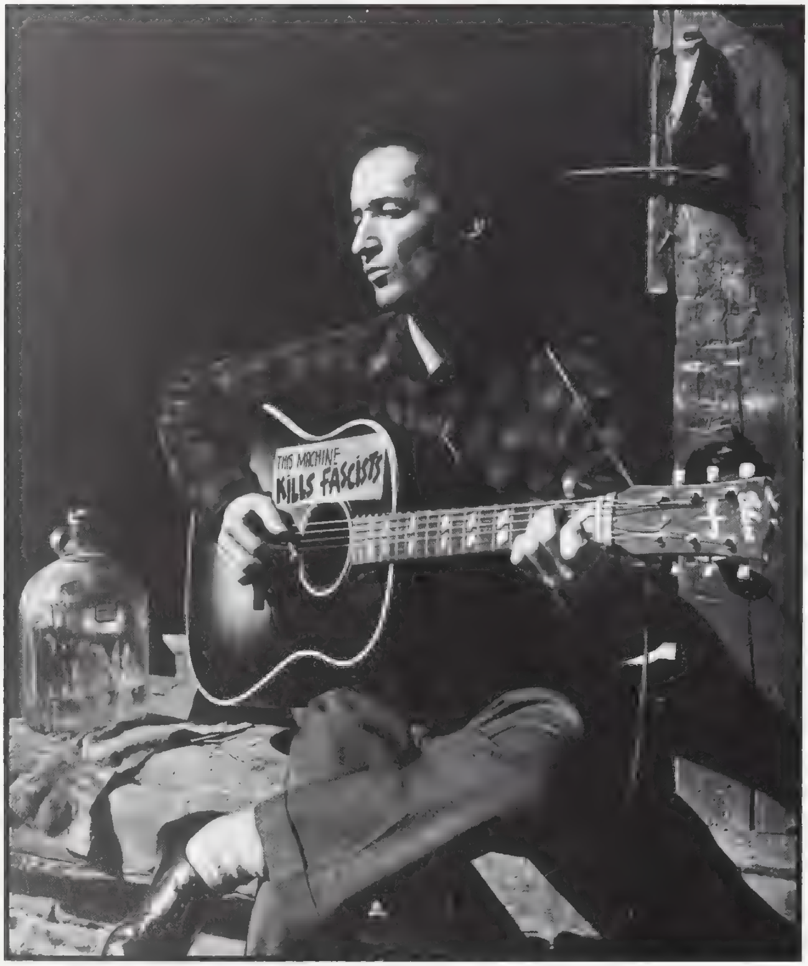
Carey McWilliams was no exception to the documentary project or its paradigms. The documentarians all wrote about or depicted what people in the 1930s called "the common man." Theirs was a project to create art not just for the millions but *about* the millions.[36]

As Springsteen recently said in a "60 Minutes" interview: "I start out to try and tell a good story . . . one where something is revealed, something happens, where I create characters that come to life, that are real, that are recognizable, they could be you, they could be me. . . . And I ask the listener to walk in those shoes."[37]

Those shoes take Bruce Springsteen to the edges of America and to the borders of American experience. Here, in the shadows of the Dream, Springsteen discovers that the mythology of American success is something of a lie. If, as one scholar has said, it was John Steinbeck who "made the proletarian novel sing," it is contemporary artists like Bruce Springsteen who sing the proletarian novel.[38]

Nowhere, perhaps, has the Dream fallen harder than in California. Half the songs on the Joad album are about California, Springsteen's home through much of the 1990s. This focus further ties the artist to the documentarians of the past: it is where many of them came to gather stories for their own versions of state of the union addresses. It ties Springsteen back, once again, to Tom Joad. Tom Joad came west, as have countless millions of others in search of the American Dream before and since. But what many find, of course, is no dreamland but, instead, a shadow America. Pushing aside the triumphalism of "westwardly freedom," Springsteen and the earlier generation of documentarians all encountered the stories of outsiders in the West. Springsteen goes directly to the border between the United States and Mexico: to the Sierra Madre and to the trans-national river, to San Diego and to the flatlands around Tijuana, where he sees Mexicans looking and hoping for their chance at the American Dream.

At those edges, on those borders, Bruce Springsteen, for the first time in his career, encounters and sings about people of color. These are the Californians he is most interested in, and the stories he tells are about Mexicans. Now the spirit of Tom Joad runs through the lives and bodies of these people. Tom



Folk troubadour Woody Guthrie (1912-1967).
Courtesy Woody Guthrie Foundation and Archives.

Joad's West has become their North. Their American experience makes Springsteen uneasy. These people also make others, the framers of California's Propositions 187 and 209, for instance, uneasy. But these are different kinds of anxiety.

Mexican men named Luis, Oklahomans named Tom Joad, Bruce Springsteen and John Steinbeck, the dreamscape of California, the links are apparent: the 1930s and the 1990s. Riding the rails, sneaking across the border, going to California—the meaning is in the stories and the feelings that they evoke.

But the 1990s are not the 1930s. What has changed most dramatically is America's political culture. The New Deal and the Great Depression pushed concerns over economic morality to the center of political debate. Throughout the 1930s, groups and individuals fought over fundamental questions about the distribution of wealth. And the documentarians, writers, and artists fit into these debates in important and lasting ways; the photographs of Lange and the Farm Security Administration teams, the loosely fictional writings of Steinbeck, and the songs of Woody Guthrie were important components of a critical political dialogue: they informed, they angered, they moved people and politicians alike in part because Tom Joad—what he meant, what he stood for, who he was—was, if not understood by consensus, at least a familiar debate. The documentarins tried, through their art, stories, and exposés, to hine spotlights on American problems. The soluions they proposed had everything to do with govrnmental action. They were engaged in those fights t the core of American politics.

However, the echoes of the 1930s that we hear in pringsteen's stories are in some ways mocking, simly because what was once central in political disourse is now marginalized. Diversionary issues ominate the political discourse. For the New Deal, ocial problems could best be handled by decisive, old federal action. Equality of outcome became an mportant objective. Over the past generation, howver, the terms of the debate have shifted dramatially, culminating in President Ronald Reagan's 1981 eclaration that "Government is not the solution to ur problem. Government is the problem."

Someone like Bruce Springsteen goes to the edges nd to the borders, but his message languishes at the argins as well. Despite the political nature of pringsteen's music, despite presidential attempts to dopt him, and despite album sales in the tens of millions, he has hardly made a political dent in contemporary America. Political America doesn't debate Springsteen stories or Springsteen lyrics. Guthrie, Lange, Steinbeck, and Taylor may have lost —and, given their politics and causes, it is pretty clear that they did—but there's no doubt that theirs were campaigns with winners and losers. Yet today, because the nature of the political debate has narrowed and moved sharply to the right, neither Tom Joad nor Bruce Springsteen is hardly in the contest.

But for Springsteen, like Guthrie before him, there is a hope in telling stories, hope epitomized by Tom Joad, the scrappy fighter, beaten down but never licked. This Tom Joad is not the one appearing in a *New York Times* story about downsized corporate and investment bankers, calling them the Tom Joads of the 1990s. This Tom Joad is still dangerous, or at least frightening, to those counties and schools and school boards that still flirt with banning *The Grapes of Wrath* from classrooms (one writer has called it, with justification, "one of the most frequently banned books in America.")[39] Banning the novel is a simpleminded indefensible action, but in the bans, which still take place, we see the ghost of Tom Joad. There's power there, there's the sixty-year-old Tom Joad still breathing fire.

Historian William Appleman Williams pointed out once that to talk about Steinbeck's America is to talk about the New Deal, and to talk about the New Deal is to talk about reform. That's true. That's not a myth. The tragedy of malleability and fictional fame is that Tom Joad may fall further into the maw of Depression chic, that he will become more fully incorporated into the hobo fashion of recent years, Joad cap and all. The tragedy of the live Tom Joad is that he will become an association, not to the 1930s of the Popular Front or to the New World Order cautionary homilies of someone like Springsteen, but to Ralph Lauren Polo advertisements and to train-hopping iconography of wanderlust for wanderlust's sake. That's the pernicious myth: that the Depression was a simpler time of khaki hues and untroubled, All-American, stolid masculinity. That's the myth: that Tom Joad is the independent, rugged westerner, scouting out the future in a land where looking good is more important than doing good. That's a dangerous, sad myth.

Come back, Tom Joad.

See notes beginning on page 232

Bryant Simon is associate professor of history at the University of Georgia. He is the author of A Fabric of Defeat: The Politics of South Carolina Millhands, 1910-1948 *(University of North Carolina Press, 1998) and co-editor of* Jumpin' Jim Crow: Southern Politics from Civil War to Civil Rights *(Princeton University Press, 2000). He is writing a book on the history of Atlantic City.*

William Deverell is associate professor of history at the California Institute of Technology. He is co-author of Eden by Design: The 1930 Olmsted-Bartholomew Plan for the Los Angeles Region *(University of California Press, 2000) and co-editor of* Metropolis in the Making: Los Angeles in the 1920s, *forthcoming from the University of California Press*

Taming The Wilderness Within

Order and Opportunity in Gold Rush Sacramento, 1849-1850

by Mark A. Eifler

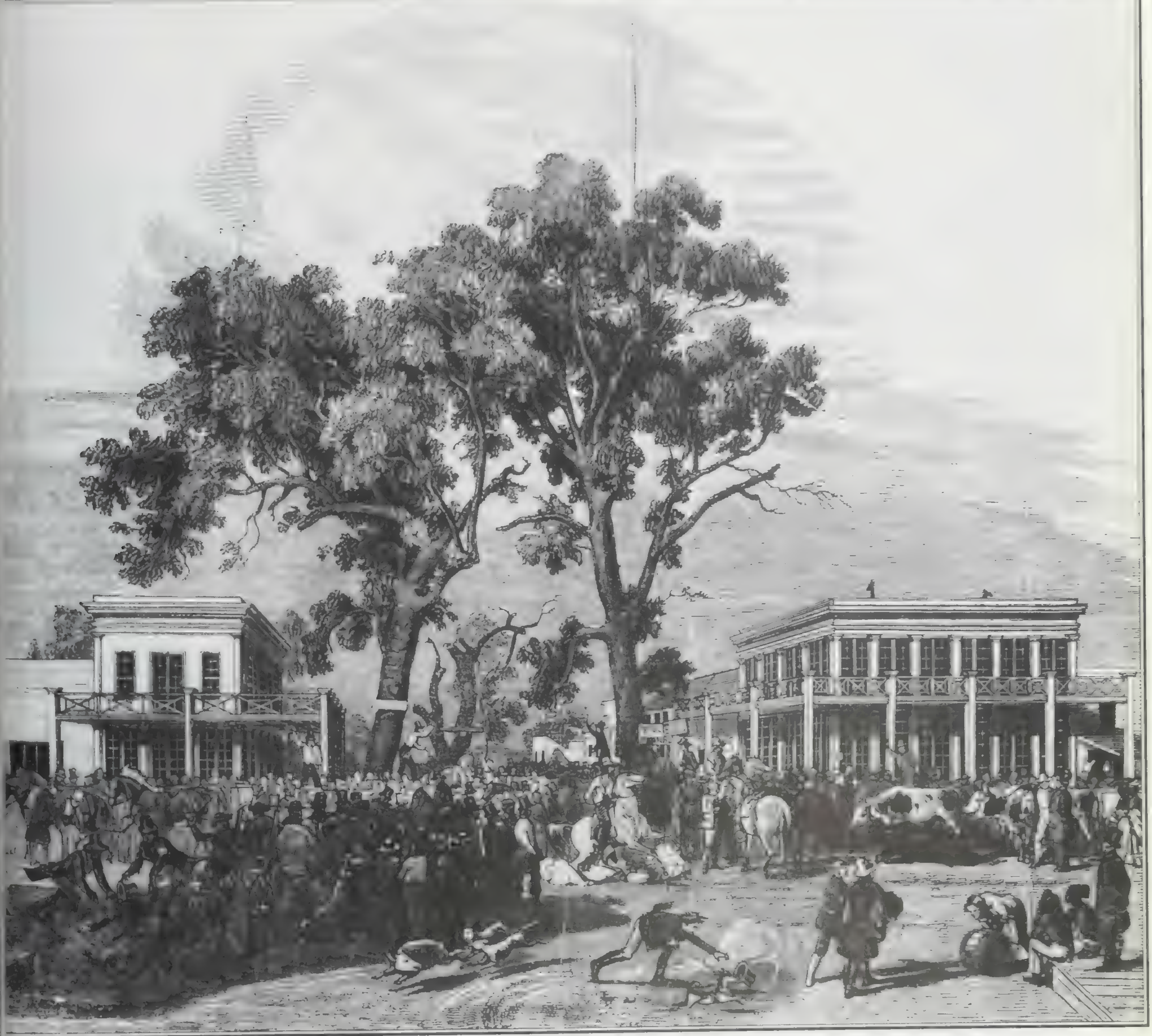
Early in May 1848, Edward Kemble, editor of the San Francisco *California Star*, journeyed to the foothills of the Sierra Nevada to investigate the stories of gold discoveries at Sutter's mill. On his way, he passed the juncture of the American River with the Sacramento River. Here, nearly a decade earlier, workers for Johann Sutter had cleared a small area, so that ships coming up the Sacramento could land supplies for Sutter's Fort, roughly two miles away. Kemble described the site, known locally as Sutter's Embarcadero, as an almost unspoiled natural wilderness. "A forest of noble sycamores, dense and deep, guard a mighty solitude like a vast army of giants in array," he pointed out, "their bright green banners mirrored in the clear stream. Not a human habitation in sight save the Indian ferryman's hut. . . . A broad, well-beaten road, laid by the wheels of an 'adobe cart,' led back from the river's bank, the only clearing visible in all this waste and solitary place."[1]

Within one year, the busy city of Sacramento competed aggressively with the solitary wilderness. Kemble, by now editor of the Sacramento *Placer Times*, now described the same site he had visited just one year earlier: "Sacramento City is no misnomer, indeed. . . . The river's side presents a scene of admirable city-like confusion. Goods for which there is no shelter, strewn along the banks, others stored in tents or under old sails. . . . The Embarcadero can boast of some twenty-five or thirty stores, and the Fort and its vicinity, of about eight or ten, together with a hotel, printing office, bakery, blacksmith shops, tin shop, billiard room, bowling alley, etc., etc., each indispensible in making up the vast compound of a city."[2]

Kemble's noble army of sycamores, however, gave way slowly. An early lithograph drawn of Sacramento in the fall of 1849 showed the trees still towering above the urban activity bustling at their roots. A number of trees grew in the middle of J Street, the commercial core of the city. At the intersection of Second and J, a wagon precariously navigated around a large open hole, left after digging up a big tree stump. On the waterfront, ships were moored by tying them to the trees near the river bank.[3]

This scene of wilderness and city occupying the same ground reflects the extremes of Sacramento's developing urban world. Wilderness, however, need not be confined only to the land and its resources. In many ways, frontier towns presented bewildering situations to their earliest residents. Social patterns could be slow to emerge in towns populated with people of diverse cultures. Economic structures were often weak and exposed to speculators and profiteers. Political authority in new territories could be unclear, unenforceable, or even non-existent. Though often, if erroneously, considered the final stage of civilized development on the frontier, the urban form did not automatically banish frontier confusion.

Sacramento presented this kind of wilderness to its gold-rush residents. Springing into existence almost overnight, crowded with men from all parts

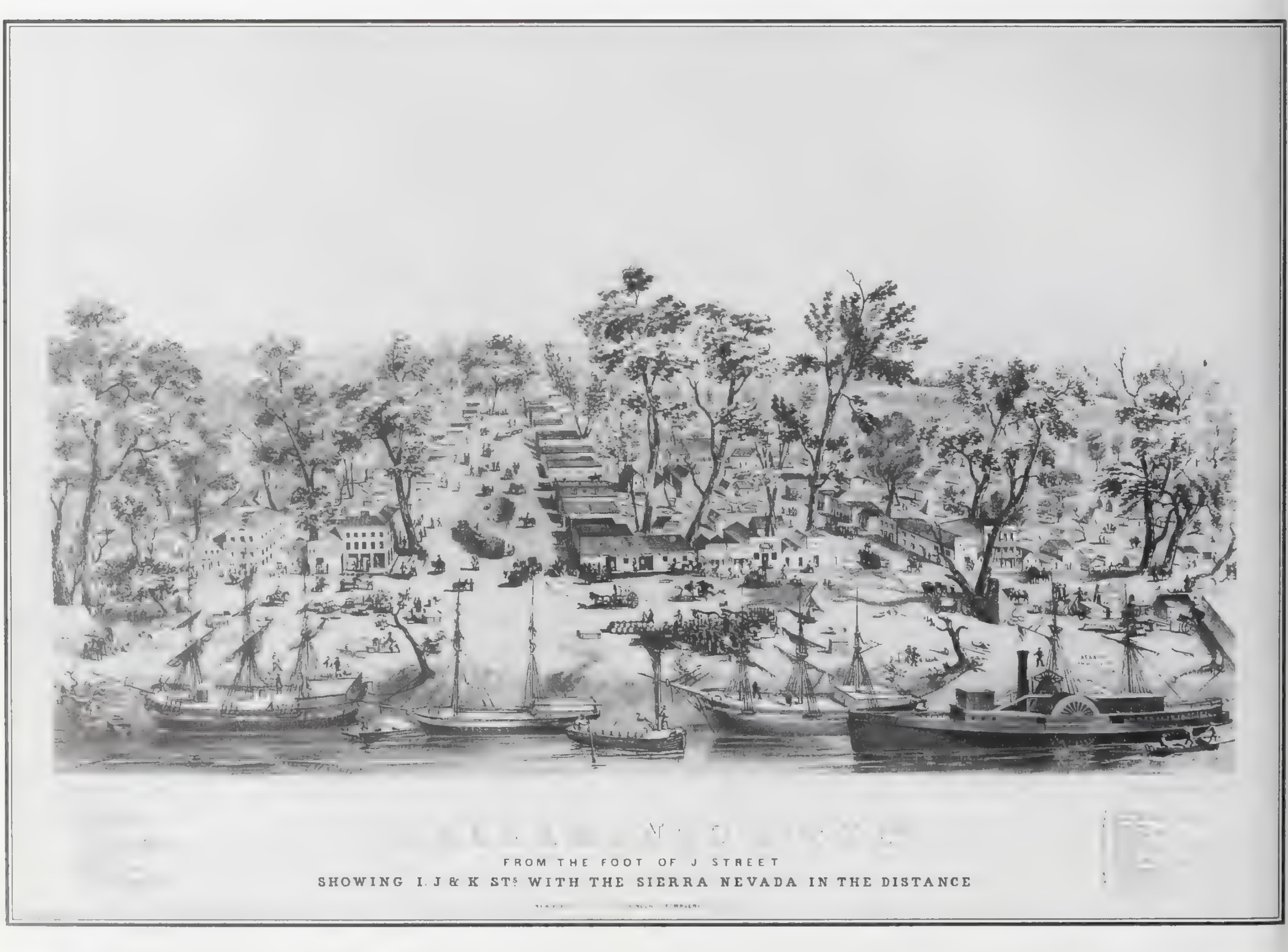


This view of Sacramento's Horse Market, an early, regular event in the frontier settlement that would in the mid-1850s become the state's capital, shows several elevated livestock auctioneers simultaneously conducting public sales in the open air. Some observers noted the general sense of chaos that often accompanied the daily event, held in the middle of Sixth and K streets. *California Historical Society, FN-04392.*

of the globe, Sacramento's most challenging wilderness lay not in its physical environment but within its emerging urban structure. The potential for anarchy frightened most contemporary observers. Writer and journalist Bayard Taylor noted that the effects of the Gold Rush "render all law virtually null, and bring the established authorities to depend entirely upon the humor of the population for the observance of their orders."[4] And even when praising the city's harmonious early days, Sacramento resident John F. Morse still conceded that tranquillity rested uneasily on the people.

The idea that some form of order had to be imposed on Sacramento went unchallenged, but the exact form of that order remained elusive. Urban planning barely existed. Even when Sacramento residents attempted to organize their urban experience, either through casual involvements in public events or more formally through civic legislation, the forms their urban world took often remained tangled. Urban structures and policies often contradicted themselves, reflecting diverse and divergent goals.

What lay beneath this failure to construct a coherent order for the city lay the goals and ambitions of the city dwellers themselves. Sacramento's sometimes bewildering urban environment had its advantages as well as its problems. Living in the midst of what Edward Kemble called "admirable city-like confusion," most residents preferred, perhaps, some degree of "wilderness"—with its promise of opportunity—over a clearly structured, and more restrictive, society.


FROM THE FOOT OF J STREET
SHOWING I. J & K STS WITH THE SIERRA NEVADA IN THE DISTANCE

Sacramento, California, looking east down J Street toward Sutter's Fort, from the river front originally called Sutter's Embarcadero. Lithographed by William Endicott & Co., New York, the image is based on a December 20, 1849, drawing made by George V. Cooper, a Massachusetts native who spent several years in Sacramento and whose illustrations depicted early settlement and mining scenes of the area that appeared in a variety of publications. Close inspection of this scene reveals numerous canvas tents that served as "home" to the town's expanding population, as well as a huge hole in the middle of the street, perhaps from the recent removal of a large tree. *California Historical Society, FN-01005.*

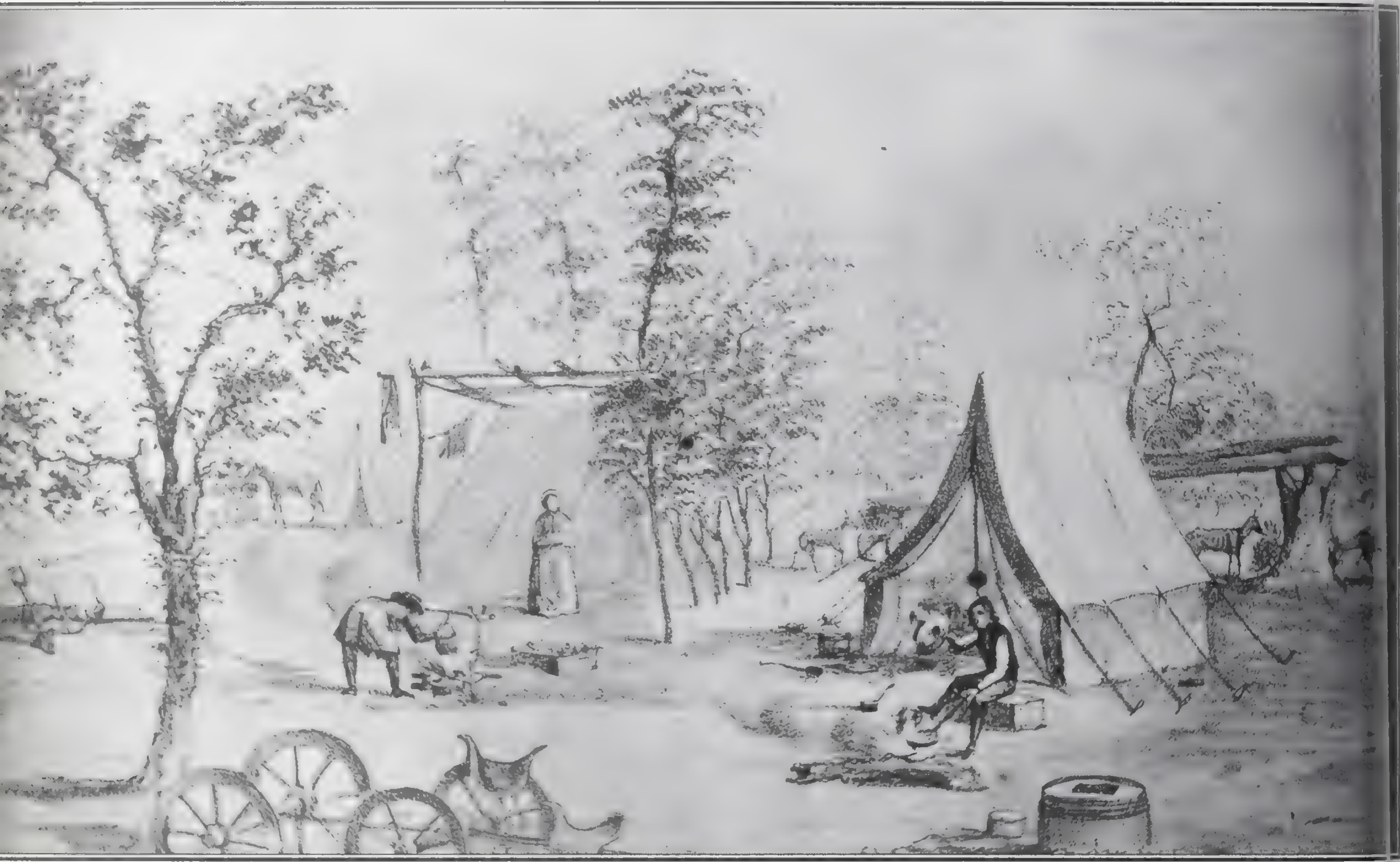
From the earliest days of the city's founding, most esidents sought to tame, but not banish, Sacramento's internal wilderness. The formal planning of he city provided little sense of urban order. The city was first surveyed and laid out by Captain William I. Warner and Johann Sutter, Jr., in December 1848. Though their design utilized the standard grid familiar to American cities, urban historian John Reps has uggested that the planners "had little idea where the enter of the enormous city might develop."[6] In early 849, Sutter's Fort, on higher, less flood-prone land wo miles east of the Sacramento River, was the only developed commercial center in the vicinity, and when town lots were first sold in January 1849, those near the fort were purchased first. But in the following months, with a developing riverboat transportation system connecting Sacramento to San Francisco and other settlements downstream, a number of local merchants began building warehouses and storehouses near the river, and Sacramento began to develop two commercial cores, one at the embarcadero and the other at the fort.[7] Though development of the riverfront quickly outpaced growth near the crumbling fort, in 1849 the continuing importance of Sutter's Fort and the continual movement to and from the mines pushed Sacramento's urban development westward. J Street, which ran between the embarcadero and the fort, and which offered the most direct path to the Sierra mines beyond, rapidly developed as Sacramento's "main street," though Warner and Sutter had designed M Street as the city's major throroughfare. The grid, while providing no clearly defined center, allowed residents to define their own sense of the city according to their own standards.

The lack of urban order and its corresponding sense of social freedom found expression in the basic units of urban form. Permanent buildings, symbolic and tangible statements of civic health, were erected in uneven and halting fashion. Throughout the summer of 1849 few laborers were available to construct any permanent buildings, as most of the Argonauts wanted to try their luck in the gold fields. Those who did stay demanded high wages, in part to offset the high prices being charged for goods in the city. Carpenters, for example, established a union and demanded $16 per day. Even general laborers sought $1.50 an hour, much more than in the East. Few settlers could afford their services.[8]

The arrival of thousands of overland immigrants in the fall, and the return of miners who planned to winter in the booming city, swelled the population. As the labor pool grew, the cost of workers dropped, and a building boom finally began.[9] Yet even this construction period did little immediately to give Sacramento a permanent civic structure. On January 8, 1850, the American River overflowed its banks, washing away much of the city. Though construction began again after the flood, within two months the weather grew warm enough for would-be miners to return to the diggings. The number of laborers shrank, the cost of building rose, and construction slowed. Throughout 1849 and early 1850, structures in Sacramento sometimes proved to be less than permanent, and nearly always were prohibitively expensive.[10]

Lack of adequate housing left residents to fall back on the most common of all building materials in the earliest years of the Gold Rush: canvas. In the city, tents housed everything from private quarters to stores, from saloons to hospitals. Peter Burnett, one of the city's founders, noted that in July 1849 Sacramento had a booming population but no brick houses and only a few wooden ones. People, he observed, "mainly lived and did business in canvas tents and cloth shanties."[11] Three months later, the city still boasted only forty-five wooden buildings, surrounded by three hundred canvas tents and roughly three hundred open air camps.[12] Tents ranged in size from small lean-tos designed merely to keep the dew off the sleeper to giant structures able to hold dozens of poker-playing patrons. Some tents acquired strong odors, one canvas-housed saloon even inspired the name "The Stinking Tent."[13] Yet despite such problems, the canvas-clad city suited the mobile early settlers well. As one observer wryly noted, "beneath a canvass covering trade flourishes quite as well, it is understood, as under the ordinary shelter."[14]

The canvas tents could be moved easily, which was their most important feature. Easy to fold up, businesses and dwellings in the city often leapfrogged around. U.S. census-taker William Johnson complained of the problem, and a close examination of the manuscript census shows several cases of men counted twice, living in different places.[15] Auctioneer J. Horace Culver, who compiled the city's first



George V. Cooper, *Encampment at Sacramento City, November 1849*. Many of Cooper's earliest drawings, including this one showing a variety of tent sites among the valley sycamores, appeared in John M. Letts's book of his journey to California, *California Illustrated* (1852). *California Historical Society, FN-32366.*

directory, also noted the difficulty of compiling an accurate listing in a city "where whole blocks of buildings are erected in the course of a single week, and where Merchants change their location monthly."[16] Whether they moved to pursue a business opportunity, to escape flooding or the build-up of waste materials, or to avoid the proprietor who held legal title to the land, this continuous population movement further enhanced the sense of urban impermanence, while also allowing residents a great degree of freedom. Equipped with a portable dwelling, residents were free to move about at will, shifting their place in the urban setting or creating a new setting altogether.

Thousands of transients in the city population further aggravated the impermanence of the city structure. Late in 1849, the first of the overland Forty-niners began flooding the city. Exhausted and often poor and emaciated, the overland immigrants brought an army of wagons and oxen to the city, and their numbers grew daily. By the end of the year, Sacramento's population reached about 3,500.[17] Since it was too late in the year to begin prospecting and funds were lacking to buy or lease town lots, most overland migrants simply did as they had done for months on the trail, circling their wagons, corralling their animals, and throwing up their tents and lean-tos in a scattered fashion. Soon the transients clustered in camps that, taken together, began to rival in size the formal city itself. This sprawling encampment, however, lacked any sense of overall order. "The briery thickets of the original forest had not been cleared away, and the tumps, trunks, and branches of felled trees were disributed over the soil with delightful uncertainty," ayard Taylor wrote about visiting the camps at ight. "If [a visitor] escaped these, the lariats of icketed mules spread their toils for his feet, threatning entanglement and a kick from one of the icious animals; tent-ropes and pins took him across he shins, and the horned heads of cattle, left where hey were slaughtered, lay ready to gore him at very step."[18]

Given the lack of a clear urban structure in Sacramento and the high number of tents that already housed city-dwellers, it is not urprising that the formal city and the transient amp soon overlapped and merged into each other. While this fusion further defeated most attempts at ivic order, it also provided a direct chance for individuals to partake in the arrangement of urban paces.

Lack of a designated central urban space might have left the experience of urban life unfocused. Running for nearly two miles between the river front and Sutter's Fort, J Street did not concentrate urban activities as a well-designed central plaza or town square would have done. Public celebrations or demonstrations would find no place in the impermanent, shifting city to lend them authority. Yet, instead of being unfocused, Sacramento was multi-focused. Living in a city without a designed center, Sacramento residents nevertheless developed institutions that could frame their understanding of the world around them. The emergence of these informal civic centers provides meaningful clues to the aspirations of Sacramento's earliest residents. These centers catered to their basic needs: food, shelter, trade, and entertainment. Yet in structure and organization, each reflected a quest for personal opportunity.

Though natural landmarks provided the setting of several public centers, it was their individual contexts that made them important. The Sacramento River itself focused a great deal of public energies. The city gave rise to a vast range of occupations, but nearly all were dependent on supplies or raw materials from outside the city. The source of almost all goods within the city was the embarcadero, now Front Street, where ships unloaded their supplies. People consistently gathered along the crowded river bank. Yet the business they conducted there was individual in nature. Buyers and sellers were numerous, but each conducted his business on his own.[19]

Another center for buying and selling in the city was the "Horse Market" that formed daily in the intersection of Sixth and K streets. Here people utilized another natural landmark, a huge oak tree, to gather for the auctions of horses and mules. "When the market was in full blast," Taylor noted, "the scene it presented was grotesque enough. There were no regulations other than the fancy of those who had animals to sell; every man was his own auctioneer."[20]

Soon, the daily auctions became standard practice, and a number of auctioneers moved into the surrounding blocks, offering their services at a lucrative profit.[21] Both the Front Street and Horse Market sites provided meeting places where ideas as well as materials were traded. In these casual gathering places residents engaged in informal, co-operative ventures. Both also reinforced the emerging image of Sacramento as an entrepreneur's town, in which anyone could make a handsome profit as a businessman. In a city lacking physical structure to bind its residents together, these public auction sites gave residents one of their few shared urban experiences and a vision of the kinds of opportunities their society provided.

Other places that helped residents in understanding their bewildering world were their boarding houses or hotels. The hotels were concentrated along J Street and Second Street, while the boarding houses were distributed throughout the city. These hotels probably lent further support to the sense that the riverfront and J Street were emerging as the town's center.[22]

Hotels and houses not only helped define the city center but also became social centers themselves. Sacramento residents began forming small domestic enclaves centered on hotels, boarding houses, and restaurants. Places that could accommodate large numbers at once soon began to host informally organized public meetings. On Saturday, December 1, 1849, for example, the City Hotel, the largest hotel, was the site of two public meetings, one called by carpenters and joiners to discuss wages, and the other by newly arrived settlers to discuss land titles. On the same night, a meeting was held at the St. Louis Exchange, a large restaurant, for residents interested in establishing an Episcopal church.

Residents also sought to live and dine with people who came from the same region of the country. A number of boarding houses and restaurants openly proclaimed their regional orientations, such as the Illinois House, the Missouri Hotel, or the New York Lunch. While the city seemed at times incomprehensible, restaurant customers and boarding house residents could share outlooks and observations that reflected a common value system. Here young men found a measure of stability in the cultural wilderness of the city.[24]

Another institution that provided a sense of cohesion and order to the city was the gambling hall. Lacking many conventional forms of entertainment, gambling halls packed in residents from all parts of the city. Perhaps more than any other experience, the gambling hall was shared by all Sacramento's residents. Here men not only could find warmth and companionship on chilly, damp, and wintry evenings, but they could also watch the drama of their lives played out in powerful settings. For in Sacramento, as in all gold-rush towns, everyone gambled—if not on poker and monte, then on the elusive riches of the gold fields, or on the continued migration of miners needing supplies. If the cards proved fickle, sometimes providing wealth, more often precipitating bankruptcy, it merely echoed the experiences of their daily lives. Again, the names of the establishments mirror their customers' experiences and expectations. Saloons with names like "The Elephant" and "The Plains" recalled the magnitude of the adventure on which they were embarked. Gambling halls with names like "The Gem" and "Diadem" hinted at their expectations.[25]

Within such a diffused urban setting, political power took on unusual characteristics. On one hand, the constant turnover of the population made it next to impossible to form any large or lasting civic organization that could enact community-wide reforms. Sacramento's largely transient population simply lacked the rootedness to envision or enact programs to tame the wilderness within their city. However, the same conditions that blocked the formation of large civic organizations also gave disproportionate power to smaller groups that did remain in the city and that identified their interests not with the Gold Rush alone, but with the peculiar opportunities and advantages created by the city around them. Two of these groups emerged within a year of the city's founding. These groups—the Law and Order Party and the Settlers' Association—could have provided the basis for the growth of a stable community. Yet, in part because they were both small organizations, they only contributed to the chaotic nature of the city's early years.

The Law and Order Party originated as a small group of powerful entrepreneurs who sought to shape the emerging city to its own advantage. These men included Samuel Brannan and other early Sutter's Fort merchants who in many respects may be given the real credit for establishing the city. Sutter, Sr., had originally seen the potential of an inland city as part of his grand scheme for New Helvetia, and had laid out "Sutterville" a few miles south of his fort. Brannan and several other early merchants, seeing the potential profits in town building, convinced Sutter's agent in Sutterville, Lansford Hastings, to give them eighty town lots to induce the merchants to locate there. Brannan, however, instead took this gift to Sutter, Jr., and suggested that if he wanted to make Sacramento viable, he would have to surpass Hastings's offer. Sutter, Jr., was thus caught in a trap: he needed to make Sacramento viable to extricate his father from debt, but the only way to do that was to give away a large portion of the lots in the newly platted waterfront townsite. With little real choice, Sutter, Jr., gave Brannan and his associates 500 town lots, or roughly 80 percent of all town lots.[26]

Though often working independently and sometimes even opposing each other, these men generally held similar views of the city and its role. They considered Sacramento as their private investment and sought to ensure themselves of a profitable return. Most were originally merchants on hand when the city had been founded, before the rush of Forty-niners crowded the city. As frontier merchants, they had already formed trading partnerships and connections that would serve them well when the population boomed. Over the first two years of Sacramento's existence, men such as Captain R. Gelston virtually controlled shipping between San Francisco and Sacramento, while John Fowler dominated freighting between Sacramento and the mining camps. These merchants also bought up for resale most of the goods that reached the city. In the summer of 1850 the Settlers' Association published a

Samuel Brannan (1819-1889), shown to the left, n.d., led a party of Mormons to Yerba Buena in 1846, and with the printing press he brought founded the *California Star,* California's first newspaper. Before the discovery of gold, he was operating a store at Sutter's Fort; legend has it that he announced the gold discovery only after stocking his shelves with goods for the miners. In Sacramento City ("City" was dropped from the name in 1851) merchant Brannan was one of the organizers of the Law and Order Party, an association comprised of landowners and businessmen that oversaw city development. *Courtesy City of Sacramento, History and Science Division, SAMCC.*

roadside listing "men with remarkable principles" who make up the leaders of the Law and Order group. The names include many of the city's largest and holders and taxpayers. The advertising in the *Placer Times* throughout 1849 and 1850 was dominated by these men, who announced the sale of newly arrived shipments of everything from flour to tobacco to cloth to tools.[27]

One of their most important investments was in land. Having manipulated Sutter into giving them four-fifths of Sacramento's lots for free, merchant speculation in the lots nearly destroyed the city. Within months, lots that originally had sold for $250 were resold for $3,000, with some going as high as $8,000.[28] Deluded by inflated land values, these speculators overestimated their own economic worth and, based on the credit such land holdings provided, invested heavily in other local businesses.

Though nearly everyone in Sacramento sought to make a fortune "mining the miners," from an early date these entrepreneurs acquired the power to ensure their fortune. Shortly after Sacramento was founded, its residents met under one of the still standing oak trees and framed a local government and elected a city council. Although this appears a romantic vision of pioneer democracy at work, the image blurs on closer examination. At the time the population of Sacramento was only about one hundred, and most were employees of these powerful entrepreneurs.[29]

It is no surprise, then, that the leading merchants and landholders also became the city's elected officials. In later elections, these entrepreneurs successfully organized the Law and Order Party, and through this organization generally managed to control city government.[30] The party then tried to ensure their individual economic success through the local government, using the city council to pass a series of laws essentially reserving Front Street, the city's economic lifeline to the world, for the exclusive use of a few leading merchants.[31]

Newcomers to the city, however, quickly challenged the land speculators' power and authority by proclaiming their intention to file preemption claims on undeveloped city lands. To many residents, especially overland migrants and transient miners wintering in the city, land speculators not only charged excessive rents and prices for Sacramento lots, but also held faulty or fraudulent land titles. Some newcomers resented the large personal land grants to individuals made by the Mexican government in California before the American conquest. Though the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which ended the Mexican-American War, pledged the United States to uphold these grants, many felt that such large holdings cheated Americans out of the best lands in the state. Furthermore, their large size promoted large-scale speculation.

Others, however, objected to the Mexican grants on more technical grounds. Mexican grants were notorious for having poorly defined boundaries, and for being filed incorrectly. Throughout the winter of 1849 and 1850, rumor spread that Sutter's original grant did not in fact cover the land in and around Sacramento City. If Sutter's grant did not cover city lands, newcomers argued, it was public land, and should be open to anyone willing to settle on and develop the land.[32]

The Law and Order group used local courts to quash the growing challenges to land titles in the city. Speculators who owned town lots, backed by the council, evicted overlanders who camped on their property. In the fall of 1849, however, an overlander named Z. M. Chapman began erecting a cabin on the outskirts of the city. Twelve days later city councilman Pierre B. Cornwall warned Chapman to desist, threatening his life if he continued. Chapman, however, refused to be intimidated, and demanded that Cornwall take him to court.[33]

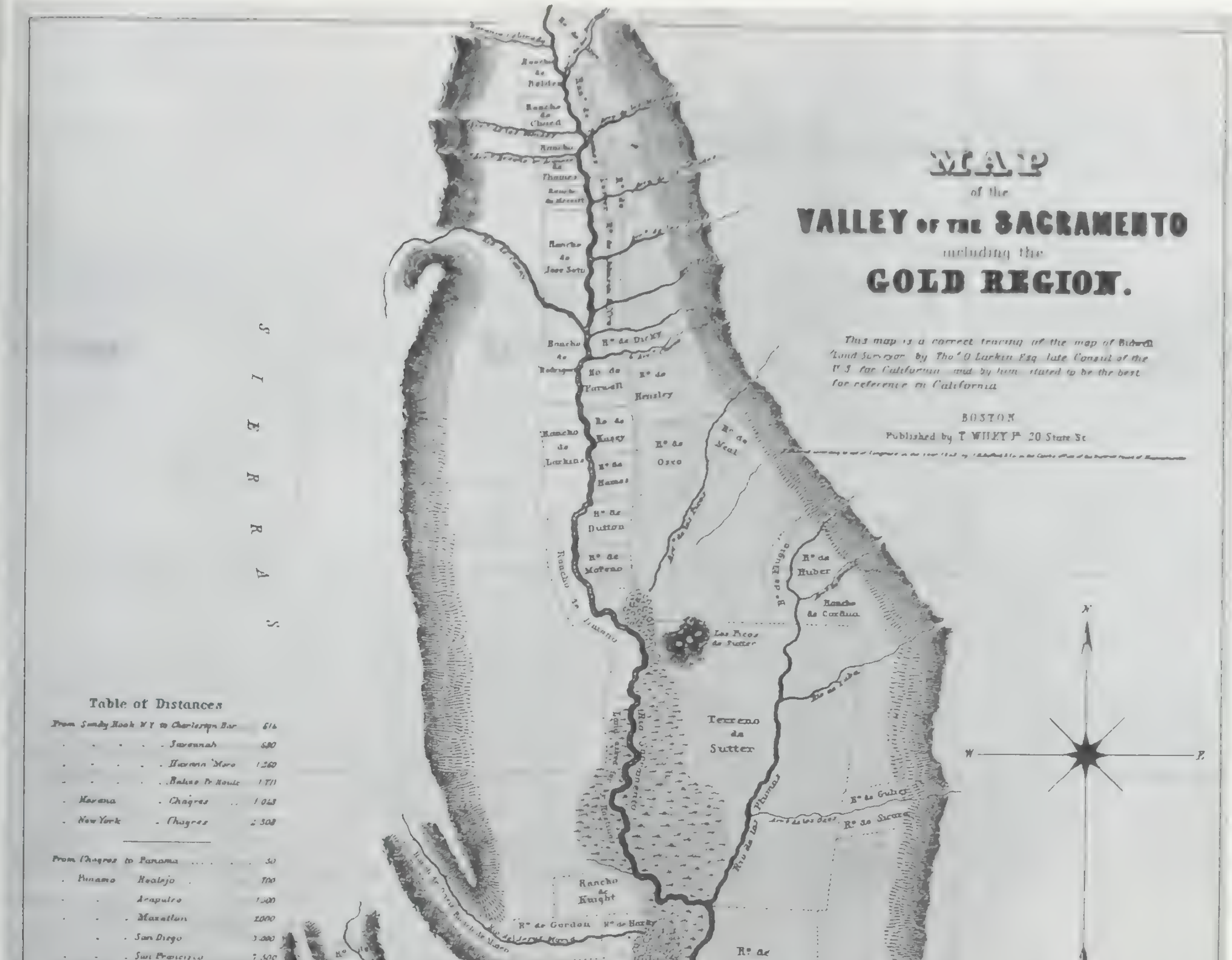
When the Chapman case went to trial, the title problem threatened to undo the speculators. Challenged to show their legal title to the land, the speculators refused. Though they had acquired their property from Sutter, the boundaries of the original grant were vague at best, and while the deed covering the grant included the Sacramento site, an accompanying map illustrating the grant did not. The jury adjourned without reaching a verdict. Two more juries were impaneled, each time with the same result. A large crowd attended the trial, and rumors quickly spread that the Sutter grant was not valid. Although the fourth jury finally decided in favor of Sutter's claim, Chapman still refused to quit his claim, and squatting on town lots began in earnest.[34]

In response to Chapman's defiance, the sheriff and a posse of fifty men pulled down his cabin. Chapman's friends rebuilt the cabin and called for a general settlers' meeting. Resolutions passed at the heavily attended meeting called on the city council to halt the destruction of settlers' cabins. Yet even as the meeting was underway, members of the Law and Order group set fire to the new cabin. Determined to succeed in their venture, the city's powerful entrepreneurs were willing to deal ruthlessly with any challengers, trusting to the unsettled conditions of the city to protect them from organized resistance.

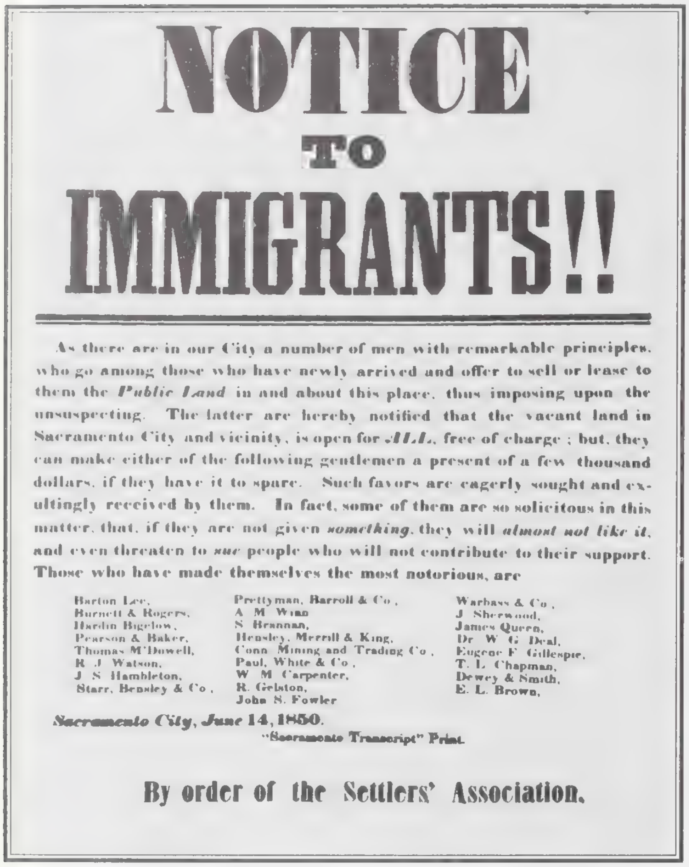
In the matter of land titles, however, the Law and Order group was so heavy-handed that, despite the unstructured urban environment, it provided an effective focus for a counter-organization. Scarcely had the ashes of the burnt cabin cooled when another cabin was built, another meeting called, and new resolutions were passed calling for retaliation by the settlers if any more squatter buildings were destroyed. United and enjoying a sense of community that the city often lacked, the squatters organized themselves as the Settlers' Association.[35]

During the winter of 1849–50, membership of the Settlers' Association grew rapidly, reaching more than a thousand in the early days of December, and even many non-members openly sympathized with their cause.[36] From the start, the association challenged the land monopoly and civic authority of the Law and Order group. Shortly after forming, the association published a broadside declaring its "rules" in simple language. "Believing the ground, generally, in and around Sacramento City, to be public land," the association pledged each member to "use his best exertions for the support of his fellow-associates, against any and every innovation of their just rights." In addition, "every member desiring to obtain a Lot, must have it surveyed by the Surveyor of the Association, whose duty it shall be to record and issue a Certificate for it."[37] Through these two rules, the Settlers' Association essentially established a separate government within Sacramento. By pledging mutual assistance, the members created a responsive community within the impersonal world of Sacramento. And by electing its own officers and opening their own land office, the association formed the core of, in effect, a new city government.

In its organization and vision, the Settlers' Association represented a backlash against the power and attitudes of the entrepreneurial Law and Order group. Though the association did not directly set itself up as a rival government to the entrepreneurial-backed city council, its rallies and administration increasingly became the center of many residents' lives. More than a dispute over land titles separated the two organizations. Though both sought to recreate on the frontier the opportunities that had eluded them in the East, their definitions of opportunity differed drastically. While an accu-


MAP
of the
VALLEY OF THE SACRAMENTO
including the
GOLD REGION.
This map is a correct tracing of the map of Bidwell Land Surveyor by Tho.s O Larkin Esq late Consul of the U S for California and by him stated to be the best for reference in California
BOSTON
Published by T WILEY J.r 20 State St
SIERRAS
Table of Distances
From Sandy Hook N Y to Charleston Bar 616
Savannah 680
Havana Moro 1260
Balize Pt Houle 1711
Havana Chagres 1063
New York Chagres 2308
From Chagres to Panama 50
Panama Realejo 700
Acapulco 1500
Mazatlan 2000
San Diego 3000
San Francisco 3500
N York to San Francisco via C Horn 17000
Rancho de Knight
R.o de Gordon
R.o de Young
Sonomo
Rancho de los Bacus
Suisun
San Raphael
BAHIA DE SAN FRANCISCO
Yerba Buena or San Francisco
Mte Diabolo
Terreno de Sutter
Los Picos de Sutter
R.o de Huber
Rancho de Cordua
R.o de Sinclair & Grimes
Sutter's Fort
New Helvetia
Latitude 38° 41' 36" North
Mining District
R.o de Sheldan
R.o de Hartnell
Rancho de Cooper
Chabolla
Rancho de Sunol
Rancho de Weber
TULARES
R.o de Dutton
R.o de Moreno
Rancho de Larkin
R.o de Toomes
Rancho de Jose Soto
Rancho de Chico
R.o de Dicky
R.o de Hensley
R.o de Oseo
R.o de Neal
To enter the Bay of San Francisco keep White Island open with the south shore and run for it until within the harbor then haul up and anchor abreast of the Town
Escala de la Leguas Spanish
N
S
W
E

This 1850 regional map, representing a span from San Francisco Bay to the Sierra Nevada, including Sacramento Valley ranchos, the confluence of the Sacramento and American rivers, and a table of distances in miles from Sandy Hook, New York to Panama and San Francisco, was based on settler John Bidwell's 1844 land survey. It was published by Thomas O. Larkin who endorsed it as "the best for reference" in California, and intended it for sale to the Argonauts. California Historical Society.



NOTICE

TO

IMMIGRANTS!!

As there are in our City a number of men with remarkable principles, who go among those who have newly arrived and offer to sell or lease to them the *Public Land* in and about this place, thus imposing upon the unsuspecting. The latter are hereby notified that the vacant land in Sacramento City and vicinity, is open for *ALL*, free of charge ; but, they can make either of the following gentlemen a present of a few thousand dollars, if they have it to spare. Such favors are eagerly sought and exultingly received by them. In fact, some of them are so solicitous in this matter, that, if they are not given *something*, they will *almost not like it*, and even threaten to *sue* people who will not contribute to their support. Those who have made themselves the most notorious, are

Barton Lee,
Burnett & Rogers,
Hardin Bigelow,
Pearson & Baker,
Thomas M'Dowell,
R J Watson,
J S Hambleton,
Starr, Bensley & Co ,

Prettyman, Barroll & Co ,
A M Winn
S Brannan,
Hensley, Merrill & King,
Conn Mining and Trading Co ,
Paul, White & Co ,
W M Carpenter,
R. Gelston,
John S. Fowler

Warbass & Co ,
J Sherwood,
James Queen,
Dr W G Deal,
Eugene F Gillespie,
T. L Chapman,
Dewey & Smith,
E. L. Brown,

Sacramento City, June 14, 1850.
"Sacramento Transcript" Print.

By order of the Settlers' Association.

Fighting fire with fire, as it were, the opposing Settler's Association published this broadside on June 14, 1850, which named the "notorious" men of "remarkable principle"—the Law and Order Party—who sought to sell land the settlers argued was public land that they were entitled to by right of pre-emption, that is, occupancy. *California Historical Society.*

rate profile of the Settlers' Association membership is difficult to construct, enough evidence remains to suggest that they were primarily transient miners and Sacramento laborers, especially Irish-born wage-earners. Most had come to California as part of the Gold Rush, usually via the overland trail.[38]

The overland experience gave the association members a number of important common experiences. Overlanders shared more than the dangers and hardships of the long trek. Often they traveled as joint-stock companies, in which everyone contributed to the cost of the wagon and in the burden of expenses. Most also planned to work as a team or company when they arrived in the gold fields. While many of these companies instead disbanded on reaching California, many others stayed together in the transient camp on the outskirts of Sacramento. For months along the route they had worked i almost communal organizations, eating togethe each responsible for carrying his own weight. Th rules and bylaws of the trail emphasized their interdependence. Labor underlay ownership, and community responsibility underlay social values.

On arrival in California, many of the overlanders attitudes had found reflection in mining camp laws. According to these laws, miners were required t work their claims to hold valid titles. Mining camp justice, while often violent, held community safet as its standard.[39] In Sacramento, miners and would-be miners maintained the sense of community, continuing camp life as they had on the trail. "Th Plains" saloon, decorated with scenes from the trail, soon became a popular gathering place for thes migrants, where stories of adventures and heroism on the trail were popular subjects.[40]

For many migrants the frontier had traditionally held a social promise. Especially in northern states, a new industrializing society had turned traditional social values upside down. Patriarchal authority was threatened as wives and daughters found new independence through employment in mills or new responsibility in the reform movements that swept the northern states in the 1830s and 1840s. The growing numbers of "wage-slaves" in the northern states mocked the traditional values placed on individual labor, a charge being increasingly vocalized by southerners in the 1840s. Urban laborers watched as their working day grew longer and more regimented, even as wages dropped. Irish immigrants and other foreign-born laborers faced the additional handicap of ethnic antagonism during this period when the anti-foreign and anti-Catholic American, or "Know Nothing," Party, was growing in power and influence.

For many, the frontier was a place where traditional values of the agrarian nation would counteract the industrializing trends of the Atlantic seaboard. The expansion of an agrarian nation westward underlay many of the claims of "squatters" as well as land "pre-emption" legislation in the first half of the ninteenth century. An expanding frontier, many believed, belonged by right primarily to individual, agrarian families, rather than to speculative interests.[41] Such arguments were not new. Thomas Jefferson had used this logic as a justification for urchasing the Louisiana country from France nearly ty years before the Gold Rush. The Mexican War ad already promoted the promise of new western nds, and the discovery of gold only confirmed eightened expectations. Gold was on the migrants' inds when they rushed to California, but gold was ot the only objective.

Nor was simple economic wealth the only objecve of the Law and Order group. As frontier merants, many of these men sought the same ntrepreneurial advantages that had been available the Old Northwest in previous decades. As new reas were settled, settlers found themselves with ng lists of needs and equally big supplies of natral resources. Frontier merchants who could mas-r a transportation and credit network could easily nake their fortunes. Even more important, their ital positions often placed these merchants among e elite in their communities.

As a region developed, however, competition ncreased. Though a few shrewd businessmen could urvive, the easy bonanza had ended for many froner businessmen. To these businessmen, California romised a new frontier bonanza and a chance to egain social prominence. Yet the vast scale of opertions in California demanded greater capital investnents. Success, to these men, was soon measured hrough their accounting books. Economic success, ather than community activities, underlay their erception of social status. Speculative investments, ather than manual labor, provided their means to vealth.

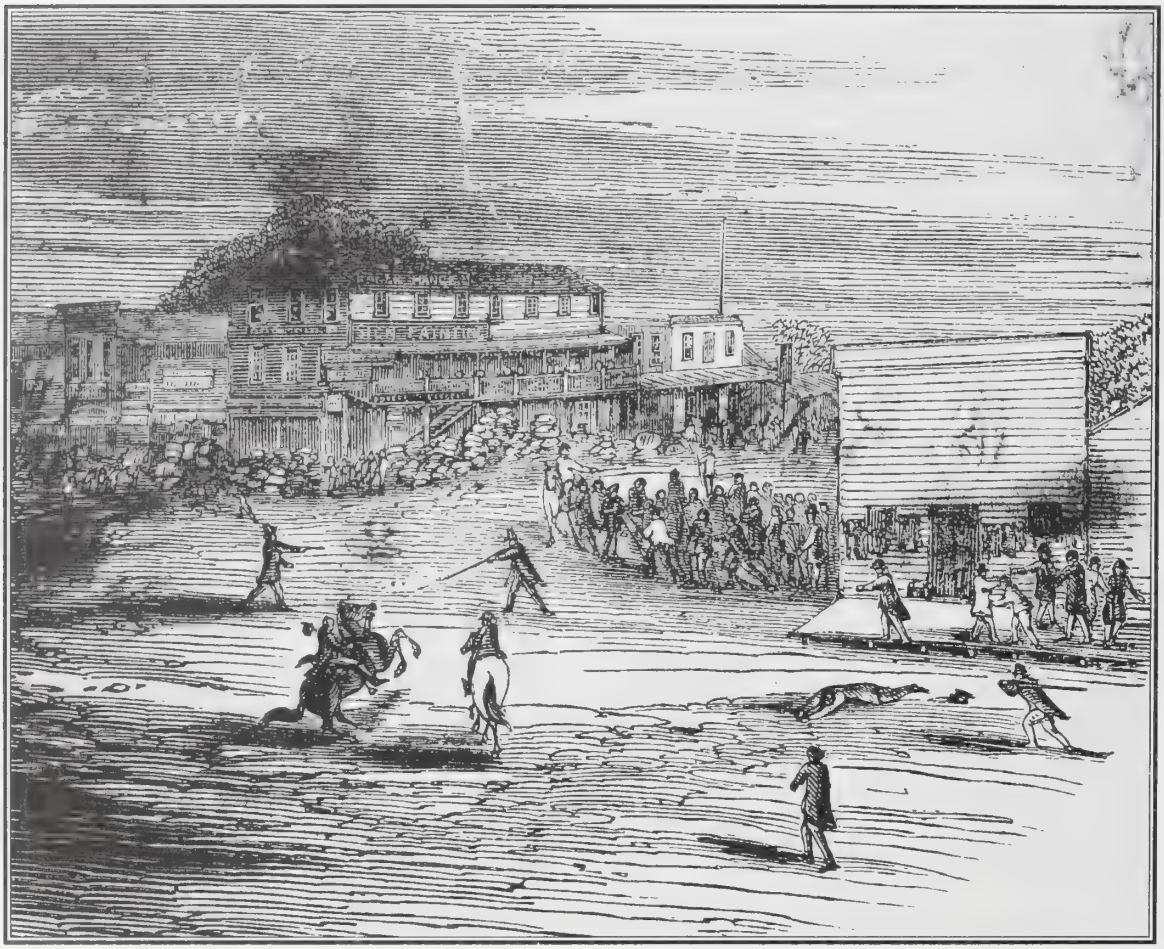
Land title disputes between the Settlers' Association and the Law and Order group merely encapulated the wide differences between those who led industrialization and those who promoted captal-intensive speculation. To the settlers, only labor n the earth conveyed true title; to the speculator, land was merely a marketable commodity. To the settler, city was supposed to be responsive to its citizens' eeds; to the speculators, it was an investment that was supposed to turn a profit.

These two groups, however, merely represented the extreme ends of a social spectrum. Sacramento's population was too diverse for either group to attain an overwhelming influence. While many individuals may have felt the pull to become frontier capitalists, or felt drawn to a more rural-based community involvement, the majority were neither capitalists nor squatters. Essentially, the ideological basis of Sacramento's land conflicts stemmed from problems inherent in the New England and Old Northwest territory states. But while the majority of Sacramento's population came from these areas, a large number hailed from other places, and would not have felt the same social and economic problems so keenly. Nor were all migrants from these regions likely to become intimately involved in protesting unfair conditions in the city when so much opportunity still existed.

However, the lack of clear lines of authority in the city did spur both the Settlers' Association and the Law and Order group to perceive a crisis in their world. By the summer of 1850, ill-feeling between these two groups had grown to a fever pitch. Discussions between their leaders, which took place with increasing frequency at open-air debates from temporary platforms along the levee, divided townspeople. Newspapers carried the debates, sometimes quoting speakers at length, and printed editorials judging the merits of each side. As fall approached, tensions rose even higher among the laborers, who foresaw another huge increase in the city's transients, and thus another huge drop in wages. The Law and Order group feared the next influx of overlanders, who would begin arriving in September or October, whose numbers might provide the Settlers' Association with overwhelming powers. Both sides increasingly felt the need to act quickly to determine Sacramento's direction.

What occurred next has been inappropriately called the "Squatters' Riot."[42] The "squatters" were the Settlers' Association, made up of men who did not believe they were squatting illegally, and of miners and laborers not directly involved in the land disputes. And though violence did erupt, a "riot" did not occur. What did happen can best be described as an urban panic. For two days, law and order seemed to dissolve, though in hindsight people's fears plainly got the better of them.

During the summer of 1850, the Settlers' Association began a series of legal challenges to the validity of land titles in the city. They had no hope of winning at the local level, as local judges had all been appointed by the speculators of the Law and Order Party, and in some cases were large land owners them-



Soon after the exchange of gunfire between angry mobs of Sacramentans bent on aggressive resolution of the land title conflict, the *Illustrated Placer Times and Transcript* published its visual record of the violence on June 14, 1850, shown here in detail. Several leaders, including a city assessor and a sheriff, and six others, were killed and six men were wounded. *City of Sacramento, History and Science Division, SAMCC.*

selves. However, the legality of any court ruling in California at that time was questionable, as the U. S. Congress had still provided no territorial government to the gold-rush region. Later in the year the Congress would finally resolve the problem in the Compromise of 1850, in which California was admitted as a state, bypassing the territorial stage altogether. But in the summer of 1850, the origins of all California courts were extralegal, and it was not certain that the ruling of any "court" had authority. By bringing a legal challenge to land titles in Sacramento's locally designated county court, it was assumed that the case could be appealed and then reviewed by a federal court—thus allowing the Settlers' Association a chance to get a less biased hearing.

However, the association's legal challenge, if it were upheld, would not merely overturn city land titles for residents, but would have a host of other far reaching consequences. At the very least it would displace many city residents and undermine the authority of the Law and Order Party-backed city government. But it would also have severe financial repercussions. Sacramento speculators needed credit to acquire the goods that they sold to the miners.

Hardin Bigelow (1809-1850), shown to the right, Sacramento's first elected mayor, fell from his horse while trying to stop the panic that had broken out on the first day of the riots. He sustained major injuries that led to his death several months later. *Courtesy of City of Sacramento, History and Science Division, SAMCC, Eleanor McClatchy Collection.*

'ithout established banks or a clear financial structure, Sacramento speculators used the assessed value their land holdings as the basis of their credit. By ıe summer of 1850, these assessed values were ready dangerously inflated. Should Sutter's land tle be declared invalid, the overextended but vital nancial structure of the city's merchants would all ut disappear.

The panic began early in August, when Barton Lee, prominent member of the Law and Order group nd the town's largest landholder and wealthiest anker, declared bankruptcy.[43] Lee's fall was ıevitable, given his excessive speculations. Though e estimated his real-estate holdings as worth 700,000,[44] one historian has since noted that at the me, the *total* actual value of real estate in all of Sacramento could not have been higher than $500,000.[45] Vhen Lee published a notice of his bankruptcy in arly August 1850, Sacramento experienced the first f a series of financial shocks that would rock the own.[46] Within weeks, Lee's failure resulted in the ollapse of several other important Sacramento enders, and Sacramento's economy seemed to be eetering on the brink of disaster.

It was against this background that County Judge . J. Willis, who was himself a wealthy landholder,[47] uled against the Settlers' Association land case, and hen tried to stop the challenge completely by refusing the association the right of appeal. The Settlers' Association retaliated by declaring city officials nothing more than "private citizens"; if opposed by these fficials, association members "deliberately resolved o appeal to arms, and protect their sacred rights, if ıeed be, with their lives."[48] On the morning of August 14, 1850, two armed mobs, led on the one ıand by the mayor and members of the city council, and on the other by leaders of the Settlers' Association, met in the intersection of J and Fourth streets. After a few moments of hesitation, someone shouted oudly, "Shoot the Mayor!" Members of the Settlers' Association opened fire, and it was quickly returned. Both the mayor and the president of the Settlers' Association were wounded. The city tax assessor and the Settlers' Association's treasurer were killed. Thereafter both mobs dispersed and the fighting ended.

The shootings shocked the city. Within a few hours hundreds of residents volunteered for militia duty. Lieutenant Governor John McDougal called for volunteers from San Francisco to march on Sacramento to restore order. He then fled the city. Rumors grew that the mining camps were organizing an army to march on the city and burn it to the ground. The following day, pressured by leading merchants to take defensive action, the sheriff led a posse to the nearby town of Brighton to arrest suspected members or sympathizers of the Settlers' Association. Another shoot-out occurred, this time resulting in the sheriff's death.[49]

By the time the panic had subsided, both the Settlers' Association and the Law and Order group were bereft of leadership and widespread public support. Yet chaos did not reign supreme. Just as the majority of the city's residents earlier had found informal ways of imposing order on their city, they now restored order to their city. By nightfall on the first day of the panic, hundreds of men had gathered at the Fowler Hotel and organized to patrol the streets for the remainder of the night. Given the rumors and the state of panic in the city, these patrols could easily have produced several tragedies. One of the patrollers, Dr. Benjamin Stillman, wrote in a letter to his family a few days afterward that the duty was very hazardous, and that patrollers often nearly shot each other in the dark.[50]

Though nominally under the direction of the city council, Stillman recognized that the patrollers occupied a middle ground between the Law and Order group and the Settlers' Association. Throughout his letters he was critical of the authority he seemed to be upholding. When patrollers arrested a squatter and threatened to hang him, Stillman wrote: "I had no interest in this quarrel, but had taken my gun in defense of law and order, and these men were about to violate both, while professedly acting for both. I determined to have something to say about this." The squatter was not hanged. When Lieutenant Governor McDougal returned to the city several days later, Stillman noted, "It was too much for him; he went right to bed."[51]

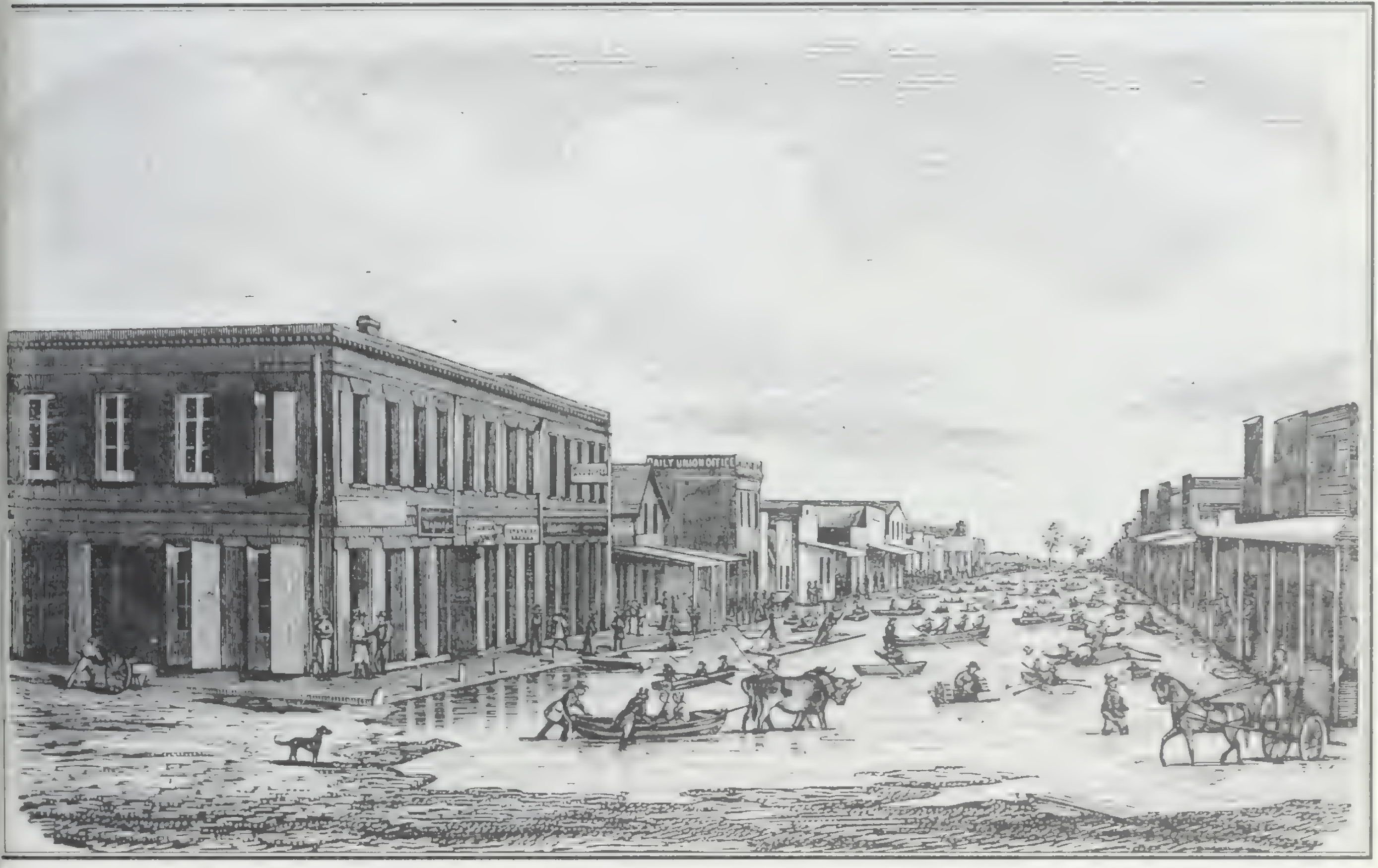
Stillman most likely reflected the mood of most residents of the town. Though opposed to the violence begun by the Settlers' Association, they had little love for the heavy-handed response of the Law and Order group. Without either group to stir people's passions, the town quickly rejected any directed plan for its future. Josiah Royce noted that "in a few days, quiet was restored; people were ashamed of their alarm. . . . A tacit consent to drop the subject was soon noticeable in the community. Men said that the laws must be enforced, and meanwhile determined to speak no ill of the dead."[52] Few, it seemed, were willing to continue the fight on either side.

In the next few months Sacramento experienced a virtual collapse and then a resurrection. Weeks after the panic, the economic structure of the town crumbled. The effects of Lee's bankruptcy and the land title panic exposed the inflated values of city lands, which finally destroyed a number of other major bankers, which then resulted in the collapse of several Sacramento ventures. Miners became wary of depositing their gold in Sacramento, which only further aggravated the financial situation. Then, in October, cholera broke out in the city. On the first day of November alone, it claimed 60 lives.[53] Many residents fled, and miners and travelers avoided the town. A few observers predicted that the city was doomed.

Yet by the end of the year, Sacramento was in the process of rebuilding. With the cholera epidemic over, the population once more began to increase. The city's mid-level merchants soon began to negotiate agreements for supplying a number of mining camps. This not only ensured growth, but also presaged a more stable economy, one not controlled by only a handful of powerful speculators. In the meantime the number of mining camps and towns in the gold region had grown, and fewer miners felt compelled to winter in Sacramento. With fewer transients in the city, conflicts between resident and transient dwindled. And finally, as the third year of the Gold Rush came to a close, a substantial number of would-be miners had given up on mining and had come to Sacramento looking for familiar work. These men formed a growing and more stable labor force, producing in turn a more stable wage scale.

Though neither the Law and Order group nor the Settlers' Association ultimately triumphed in Sacramento, their efforts illustrate the social choices made available by the gold-rush frontier. Early Sacramento gave its residents a wide range of choices and freedom to implement their visions. The Law and Order Party and the Settlers' Association represented but two possible futures: one group envisioned a world to come while the other clung to a world slipping away. Neither vision was completely persuasive to the men who came to Sacramento during the earliest years of the Gold Rush. Perhaps the majority preferred a degree of ambiguity.

Their attempts to tame their urban wilderness reflect both the hopes and the fears they brought with them. If a clear structure eluded them in the early years, it was because they could not agree on a single vision of society. With the promise of a new beginning before them, settlers consciously sought to create a society that lived up to their various visions. Bound at the most fundamental level by a quest for individual opportunity, Sacramento's population sought to escape their social and economic problems



Sacramentans faced other trials during the early 1850s, including fires and a series of regular winter floods that ruined businesses and drove the construction of a complex and permanent levy system. This illustration of the city on New Year's Day, 1853, shows J Street as a more mature and expanded business district. *California Historical Society, FN-05615.*

on the gold-rush frontier. Some discovered that old problems had followed them and they fought to impose their own particular sense of order on the city. For the majority, however, Edward Kemble's 1849 description of the city's "admirable city-like confusion" was apt.[54] Confusion could be admirable when it represented a plethora of individual opportunities. If Sacramento tended to be a "wild" frontier town in its early days, it was because its residents sought only to tame, not to banish, the wilderness within.

See notes beginning on page

Mark A. Eifler is an associate professor of history at the University of Portland, Oregon, where he teaches courses on the American West and the Pacific Rim. He is currently finishing revision on his book, Admirable Confusion: Capitalism and Community in Gold Rush Sacramento

CADWALADER RINGGOLD, U. S. NAVY

Gold Rush Surveyor of San Francisco Bay and Waters to Sacramento, 1849-1850

by Alan Fraser Houston

By early summer of 1849, hundreds of ships were anchored in the harbor of San Francisco. Forty-niners were scrambling for available means of transportation to the gold region, and suppliers faced the same difficulties as the gold seekers. Navigation by ships on the Sacramento River was severely limited by reefs, bars, mud, and tortuous channels. Groundings were frequent and losses occurred. Ships were forced to unload to smaller vessels at either San Francisco or across the bay at Benicia, resulting in delay, inconvenience, and increased expense. Non-existent charts of the harbor, bays, rivers, and shoals compounded the hazards. The business community and local government quickly recognized the problem and just as quickly proposed a solution: enter marine pioneer Cadwalader Ringgold, USN.

On June 20, San Francisco's *Alta California* announced:

> Enterprising—A subscription is on foot among our business men[1] to survey and buoy the Suisun bay and the Sacramento river between this port and Sacramento city. Captain Ringgold, U S N, has been employed to make the survey, and there is every prospect that it will be speedily accomplished.[2]

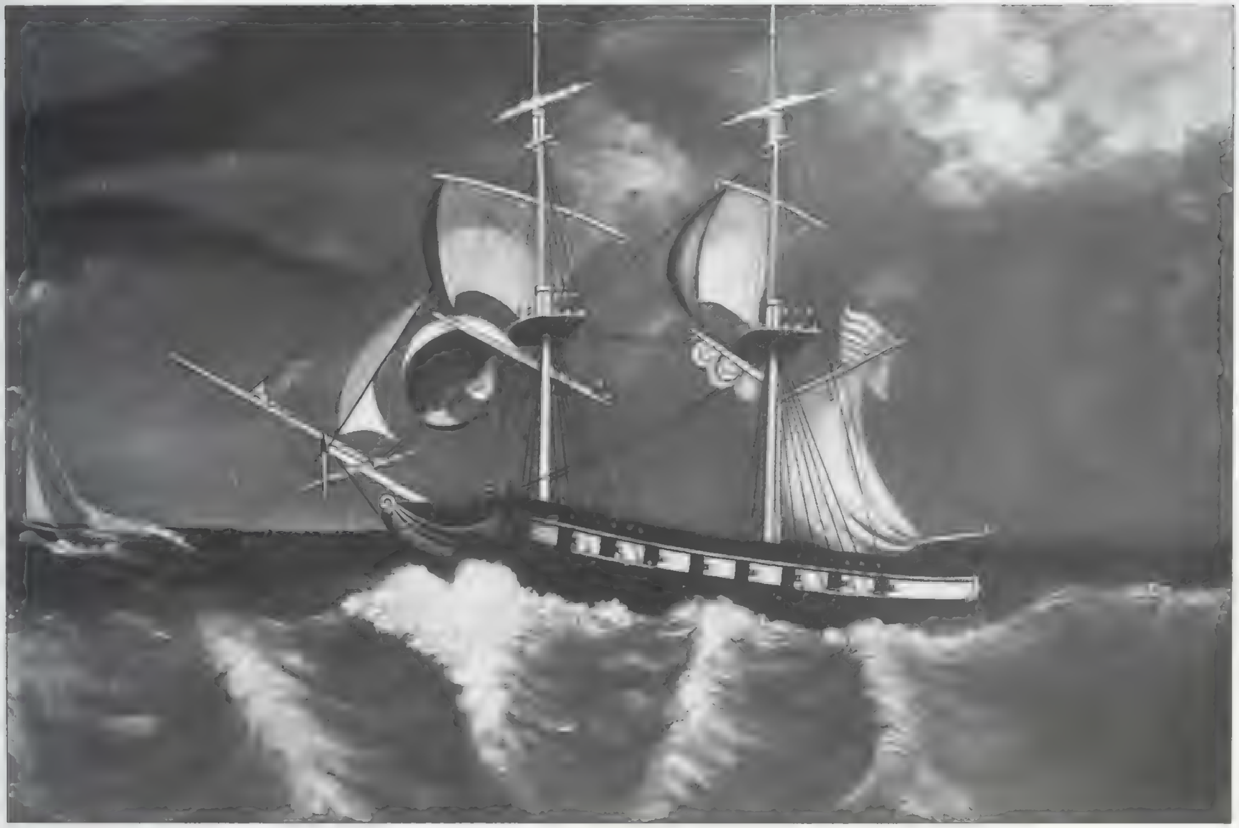
Ringgold later replied:

> [T]he enterprising citizens of San Francisco . . . in the absence of any authentic charts, saw the necessity of careful and immediate surveys. Being at the time in California,[3] I was requested to undertake the laborious and toilsome duty of surveying a vast and unknown sea, buoying out the channels, and removing the many obstacles attending intercourse with the mines.[4]

Who was Cadwalader Ringgold? What were the eastern origins of this noted but largely undocumented nineteenth-century marine explorer? What were his contributions to San Francisco and the gold regions? The answers to these questions begin with his family's distinguished military tradition and with his own exemplary naval career.

The sixth of eleven children, Cadwalader Ringgold was born on August 20, 1802, at "Fountain Rock," his father's 18,000-acre estate in Washington County in western Maryland. His father, Gen. Samuel Ringgold of the Maryland militia, served in the Maryland state senate and, except for one term, as a U. S. congressman from 1810 to 1821. Cadwalader's mother was Maria Cadwalader, the daughter of the distinguished Gen. John Cadwalader of Philadelphia. Gen. John Cadwalader had been commander of the "silk stocking company" of Philadelphia at the opening of the Revolutionary War, so-called because it was recruited from the elite young men of Philadelphia. Under General Cadwalader's command, however, they were a well-drilled, efficient, and effective force. General Cadwalader led his Pennsylvania troops in the winter campaign of 1776–77 and received General Washington's recognition: "A man of ability, a good disciplinarian, firm in his principles, and of intrepid bravery."[5] In defense of General Washington, General Cadwalader later successfully fought a duel with Gen. Thomas Conway after the latter had sought to undermine Washington's leadership.

Cadwalader Ringgold's older brother, Samuel, was born at Fountain Rock in 1800 and graduated from the U. S. Military Academy at West Point in 1818 with high honor. He began service as a lieutenant of artillery and became an aide to Gen. Winfield Scott. Prior to the Mexican War, while at Fort McHenry, Baltimore, he organized the first corps of flying artillery—a corps capable of rapid move-



U.S. Brig of War *Porpoise,* unsigned oil painting, ca. 1836. Lt. Cadwalader Ringgold sailed the 224-ton ship from Hampton Roads, Virginia, to the Pacific Northwest via the South Seas and Antarctica, as part of the U.S. Exploring Expedition under the command of Lt. Charles Wilkes, 1838-1842.
Courtesy Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Mass.

ment. Immensely popular and highly respected, Major Ringgold was wounded at Palo Alto in the Mexican War on May 8, 1846, while personally directing cannon fire. He died at Port Isabel, Texas, on May 11, and was buried with full military and civic honors on December 22, 1846, at Green Mount Cemetery in Baltimore.

Cadwalader Ringgold's half-sister, Marie Antoinette Ringgold, the "beautiful and accomplished"[6] sister of George Hay Ringgold, moved to California[7] and married the prominent Gen. Henry M. Naglee in San Francisco on May 26, 1865.[8] The woman jilted by Naglee's marriage to Miss Ringgold subsequently published years of his correspondence for the world to read, titled: *The Love Life of Brig. Gen. Henry M. Naglee, consisting of a correspondence on love, war and politics.*[9]

After the death of his wife in 1811, Cadwalader's father married Marie Antoinette Hay in 1813. The result was another five children, one of whom was Lt. Col. George Hay Ringgold. Born in 1814, this half-brother to Cadwalader and Maj. Sam Ringgold graduated from the U. S. Military Academy in 1833. George Hay Ringgold later became a paymaster during the Mexican War, and was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel on May 28, 1862. Known as an amateur painter,[10] he first settled in California in 1855, and was in charge of paymasters for the Department of the Pacific during the Civil War. He died in San Francisco on April 5, 1864, and, following a funeral with a military escort of six companies, was buried at Calvary Cemetery, now part of Cypress Lawn, San Mateo County. Flags flew at half-mast over public buildings, forts, hotels, and ships in the harbor.

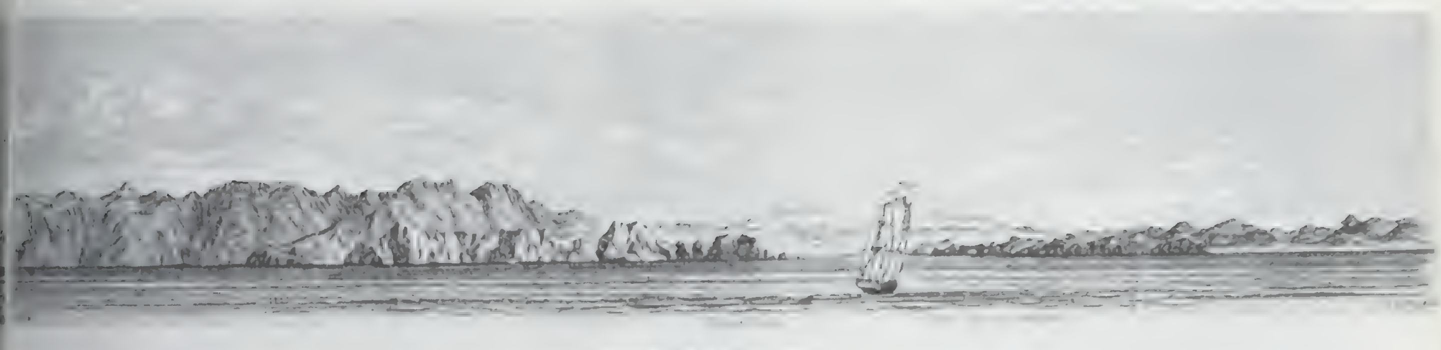
The Cadwalader and Ringgold family traditions[11] continued with the appointment of Cadwalader Ringgold as midshipman on March 4, 1819. The appointment had the assistance of his father, who had written to the Secretary of the Navy, Benjamin W. Crowninshield (1772-1851), on April 1, 1818, seeking a warrant for midshipman. The senior Ringgold described his son as about fifteen years of age, "of good size, remarkably manly and amicable in his disposition" and "will never disgrace any commission his country may bestow on him." Young Cadwalader had "early predilections for that service [Navy]" and "his education has been directed to that object."[12] Cadwalader's record of over forty-five years of naval service would fulfill his father's every expectation.

Cadwalader became a Navy lieutenant in 1828. In his early service, he served aboard the *Columbus* in the Mediterranean during 1820 to 1821, and against Caribbean pirates in 1822 and 1823. He returned to the Mediterranean with the *North Carolina* from 1825 to 1826. He was with the *Vandalia* from 1828 to 1832, and the *John Adams* in the Mediterranean from 1834 to 1835.[13] His introduction to California came as commander of the brig *Porpoise* from 1838 to 1842 with the Wilkes expedition, known officially as the United States Surveying and Exploring Expedition, but usually as the U. S. Exploring Expedition—one of the major explorations of the nineteenth century. Charles Wilkes (1798–1877) was appointed midshipman a year before Ringgold in 1818 and lieutenant two years before Ringgold in 1826. In 1830, Wilkes became responsible for the Navy's division of charts and instruments.

In 1836, Congress authorized a surveying and exploring expedition to the southern seas. Wilkes was assigned command after Capt. Thomas ap Catesby Jones (1790–1858) resigned in frustration over long delays in preparing the expedition.[14] The compliment of scientists, naturalists, botanists, and others was borne by two tenders, two sloops-of-war, *Peacock* and *Vincennes*, a store-ship, *Relief*, and the brig-of-war *Porpoise*. The *Porpoise*, 224-tons, was built in 1836 at the Charlestown (Massachusetts) Navy Yard and was commanded by Ringgold at the invitation of Wilkes. On August 18, 1838, the expedition sailed south from Hampton Roads, Virginia, and followed the South American coast to Orange Harbor at Tierra del Fuego. From there, in late February and March of 1839, several vessels sailed south for an exploration of Antarctic waters. After returning to Orange Harbor, the expedition next sailed north to Chile and Peru before heading west to the Samoan Islands and Australia. Leaving Sydney, they again sailed south and explored fourteen hundred miles of Antarctica in January and February of 1840, thus proving the existence of a southern continent. The French had been there almost simultaneously, but had only briefly sighted land before reversing course to the north.

Capt. Cadwalader Ringgold (1802-1867).
Library of Congress.

The squadron ultimately proceeded on to Fiji and the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii). While at the Fiji Islands, the expedition captured the islanders' chief, Vendoni (or Vendovi), who was taken prisoner aboard the *Vincennes*. Seven years prior, Fijians, inspired by Vendoni, had killed and eaten eleven crewmen of the Salem, Massachusetts, brig *Charles Doggett* (or



Lithograph view of San Francisco Bay. From Cadwalader Ringgold, *A Series of Charts with Sailing Directions, Embracing Surveys of the Farallones, Entrance to the Bay of San Francisco* . . . (Washington, D.C.: 1852). *Courtesy of the author.*

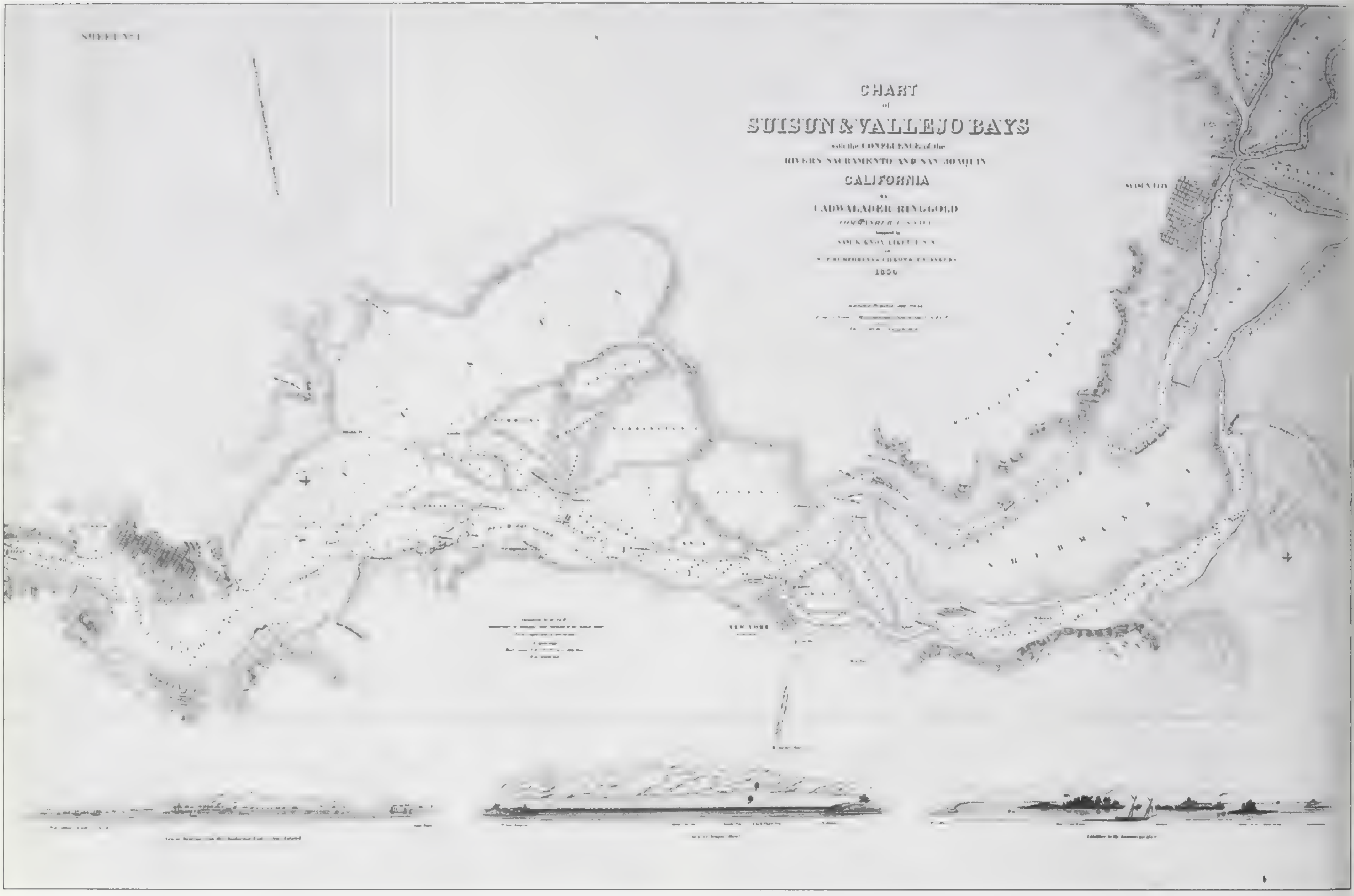
Dagget).[15] Shortly after Vendoni's capture, Fijians, at the island of Malolo, ambushed and killed two highly popular officers of the expedition, one the only son of Wilkes's widowed sister. Unlike retribution for the crewmen of the *Charles Doggett*, revenge at Malolo was swift and severe. With Wilkes delayed by grounding on the north side of the island, Ringgold led an assembled eighty-man force from the south side. Two villages were destroyed and, sparing women and children, an estimated eighty-seven natives were killed before the Fijians capitulated.

In mid-1841, the expedition sailed east across the Pacific and began an exploration of Oregon and the Pacific Northwest. Transferring his command to the *Porpoise*, Wilkes remained in the Northwest, sending Ringgold south in command of the *Vincennes*. With the captured Vendoni still aboard, the *Vincennes* sailed from the Columbia River on August 10, 1841, and arrived in San Francisco Bay on August 14. Here, Ringgold learned of President William Henry Harrison's sudden death, after only four weeks in office, and was brought "almost to tears."[16] On the eighteenth, to mark the third anniversary of the expedition's departure from Hampton Roads, the ward room officers held "a grand dinner celebration" for Ringgold.[17] The officers apparently had more than dinner: "By night tha Were drunk Enougth Singing Halloing & making the most Hedious noise." Ringgold, however, entertained only a few guests and "struck the Californians as 'severe and forbidding'" and "too busy to be social."[18]

Ringgold had work to do: on the nineteenth of August, under cloudy weather and breezes from the south and west the crew was "Employed fitting out the party for surveying."[19] On the twentieth, with some of the crew setting up a portable house on shore for survey instruments and with the *Vincennes* anchored at Whaler's Harbor next to present-day Sausalito, Ringgold left with seven boats and about sixty officers and men to begin an anticipated six-week exploration of San Francisco Bay and the Sacramento River.[20] By the twenty-third, they reached the residence of "Captain Suter" [sic] at New Helvetia, in present-day Sacramento. Sutter had warning of the explorers' approach: he sent horses for the officers, put on his uniform, and fired his cannon on their arrival.

Leaving Sutter's Fort on the twenty-fifth,[21] the explorers continued up-river, passed the mouth of the Feather River, and encountered rapid water and snags before arriving at a local landmark, the Indian fish weir, five days later. With increasing difficulty, the group continued another several miles before stopping at lat. 39°13′39″N, long. 122°12′17″W, near today's Colusa, California.[22] From there, they descended the river, taking an Indian hostage after another Indian stole the "bowie-knife-pistol"[23] belonging to the expedition's naturalist, Dr. Charles Pickering. When the hostage later attempted escape, and with "a dozen triggers ready to be pulled,"[24] Ringgold held back firing. Repassing the Feather River, and low on provisions, the survey party again spent several days at Sutter's. The expedition returned to Whaler's Harbor and reboarded the *Vincennes* on September 9 after an absence of twenty days.[25]

On September 7, 1841, Wilkes ordered an overland party from Vancouver to explore south through Oregon to northern California. The group reached the headwaters of the Destruction River on October 2 and followed it to the Sacramento River, arriving at Sutter's Fort on October 19. Here James Dwight Dana, the expedition's geologist and an outstand-

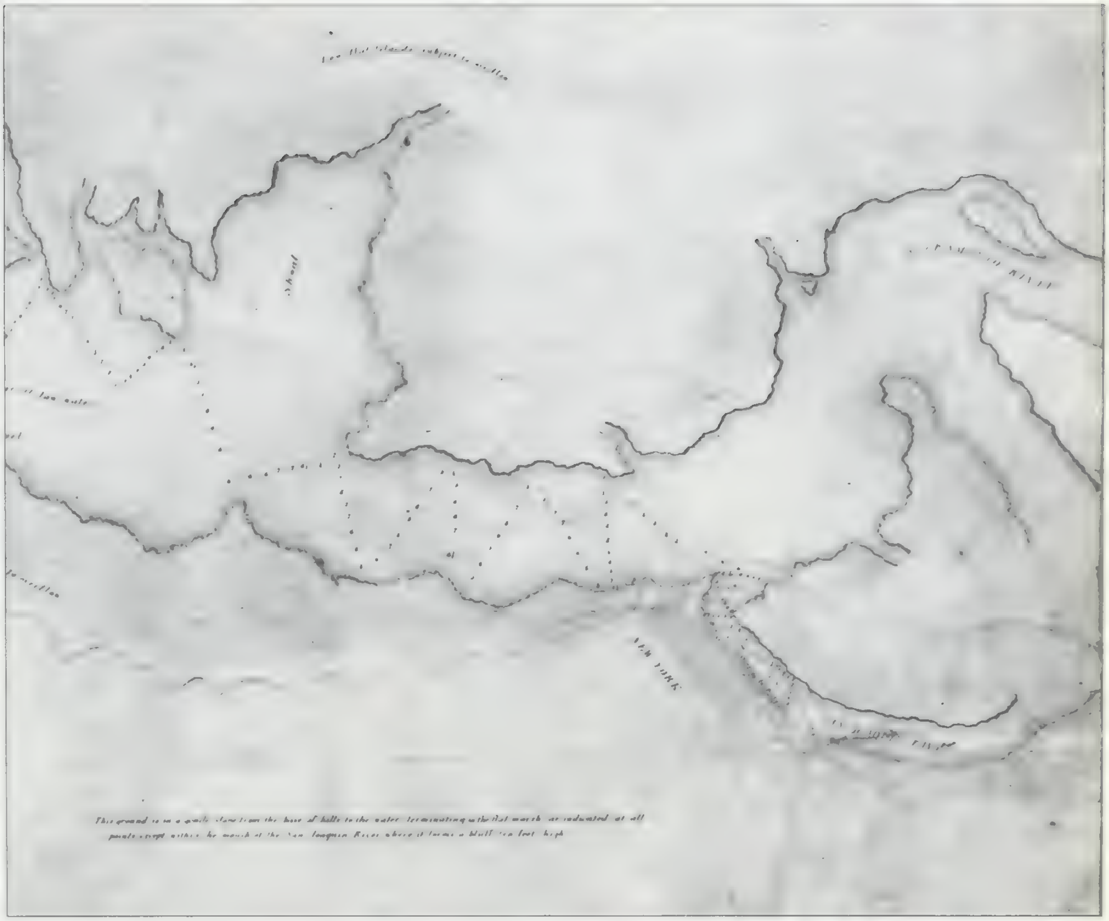


ing American geologist of the nineteenth century, informed Sutter that he had seen "the strongest proof and signs of gold."[26] Continuing on, with the loan of a boat from Sutter to carry the sick, they reached San Francisco Bay on October 23.

Following the completion of the explorations in the Northwest, Lt. Wilkes on the *Porpoise* and other members of the expedition on the *Oregon*[27] arrived in San Francisco on October 18 and 19, respectively. The combined expedition left San Francisco Bay on November 1, 1841, nearly losing Wilkes and the *Vincennes* on the bar, and recrossed the Pacific to Hawaii, the Philippines, and Singapore. They passed the Cape of Good Hope and arrived in New York on June 10, 1842, with the *Porpoise* arriving several weeks later. During three years and eleven months at sea, Ringgold and his crew had sailed a total of 95,000 miles and lost only two men during the voyage.

The expedition was greeted by an apathetic officialdom and Wilkes was soon court-martialed and faced multiple charges, chiefly excessively harsh punishments and failure to adequately document the Antarctic discovery. Lt. Wilkes often exceeded the twelve lashes allowed by law, and poor log-keeping allowed the French to claim the first discovery of Antarctica. Thus, the officers of the expedition spent their days in the courtroom providing testimony. Ultimately, Wilkes received a reprimand from the court. The massive number of specimens the expedition brought to Washington ultimately became the foundation of the Smithsonian's collections and the expedition's scientific achievements were recognized internationally. The reports of the U. S. Exploring Expedition, compiled over the course of the next decade, are very rare today. Only about one hundred sets were issued and many of these were presented to foreign dignitaries and foreign governments. Wilkes published his own account of the voyage, which was issued in five volumes and an atlas in 1844. A sixth volume, the work of ethnologist and philologist Horatio Hale, was published in 1846.

At the time of Ringgold's visit in 1841, San Fran-



Compare Ringgold's *Chart of uisun and Vallejo Bays* [at left] nd a detail of the preliminary *Chart of Suisun Bay* [right] repared by Blair, Hammond, an Sherman, which circulated as a omotional document by land peculators representing New ork of the Pacific, a would-be sh ping and commercial town at the mouth of the San Joaquin River. Early maps of varying a uracy were often utilized and ci ulated in this manner by land velopers and other salesmen. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

cisco Bay was sparsely settled and visited infrequently by merchant vessels. Consequently, there was little demand for marine surveys and charts. However, that need changed dramatically as San Francisco experienced a transformation unlike any that had occurred in its history or, perhaps, even in the history of the world: the discovery of gold in 1848 and the gold rush of 1849.

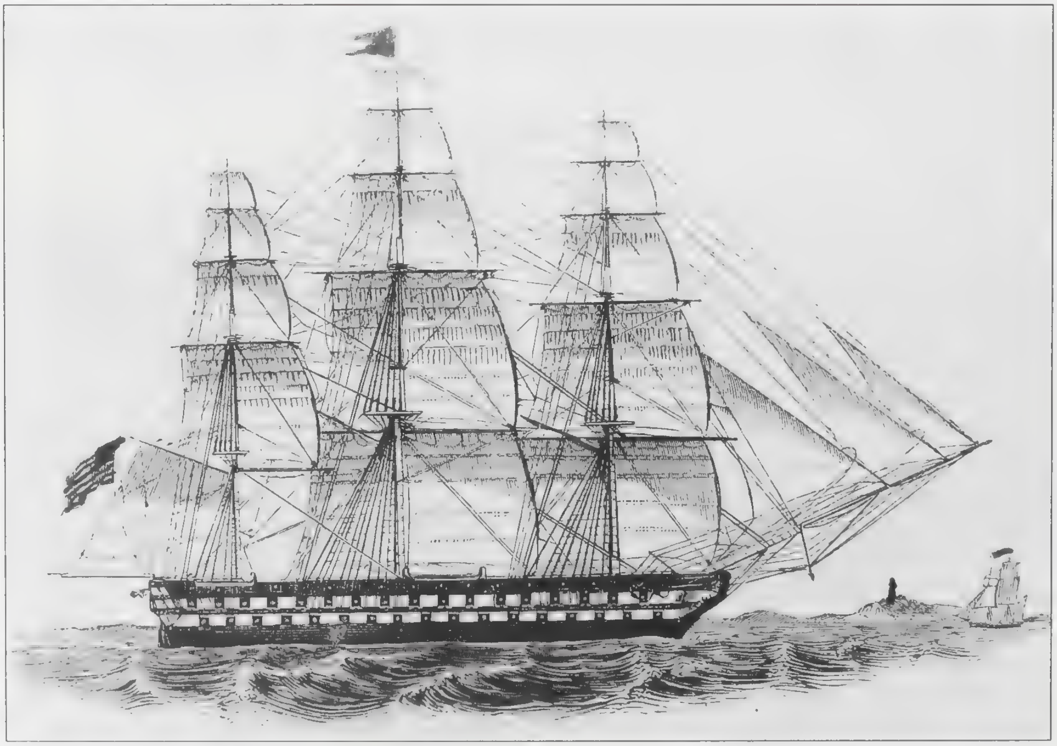
In August of 1849, Ringgold, in command of the chartered brig *Col. Fremont,* began the definitive survey of the bay region. The Bay of Suisun was the highest priority, since it was the "most difficult to navigate, and least understood."[28] The Bay of Suisun was unquestionably problematic for gold seekers and goods moving up-river to Sacramento and the gold fields. "In May last [1849]," observed San Francisco's *Alta California,* "so little was known of Suisun Bay that pilots were constantly running vessels, even of light draft, on the banks and shores of that bay; and sea going ships did not attempt to navigate the bay except to lay up as storehouses at Stockton and Sacramento city."[29] It is not surprising that Ringgold and his crew, some veterans of earlier expeditions, first surveyed and charted the Sacramento River from the Strait of San Pablo to the Bay of Suisun and located a deep channel in the latter. The survey placed heavily anchored buoys marking the channel, and, through the printing firm of Messrs. Woodruff and Addison, charts with sailing directions were available to mariners in a few weeks time.

Using its base, conveniently located on the plain near the City of New York of the Pacific (present-day Pittsburg), the hydrographers were able to extend their system of triangulation and azimuths toward the east and Sacramento, but also to the west and to San Francisco Bay and San Francisco. However, this portion of the survey was not without problems. Vandals cut down a "large signal pole, placed, at much time and trouble, at an important point in the triangulation."[30] In the summer of 1849, many interests competed for shipping traffic, land sales, and settlement. A charted channel that took commerce away from a prospective city was a threat, and an isolated pole was a tempting target. The newspaper asked for information regarding the perpetrators and announced a reward before reporting that "Capt. Ringgold . . . will leave immediately, and extend his surveys up to Sacramento City."[31] Winter offered the advantage of the rivers at their lowest stage, making exploration of their channels easier, an advantage not lost by Ringgold and his men.

While Ringgold was away, the *Alta California* created a swirl of controversy when it reported not on Ringgold's activity but that of others.[32] Lithographed charts had been issued of Suisun Bay with soundings "from Karquinez Straits to the site of their projected city [New York of the Pacific], from a survey made . . . by Lieuts. Blair and Hammond, U. S. N. . . . we trust it will be useful to the proprietors in building up their enterprise, and reaping a suitable reward for industry and labor expended thereon." This attribution of the chart to officers of the Navy was in fact incorrect, since only Blair was a Navy lieutenant; Hammond was U. S. Army (USA).[33]

A third surveyor with Blair and Hammond was Lt. William Tecumseh Sherman, USA, who had also worked on the survey of New York of the Pacific, whose intensely competitive proprietors, Messrs. Stevenson, Parker & Co., gratuitously distributed the charts mentioned above. The attention given the Blair / Hammond / Sherman survey provoked sharp controversy and a flurry of letters to the press—the first round, a letter simply signed: "The Navy."

"The Navy's" letter angrily proclaimed that the officers responsible for the survey and chart had no approval or sanction from the Navy. The writer noted inaccuracies: the chart placed New York of the Pacific thirty-seven miles from the ocean rather than the actual fifty-seven miles and that, contrary to claims, the only buoys ever placed had been those of Ringgold's in August. The letter stated that "every



The U.S.S. *Ohio*, shown in this lithograph, was launched in 1820 and quickly became the pride of the Navy. After extensive retrofitting in the late 1830s, the seaworthy vessel played a critical role in the siege of Vera Cruz during the Mexican War, and afterward continued to serve with both the Atlantic and Pacific fleets. *Courtesy Collections of the Mariners' Museum, Newport News, Va.*

dvantage claimed . . . for New York of the Pacific, xists in the imagination of the proprietors,"[34] a heme to be reiterated by others. For instance, world raveler, writer, and lecturer Bayard Taylor visited an Francisco and the gold regions in 1849 and his ision was clearly more accurate than that of the prorietors. He characterized the city of New York of he Pacific:

> its aspiring but most awkward name, is located on a level plain . . . backed by a range of barren mountains . . . There never will be a large town there, for the simple reason that there is no possible cause why there *should* be one. Stockton and Sacramento City supply the mines, San Francisco takes the commerce, Benicia the agricultural produce, with a fair share of the inland trade, and this Gotham-of-the-West, I fear, must continue to belie its title.[35]

In fact, the three officers, Sherman, Blair, and Hammond, had borrowed a four-oared boat from he mail steamer *California* and then convinced the rew of the *Ohio*, the Pacific Squadron's flagship ying at Sausalito, to supply them for the purpose f laying out military grounds near Benicia. "The Navy" railed that such a boat was far too small to carry adequate surveying equipment and heavy buoys and anchors as had been suggested. The small party returned in the short time of ten days and "the Navy" argued that "it was impossible for any party in so small a boat, to have taking [sic] the soundings, measured the angles, and computed the distances, necessary for a correct chart, in *ten months* . . the U. S. Schooner *Ewing*, drawing 9 feet of water, had visited "New York of the Pacific" twice within the past six weeks, with good pilots on board, yet both times she grounded at the slough of N. York.[36]

A letter in defense of the May 1849 survey by Sherman, Blair, and Hammond was immediately forthcoming. Sherman wrote: "The circumstances under which we made the preliminary survey of Suisun Bay, or the degree of perfection we gave the work is nobody's business save those interested. The Lithographic Map is as correct as we designed it, and in all its essential particulars has been confirmed by subsequent surveys . . ."[37] This rare chart, located and reproduced here, can be compared with its Ringgold counterpart and demonstrates that it is of limited scope. It mainly serves to chart the immediate approach to New York of the Pacific.

It is apparent that Sherman and the others had acted in good faith and had made a brief, preliminary survey. The proprietors of New York of the Pacific then used the survey to extol the virtues of their enterprise, misrepresenting the location's deficiencies and provoking "The Navy."[38] Whether Ringgold wrote the letter, sanctioned the letter, or even knew of the letter is not known, but it is likely that anyone associated with the Ringgold survey would have been offended by the limited chart touted by the proprietors of New York of the Pacific. At the time of the letter, published on November 1, 1849, Ringgold was away, finishing his survey of the Sacramento River and Sacramento City. It is highly likely that the letter emanated from Commodore Thomas ap Catesby Jones, commander of the Pacific Squadron and a friend of Ringgold's. In the Navy of the time, no subordinate would have dared to enter such a controversy.

Commodore Jones considered Benicia a port and city location far superior to San Francisco. Thomas Oliver Larkin sold Jones a number of lots at bargain prices for Jones's assistance in promoting Benicia, the projected city that Jones considered "my darling."[39] Jones took every opportunity to anchor the Pacific Squadron's fleet there and once ran the storeship *Southhampton* aground enroute to Benicia—thus naming Southhampton Shoal. Reflecting the chicanery of the times, Larkin asked Ringgold to prominently display Benicia on the latter's charts. However, Ringgold, faithful to his maritime cause, replied in a letter to Larkin:

> you offered and gave me an additional sum, for my exertions in giving all the attention I Could to the location of your favorite place, Benicia. A glance at the Charts will shew [sic] there was no lack of work on that portion of my Survey, which had attracted the admiration and attention of all men of science and experience. The Straits of Carquines and Benicia stand out in bold relief. The charts dont [sic] claim to embrace the topography and minute details of the interior. They were, as they express in the memoir, intended for practical navigators, and to assist in reaching the mines."[40]

Not only was Jones a champion of Benicia against other upstart "cities," but his Welsh-English blood was probably still boiling from comments in early May by the *Alta California* in which the editorial "author traveled out of the record to disparage the Navy."[41] The May editorial had read in part:

> Thus has the enterprise of Col. Stevenson and his associates rendered a more important service to California than the entire naval force of the country which has been stationed here for the last two years

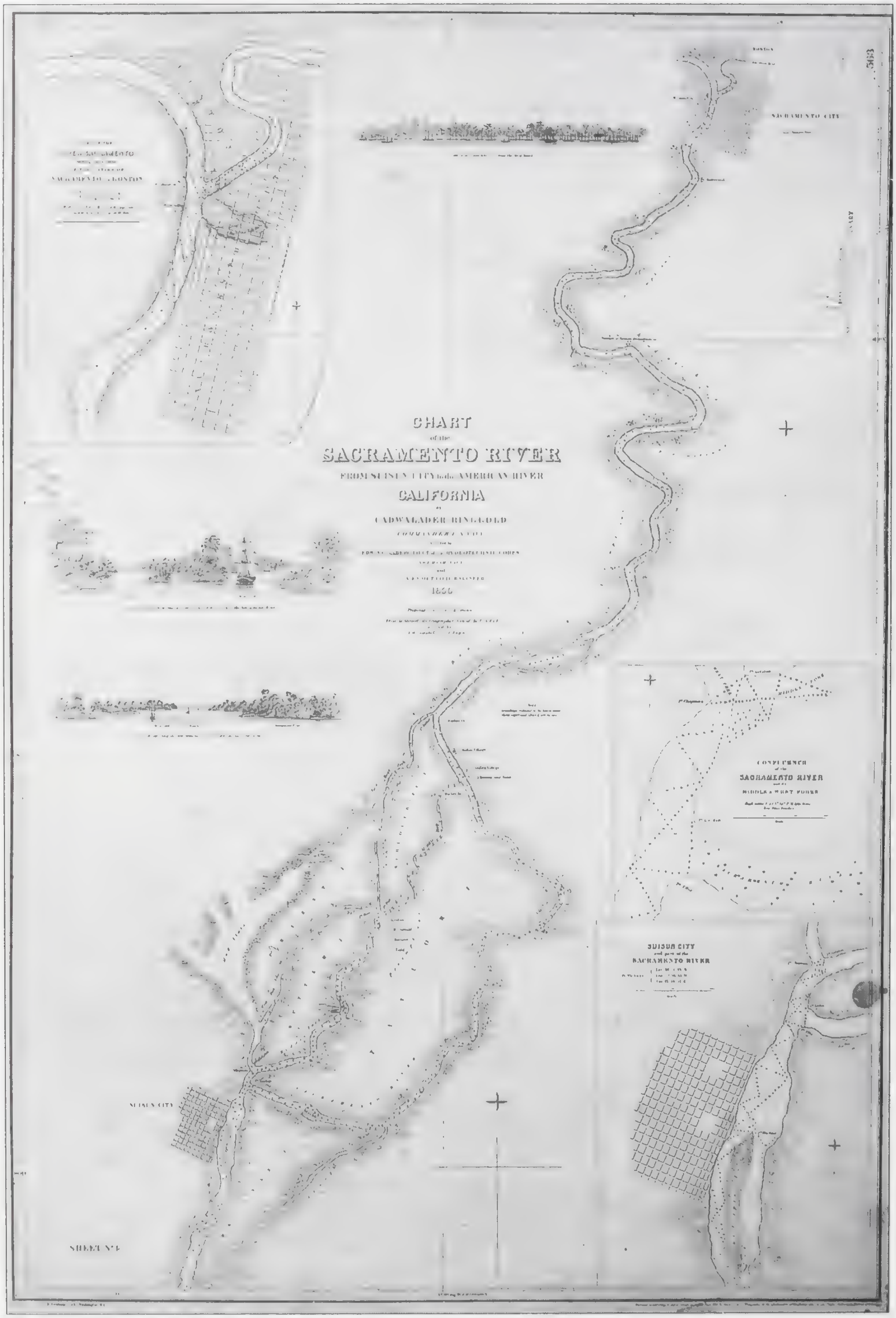


CHART
of the
SACRAMENTO RIVER
FROM SUISUN CITY to the AMERICAN RIVER
CALIFORNIA
by
CADWALADER RINGGOLD
COMMANDER U.S.N.
1850
SACRAMENTO CITY
CONFLUENCE of the SACRAMENTO RIVER
SUISUN CITY
SHEET No 4

Chart of the Sacramento River, by Cadwalader Ringgold, Commander, U.S. Navy.
Courtesy Bancroft Library.

> ... We have deemed this extended notice of this new city [New York of the Pacific] a duty we owe the proprietors thereof, for the pains they have taken and the expense they have incurred, in making an accurate survey of the Bay of Suisun, and the various channels leading from it to the rivers Sacramento and San Joaquin. They have thereby conferred a lasting benefit on the whole country, and deserve at least, this public acknowledgement of their enterprise.[42]

Lt. Sherman's autobiography, written many years later, sheds light on his survey but omits mention of the controversy. In early 1849, Sherman's army pay was seventy dollars a month—at a time when servants were hiring at $300 a month. Most soldiers had simply deserted by 1849, and only a few officers remained. Sherman recalled:

> As there was very little to do, General Smith encouraged us to go into any business that would enable us to make money. R. P. Hammond, James Blair,[43] and I made a contract to survey for Colonel J. D. Stevenson his newly-projected city of "New York of the Pacific," situated at the mouth of the San Joaquin River. The contract embraced, also, the making of soundings and the marking out of a channel through Suisun Bay. We hired, in San Francisco, a small metallic boat, with a sail, laid in some stores, and proceeded to the United States ship Ohio, anchored at Saucelito, where we borrowed a sailor-boy and lead-lines with which to sound the channel. We sailed up to Benicia, and, at General Smith's request, we surveyed and marked the line dividing the city of Benicia from the government reserve. We then sounded the bay back and forth, and staked out the best channel up Suisun Bay, from which Blair made out sailing directions. We then made the preliminary surveys of the city of "New York of the Pacific," all of which were duly plotted; and for this work we each received from Stevenson five hundred dollars and ten or fifteen lots. I sold enough lots to make up another five hundred dollars, and let the balance go; for the city of "New York of the Pacific" never came to anything. Indeed, cities at the time were being projected by speculators all round the bay and all over the country.[44]

At the end of Sherman's two-month leave of absence, he recalled, "[I] knocked off my work, sold my instruments, and left my wagon and mules with my cousin Charley Hoyt, who had a store in Sacramento."[45]

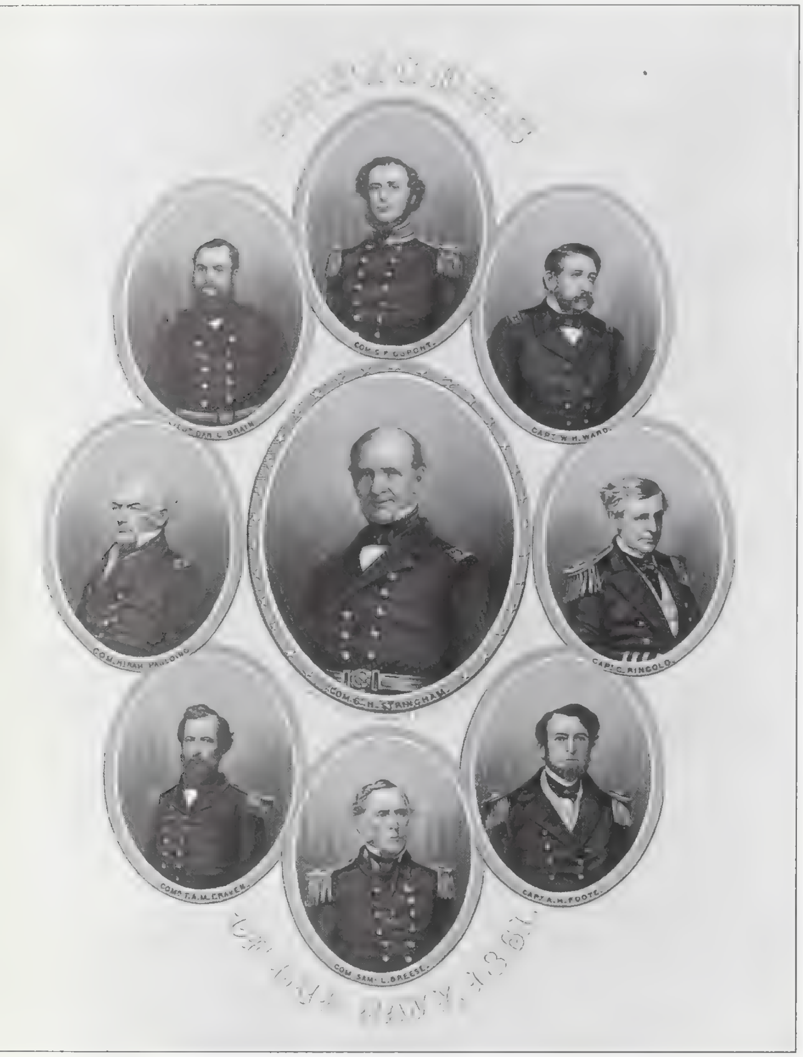
The controversy was over by mid-November, when Ringgold returned again to San Francisco, his survey work completed as far as the city of Sacramento. Press comment was positive: "We have been favored with an opportunity of examining portions of the charts in the course of construction, and as far as our judgment justifies, we are pleased to say they do credit to the officer who has faithfully prepared them, after so much time and labor. Doubtless they will incalculably assist in the safe and easy navigation of the whole route to the interior, and greatly facilitate the communication with our friends also."[46] A glance at the existing Ringgold charts confirms their comprehensive nature—from the Farallone Islands to Sacramento City.

At year's end, with another segment completed, that is, the East Bay, Suisun, and the Sacramento River (see the chart shown here), Ringgold chartered a schooner and began the work of buoying the harbor at San Francisco and the dangerous shoal known as Blossom Rock. Ironwork required to produce the buoys went slowly and delayed their progress.[47] Meanwhile, vessels continued to strike uncharted rocks within the harbor.[48]

By the end of January 1850, Blossom Rock was marked by a large cylindrical buoy with a red flag, moored in three fathoms of water. Southampton Shoal, east of Angel Island, was marked by three buoys moored in two and one-half fathoms, and Invincible Rock, lying in the channel through the straits of San Pablo, was located for the first time and marked by a large white spar buoy. The *Alta California* reported that "The improvements have been made by order of the late Governor, General Riley. When the whole duty so essential to safe navigation, now in course of completion, shall have been executed, concise directions and a description will be prepared for the public advantage by the superintendent."[49]

Ringgold became involved in another controversy that does not appear to be intentional. In the spring of 1850, the city of San Francisco announced that it would sell lots at auction, allowing one water-lot and one land-lot per bidder. This practice was subject to abuse: individuals such as Capt. Joseph L. Folsom used his clerks to bid for lots that they resold to him. Sensing the potential for abuse, a group of citizens, with Ringgold's name among them, petitioned the court. The group contended "that they [the Ayuntamiento] have not properly carried out the Mexican laws, have squandered the property of the city and performed other illegal acts for which they pray an injunction. The bill was filed and the injunction granted."[50]

In response, public officials scrambled to avoid the appearance of impropriety.[51] Ringgold graciously


COM. S. F. DUPONT.
LIEUT. DAN. L. BRAIN
CAPT. W. H. WARD.
COM. HIRAM PAULDING
COM. S. H. STRINGHAM.
CAPT. C. RINGGOLD.
COMDR. T. A. M. CRAVEN.
COM. SAM. L. BREESE.
CAPT. A. H. FOOTE.
NAVY, 1861.

This 1861 engraving, "Officers of our Navy," was done from photographs. Ringgold, a captain by that time, appears to the right of Comdr. Silas H. Stringham, center. *Courtesy National Portrait Gallery.*

side-stepped the issue and stated that he had only allowed his name to be used. In a public letter, Ringgold stated: "For obvious reasons, it does not become me to take part in the affairs of the city, and which properly belongs to the citizens more interested than myself, and who design a permanent residence. Not being acquainted with alleged facts, set forth in the 'Memorial' I deem it proper to request that my name be withdrawn therefrom."[52]

After completing work on the Sacramento River, San Francisco Bay, harbor, and intermediate bays, the final phase was the survey and charting of the sea approaches, work completed in June of 1850.[53] Although some charts had been printed to satisfy pressing local needs, the full volume of charts and sailing directions took longer and ran several editions. At the end of 1851, the *Alta California* had only praise and gratitude for Ringgold: "The series of charts which he published have won for him respect and confidence, and elicited the approval of the Coast Survey, of Lieut. [Matthew] Maury of the Washington Observatory, and other scientific authority."[54] The necessity for accurate surveys and charts secondarily resulted in the formation of a Board of Pilot Commissioners and the appointment and registration of competent, experienced pilots.

The result of Ringgold's efforts was his volume, *A Series of Charts with Sailing Directions*, printed in Washington, D. C., in five editions. The fourth edition consists of forty-eight pages, five charts, and twelve lithograph views. Ringgold's name appears on the very first of the views, titled, "Entrance of San Francisco." In his preface, dedicated to William H. Aspinwall of the "Pacific steam mail line," Ringgold wrote: "I have decided to inscribe the charts to you . . . to offer you this testimony of my sincere respect . . . You did me the honor, some years since, to invite me to take charge of the steamer California, the pioneer of your line, and to conduct her in safety to her destination; and although I was prevented, by official duty, from compliance with your request, I have not forgotten the kind terms in which the invitation was communicated."[55] The *California*, which left New York in October of 1848, before President Polk's official announcement of the discovery of gold on December 5, 1848, was the first of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company's vessels to arrive in California. The offer of the *California's* command to Ringgold was no small honor.

The charts and sailing directions encompassed the Farallones, the entrance to the Bay of San Francisco, the bays of San Francisco and San Pablo, the straits of Carquines [sic] and Suisun Bay, confluence and deltic branches of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers, the Sacramento River to the American River, and included the cities of Sacramento and Boston.

or the General Chart, Ringgold appended several ther surveys to his own. For instance, at the time f Ringgold's survey, Lt. William Pope McArthur, f the *Ewing*, was in the Bay Area surveying for the election of military and naval depots, and his survey of the city of Vallejo was included in the General Chart. Similarly, a survey of the San Joaquin iver by C. D. Gibbs of California was included. inally, to delineate the shoreline from Punto de los eyes to the Golden Gate, Ringgold used the survey of the "justly celebrated Beechey."[56]

In the preparation of the final charts, Ringgold was ssisted by "Frederick D. Stuart, of Washington, a entleman of great experience and skill in the hydroraphic art, in all its details. All the observations and ata upon which the charts are based and projected, ave undergone his severe and searching scrutiny."[57] tuart had been a hydrographer with the U. S. xploring Expedition and also served with the later inggold-Rodgers-Brooke expedition as Ringgold's ersonal secretary. Albert H. Campbell, a young civil ngineer who would later leave a mark in Califoria, also assisted in preparing several of Ringgold's harts.[58]

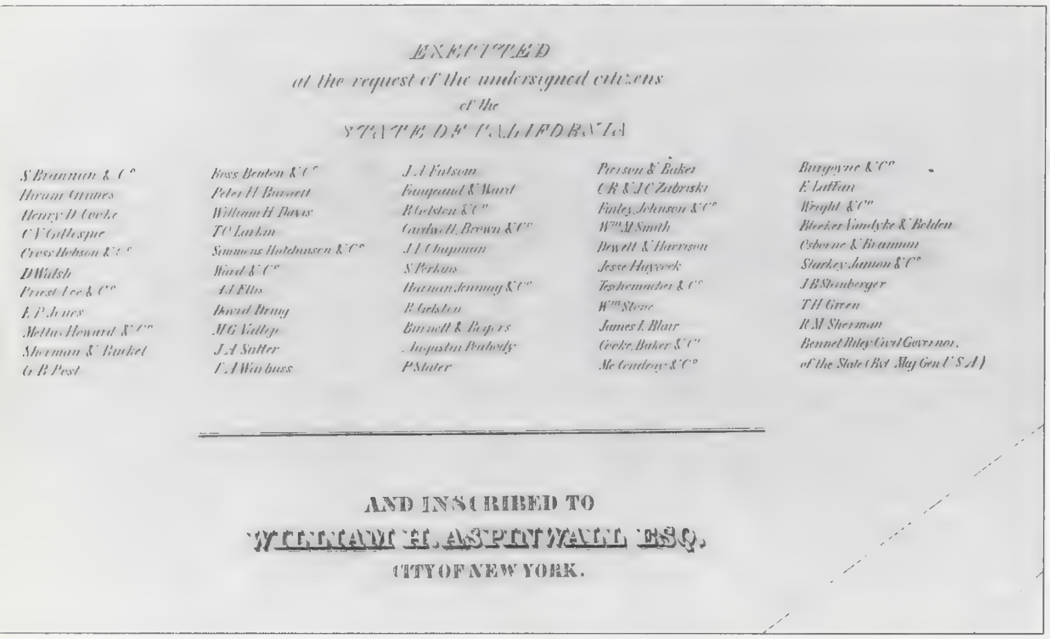
Ringgold sought to have his volume published by he U. S. government and enlisted influential friends, ncluding Thomas Oliver Larkin, to assist him in his fforts. However, challenged by Senator Jefferson Davis, who refused to support publication of nongovernment surveys, Ringgold was unsuccessful. A major implication of Davis's position was that nongovernment, or non-U. S. Coast Survey, charts might be unreliable. Davis pointed to a discrepancy between Ringgold and the Coast Survey in the location of the Farallone Islands, but, in the end, the error was not Ringgold's, it was the Coast Survey's. In a calculation error discovered by Coast Survey Superintendent Alexander Dallas Bache, the latitude of South Farallone was off by five minutes (5′) or approximately five miles—not inconsequential for a fog-shrouded mariner seeking entrance to the Golden Gate. In contrast, Ringgold's work was shown to be accurate to within three seconds (3″), a matter of yards not miles. Due to the remoteness of the California coast, it took many years for the Coast Survey to survey San Francisco Bay and adjacent waters. In fact, as late as 1858, topography executed, i. e., charted by the Coast Survey, was 1,889 miles of the Atlantic coast, 764 miles of the Gulf coast, and 259 miles of the Pacific coast. Ringgold, responding to local initiative, conducted his surveys efficiently and accurately at a time when they were urgently needed.

A testimonial to the value of Ringgold's work ironically comes from a Sherman memorandum on the subject, written in the summer of 1850 when Sherman was in Washington. It is clear that Sherman considered the Ringgold surveys and charts, not his own, to be definitive:

> If General Jones would apply for, and receive from the Navy Department the map of San Francisco Bay, as surveyed by Commander Wilkes when on his Exploring Expedition, it would facilitate any description I may be called on to give of Benicia and San Francisco— Also a map was subsequently made by Lieut. Ringgold U. S. Navy about July and August 1849, a copy of which may also be procured from the same office.
>
> These maps give the shoreline of San Francisco Bay, with the soundings &c which would enable me to give the Committee on [Foreign affairs, crossed out] Commerce a good idea of those waters and the relative importance of the two places.
>
> W. T. Sherman
> July 28, 1850[59]

Cadwalader Ringgold's subsequent career continued as successfully as it had to 1851.[60] Following his California surveys, he was assigned to duty in Norfolk, Virginia. Working with the Bureau of Construction, Equipment and Repair, he participated in the selection of "a suitable location for a Dock Yard for the [Navy's] Pacific station,"[61] which became the Mare Island Navy Yard. In August 1852, with Commodore Matthew Perry (1794-1858) and others, Ringgold served as a member of the Board of Examination for the midshipmen of the Naval Academy at Annapolis. Ringgold would not be ashore long, for in mid-June 1853 he again sailed from Hampton Roads, Virginia. This time, on the flagship *Vincennes*, he anticipated a long surveying expedition to the western Pacific and the Far East.

During this expedition, known as the North Pacific Surveying and Exploring Expedition, or the Ringgold-Rodgers-Brooke Expedition, a sister to the more famous and simultaneous mission of Commodore Matthew C. Perry, Ringgold became sick in July 1854 and was sent home. A few months later, on September 21, 1854, the *Porpoise*, also with the expedition, parted company with the small fleet. The *Porpoise* was never seen again, presumably lost in a typhoon. Ringgold was declared unfit for active



EXECUTED
at the request of the undersigned citizens
of the
STATE OF CALIFORNIA

S Brannan & Co
Hiram Grimes
Henry D Cooke
C V Gillespie
Cross Hobson & Co
D Walsh
Priest Lee & Co
E P Jones
Mellus Howard & Co
Sherman & Ruckel
G B Post

Ross Benton & Co
Peter H Burnett
William H Davis
T O Larkin
Simmons Hutchinson & Co
Ward & Co
A J Ellis
David Dring
M G Vallejo
J A Sutter
F A Winbuss

J L Folsom
Fauqeaud & Ward
R Gelston & Co
Cardwell, Brown & Co
J T Chapman
S Perkins
Harman Jennings & Co
R Gelston
Burnell & Rogers
Augustin Peabody
P Slater

Pierson & Baker
C R & J C Zabriski
Finley, Johnson & Co
Wm M Smith
Dewett & Harrison
Jesse Haycock
Teschemacher & Co
Wm Stone
James L Blair
Cooke, Baker & Co
McCondray & Co

Burgoyne & Co
E Laffan
Wright & Co
Bleeker Vandyke & Belden
Osborne & Brannan
Starkey Janion & Co
J B Steinberger
T H Green
R M Sherman
Bennet Riley Civil Governor,
of the State (Bvt Maj Gen U S A)

AND INSCRIBED TO
WILLIAM H. ASPINWALL ESQ.
CITY OF NEW YORK.

Detail of the inscription to the fourth edition of Cadwalader Ringgold's volume *A Series of Charts with Sailing Directions,* "executed at the request" of prominent early Californians including M.G. Vallejo, J. A. Sutter, S. Brannan, Peter H. Burnett, Thomas O. Larkin, and forty-nine others. Ringgold's inscription was a tribute to W.H. Aspinwall, founder of the government-contracted Pacific Mail Line in 1848 and the Panama Railroad, completed in 1855. The U.S. Pacific Mail Steamship *California,* first of the line's three trade ships, was the first steamer on the West Coast. Ringgold's naval commitment prevented him from accepting the high honor of commanding Aspinwall's ship. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

service by a board of naval physicians convened by Perry, and was placed on the reserve list by the Naval Retiring Board on September 13, 1855. Ringgold recovered from his July 1854 illness, intermittent fever (malaria), in a few weeks. Determined to fight for his career and his reputation, Ringgold refused to accept the board's decision. After petitioning Congress unsuccessfully, he appealed to a Court of Inquiry. After a long struggle—almost three years—Ringgold was returned to the active list on January 23, 1858, retroactive to April 2, 1856.

For the next several years, Ringgold remained in Washington, where he worked on charts from the recent expedition. In fact, charts of the western Pacific from the Ringgold-Rodgers-Brooke Expedition were used by the U. S. Navy in World War II,[62] as were some from the U. S. Exploring Expedition.[63] Ringgold even found time to socialize with other Washington, D. C., notables at one of President Buchanan's 1859 receptions at the White House.[64] In late 1859, he again served as an examiner at the Naval Academy.

After the onset of the Civil War, Ringgold, now Captain Ringgold, was ordered on September 9, 1861 to proceed without delay to Hampton Roads and report to Flag Officer Silas H. Stringham to command the U. S. frigate *Sabine*. Assigned to the southern division of the Atlantic Blockading Squadron, Ringgold and the *Sabine* were ordered to take up station off Georgetown, South Carolina. The *Sabine*, a 44-gun frigate and fast sailer of 1,726 tons, was laid down in 1822 at the New York Navy Yard, but not completed until 1855. She was one of a number of frigates built to Brandywine plans, the standard design for frigates of the U. S. Navy until the end of the era of sailing ships-of-war.

On November 1, 1861, Ringgold and the *Sabine's* crew heroically rescued a battalion of four hundred Maryland marines from the sinking steam transport *Governor* during a severe storm that swept the Union fleet approaching Port Royal, South Carolina. For this effort, and for the February 1862 search and rescue of the disabled ship *Vermont*, Ringgold received commendations from the Maryland legislature and the United States Congress. He also received a gold medal from the Life Saving Benevolent Association.

From November 1862 to February 1863, Ringgold and the *Sabine* cruised the Azores, the Cape Verde Islands, the coast of Brazil, and back to New York in search of the notorious Confederate raider *Alabama*. Ringgold very much regretted that "it has not fallen to our lot to encounter the Alabama,"[65] and, indeed, it fell to others to eventually find and sink her. In mid-1863, Ringgold, now a commodore, was ordered to cruise the vicinity of Bermuda and then the New England coast in an unsuccessful search for another Confederate raider, the bark *Tacony*.

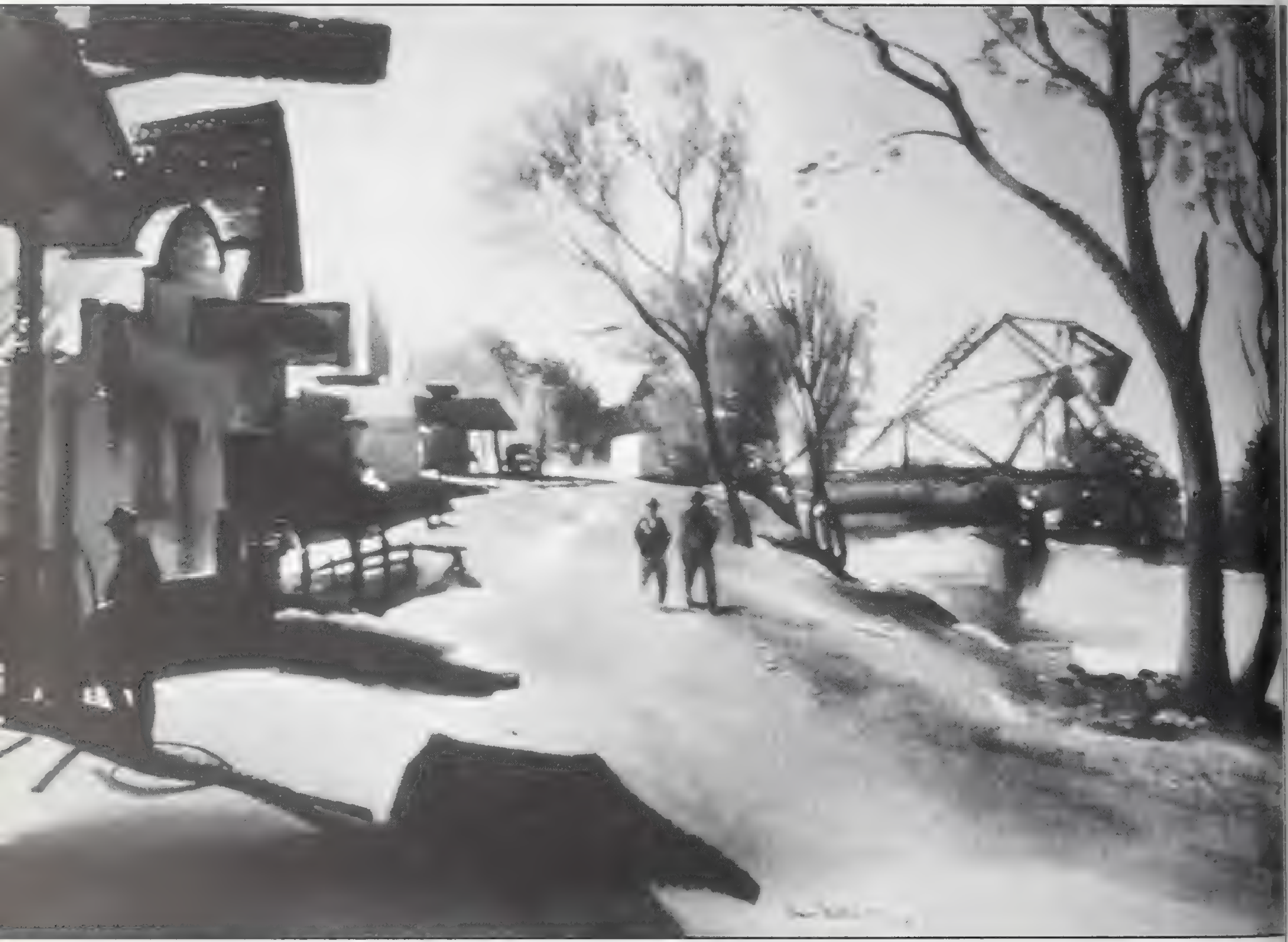
The U.S. Frigate *Sabine,* above, which Ringgold captained during the Civil War, was his final command. This early Civil War photograph captures the ship at Hampton Roads off Fortress Monroe (now Fort Monroe), Virginia, a Union outpost that, like Fort Pickens, never fell to the Confederates. *Courtesy Collections of the Mariners' Museum, Newport News, Va.*

Ringgold was retired for age on August 20, 1864, and two years later was promoted to Rear Admiral,[66] retired, a promotion that fell to those commodores who had commanded squadrons.[67] After the Civil War, Ringgold made his home at 18 East Eighteenth Street in New York City. Ringgold, who had never married, died of apoplexy (stroke) in New York on April 29, 1867. The funeral cortege of four hundred marines and carriages proceeded from Ringgold's residence in Union Square down Broadway to Trinity Church, with the marine band playing "Dead March in Saul." Admirals Farragut, Bell, and Stringham and a number of generals attended. Following the ceremony, Ringgold's remains were transferred by train to Green Mount Cemetery in Baltimore, where they were interred next to the grave of his brother, Maj. Sam Ringgold.

A glance today at the busy shipping traffic of the Golden Gate and San Francisco Bay confirms both Ringgold's vision and his contribution to the region: "After some experience in many parts of the world, I freely venture the opinion, there is no sheet of water on the globe better adapted for great national and commercial purposes than the Bay of San Francisco and its vast tributaries."[68] Ringgold's service to California, forgotten now,[69] was acknowledged at the time by the *Alta California*: "a gallant and efficient officer . . . Captain Ringgold is well known to the State of California, as one of its earliest friends, and an officer whose scientific explorations have contributed largely to her interests."[70]

See notes beginning on page 234

Alan Fraser Houston is a graduate of Amherst College and Boston University School of Medicine and lives in Durango, Colorado. Fraser, an emergency physician for over two decades, and his wife, Jourdan Houston, have lectured and written about a variety of western subjects. Their joint article on Frederick W. Lander's 1859 expedition to the Rockies, with artist Albert Bierstadt and several Boston artists, recently appeared in Montana The Magazine of Western History. *The founding artists of the Boston Art Club and art of the pre-railroad American West are their primary research interests.*



Barse Miller, American (1904–1973), *Along the Sacramento,* 1941, watercolor on paper, 21 ¾ in. by 29 in. *Courtesy Crocker Art Museum, Sacramento, Calif., Gift of Mrs. Barse Miller.*

Edited by James J. Rawls

Picturing California's Other Landscape: The Great Central Valley.

Edited by Heath Schenker. (Berkeley: Heyday Books and The Haggin Museum, 2000, 200 pp., 114 full-color and duotone illustrations, $35.00 paper).

Reviewed by Gerald Haslam, *professor emeritus of English at Sonoma State University and author of* Workin' Man Blues: Country Music in California (1999) *as well as numerous studies of California's Central Valley.*

Michael Tompkins's haunting painting, *Along Highway 5*, on the cover of *Picturing California's Other Landscape: The Great Central Valley,* suggests the most important question this book helps answer: what's *really* out there?

In recent years a number of high quality books collecting art both written and visual by Central Valley natives has dispelled the region's old clodhopper image—everything from editors James Baloian and David Kherdian's quite startling celebration of Fresno's poetry, *Down at the Santa Fe Depot* (1970), to watercolorist Rollin Pickford's equally remarkable visual exploration of the same area, *California Light* (1998), with much in between.

Such projects have alerted the open-minded to the valley's increasing importance in our culturally complex state. In fact, the valley is no longer nearly as "other" as it once was, thanks to the Maxine Hong-Kingstons, the Robert Dawsons, the Joan Didions, the Gary Sotos, and the Stephen Johnsons, et al., blue-collar folks mostly, of varied colors and both genders.

Picturing California's Other Landscape: The Great Central Valley, a large-format book (12" by 9") with 114 plates, extends and enhances that reputation. Editor Heath Schenker curated the exhibit at the Haggin Museum in Stockton, from which these images come. While this book is an excellent catalog for that exhibit, it is much more—an historical survey of how the great valley has been presented in paintings, photographs, maps, and commercial illustrations.

After a perfunctory xenophobic declaration—"the Central Valley landscape occupies a kind of void in the center of California and in California culture at large"—Schenker hits closer to home in his introduction to the section on Paintings and Sculpture, accurately declaring, "these images show a place with a strong regional identity and far more nuances than the views from Highway 5 or 99 reveal."

Even Central Valley dwellers—perhaps they most of all—will see various locales differently after viewing artists' takes on them. Why that's so is to a degree explained in the section introductions. Those four essays are individually well written and informative. But unfortunately, no theme or consistent pattern informs them, so that, for instance, Schenker presents a primer on schools of art—"The Picturesque," "The American Scene," in her introduction to "Painting and Sculpture," while David Robertson explains the challenges that valley landscapes pose for photographers—"The horizon line," "The Sky," "the foreground"—and discusses how various artists have dealt with them.

Robin Elizabeth Datel's essay on maps and their political and geographical manipulation is especially stimulating. "Maps not only record visions of a place," she writes, "but also transform places in line with those visions. Most maps of California's Central Valley have been designed to facilitate the control and exploitation of its land and other resources" (p. 93).

Geographer William Preston's introduction to the section labeled "Commercial and Promotional Images" is even more informative, but it is marred because it doesn't deal with the entire Central Valley, but only with "the region . . . extending from the Kings River to the Tehachapi Mountains in the South," about a third of the actual region. Still, Preston is so well informed and writes so persuasively that he might almost—but only *almost*—convince Sacramento Valley dwellers that he speaks for them, too, especially when discussing the county atlases and histories endowed by the gentry in the 1880s and nineties: "the histories and artwork from this era are biased toward the landscapes and preferences of those who could afford to pay" (p. 159).

The heart of this book, though, is the images not the essays, and they range from good to stunning, from familiar to unexpected. Visions of the Great Central Valley over the past 150 or so years have ranged from the romantic to the harshly realistic, and many variations are exemplified in this text. Albert Bierstadt's *Sacramento Valley in Spring* (n.d.), for example, an oil on canvas, could be a depiction of Eden. On the other hand, the map of "Existing and Proposed Major Water Developments," issued in 1949 by the Irrigation Districts Association of California, is an assertion of the human ability to dominate nature.

Not surprisingly, given the distinguished list of contributors, the wonderful paintings and photographs included in this collection tend to dominate visually. The former feature a rich variety of styles: Chiura Obata's *Sunset in the Sacramento Valley,* Daniel DeSiga's *Campesino,* Gregory Kondos's *Sacramento River,* and Ester Hernandez's *Heros and Saints,* for instance, demonstrate a genuine richness of perceptions.

The maps included are especially revealing of the process that produced, to quote Alvin Urqhart, "a triumph of geometry over geography," shaping ideas that led to the alteration of landscape . . . and to the creation of much wealth (and poverty). The closely related section on "Commercial and Promotional Images" is perhaps the most fun. It features everything from postcards to posters to fruit-box labels—most idealized and soft-focused and seductive. More revealing are pen-and-ink newspaper illustrations, such as "The hack in an unaccustomed neighborhood" by Ralph Yardley, that reveal something of everyday life in early-twentieth-century Stockton.

Among the many startling photographs are Dorothea Lange's

Books sent to *California History* for review that are not reviewed, but pertain to the collection, are catalogued in the California Historical Society library.

stark *A Very Blue Eagle, Tranquilly Vicinity, Fresno County, 1936* which is a jaw-dropper. So is, for quite different reasons, Ansel Adams's stunning aerial *Farm in the Rice Fields, Sacramento Valley, 1966*, and editor Schenker's own (with Phoebe Schenker) painterly *Picturing Yolo County*. Beauty and shock are mingled in this book.

Unlike writers from the Central Valley, who have increasingly examined the region's heterogeneous society, visual artists have tended to examine landscapes and cityscapes to make their points. The reproductions in *Picturing California's Other Landscape* well reveal that, along with sensitivity and insight, that's a fine combination. This book is a must for anyone seeking to understand a California that includes farms along with cities, desperate hovels as well as lavish estates, and endless rows of crops instead of beaches.

The Way We Really Were: The Golden State in the Second Great War.

Edited by Roger W. Lotchin. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000, viii, 245 pp., $44.95 cloth, $16.95 paper.)

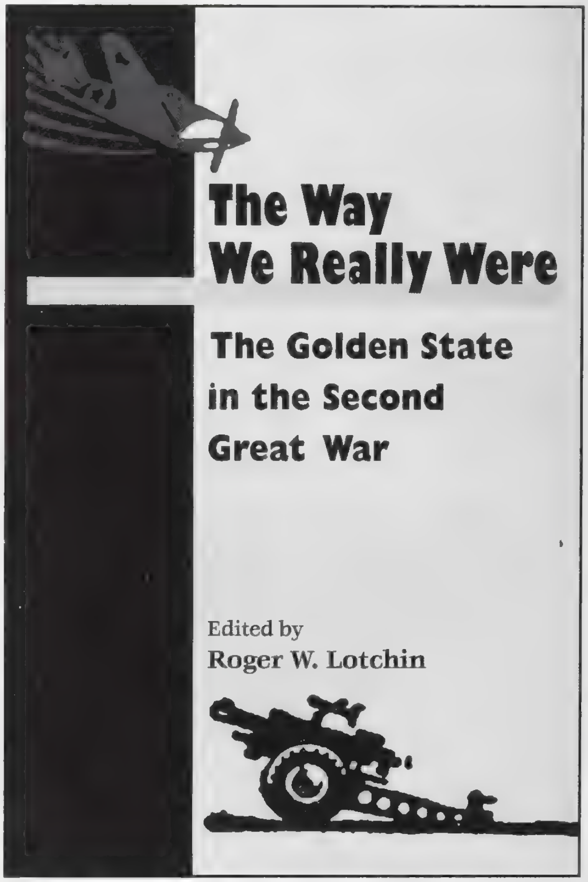
Reviewed by Gerald D. Nash, *Distinguished Professor of History at the University of New Mexico and author of* The Federal Landscape *and* A Brief History of the American West Since 1945, *and many other works.*

This book contains papers presented at a conference which met at the Huntington Library, San Marino, November 10–11, 1995, organized by Roger W. Lotchin, focusing on the impact of the Second World War on California. The presenters were younger scholars mostly engaged in larger studies bearing on their subject. Hence these essays are highly selective and touch lightly on the large topics that concern them.

The scope of the work is broad. Roger C. Lotchin provides a fine, insightful introduction for the collection. Arthur Verge contributes an interesting glimpse of daily life in California during the war. Linda Mehr writes about images in World War II films, while Ronald Cohen tills new ground in his essay on wartime music. William Issel deals with aspects of New Deal and wartime origins of San Francisco's post-war political culture. Paul Rhode analyzes defense spending, and Sarah Elkind takes another look at the Tidelands oil controversy viewed from an environmental perspective.

Some of the best and most original essays examine ethnic and gender issues. Gary Mormino and George Pozetta present new data on Italians. K. Scott Wong writes about the social transformation of the Chinese community. Kevin Leonard examines African Americans and Mexican Americans. Jacqueline Braitman contributes a fine essay on women.

A few essays could have benefited from greater inclusiveness. Linda Mehr's paper on film images in World War II makes no mention of the significant influence of European immigrants on every aspect of filmmaking in this period, for example. "The Song of Bernadette" in 1942 was a good example of that influence. In the last few decades an extensive literature has developed about the European impact, reflected in such works as the writings of Jarrell C. Jackman.


The Way We Really Were
The Golden State in the Second Great War
Edited by Roger W. Lotchin

Courtesy University of Illinois Press.

Students of California history will find it profitable to peruse the book. The volume would be more useful if it contained a bibliography or list of suggested readings, even though the authors provide footnotes. But readers are sure to learn something from one or another of these papers.

To Place Our Deeds: The African American Community in Richmond, California, 1910–1963.

By Shirley Ann Wilson Moore (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000, xiii, 232 pp., $40.00.)

Reviewed by Charles Wollenberg, *Vista College and author of* Photographing the Second Gold Rush: Dorothea Lange and the Bay Area at War, 1941–45.

As portrayed in *To Place Our Deeds,* African American women in Richmond faced a triple whammy: they were black, female, and lived in Richmond, California. A gritty industrial city, Richmond's image suffered in comparison with its higher-status neighbors, including San Francisco, Berkeley, and Oakland. Even among Bay Area African Americans, Richmond was viewed as a place with "no social or cultural amenities." Richmond's low prestige and tough working class character are important subtexts of this book. Shirley Ann Moore points out that unlike most west-coast black communities, Richmond lacked a professional middle class. In Richmond, community leadership emanated from the kitchen table and the blues club dance floor rather than the lawyer's office or the church pulpit. Perhaps for this reason, women played important leadership roles. Margaret Starks, for example, was a tough blues club manager, as well as the founder of the first black newspaper and secretary of the local NAACP branch.

While Moore documents the growth and development of Richmond's tiny pre-war black community, she properly concentrates on the war and post-war years. The arrival of the Kaiser shipyards in 1940 began a boom of extraordinary proportions. In just five years the city's population grew from 24,000 to more than 100,000 and the number of African Americans from fewer than 300 to more than 12,000. Moore believes the new black residents arrived from states like Texas and Louisiana with a "culture of expectation," and in some respects their hopes were realized. Wages were good and jobs plentiful. But the new arrivals had to adjust to unfamiliar urban and industrial conditions in the midst of major shortages of housing, schools, and public facilities. And while Richmond didn't have some of the most oppressive forms of Jim Crow, African Americans in the city still suffered gross discrimination in many aspects of life.

The heart of the book is Moore's depiction of the response of black Richmonders to these realities. She relies on both documentary evidence and oral histories to discuss the making of a working class African American community under difficult social conditions. One important component of that process was the establishment of an active NAACP branch. Another was the maintenance and adaptation of "traditions from home," including southern blues and gospel music, as well as old time religion, folkways, and social mores that were gradually transformed in the Richmond setting. By the end of the war black Richmond residents visiting family in the South became aware of "how different we had become. . . . Now *they* would tease *us*: 'Too California!'"

Richmond's economic bubble burst with the end of the war and the shutdown of the Kaiser yards. Job opportunities for African Americans declined, especially as federal wartime anti-discrimination policies lapsed. The post-war suburban exodus included not only white middle class residents, but also good industrial jobs. In the 1950s, Ford Motor Company moved its assembly plant from Richmond to Milpitas, fifty miles to the south. In the prevailing national mood of institutionalized anti-communism, conflicts between leftists and moderates divided the local NAACP. Nevertheless, Moore gives a surprisingly upbeat description of these post-war years, emphasizing community growth and civil rights activism. By the book's cut-off date in 1963, Richmond had elected its first black office holders, and African Americans exerted more political power and community influence than ever before.

Moore admits the relative optimism of the early 1960s didn't last. By the 1970s, Richmond was rent by conflicts over school integration and bussing. Competition from new suburban malls all but extinguished downtown commercial activity, and in the eighties, Richmond was hit hard by Reaganomics, deindustrialization, and crack cocaine. Yet today, blessed with relatively low real estate prices and influenced by an over-heated Bay Area high-tech economy, Richmond may be on the brink of substantial economic expansion, and with it, a bright new public image. If the experience of other Bay Area communities is any indication, African American residents in Richmond may soon face the problems of gentrification rather than neighborhood decline.

The great virtue of Moore's work is its concentration on the effects of broad national and international developments on the everyday lives and times of ordinary people. Her analysis is both an important piece of social history and a point of departure for future studies of how African American communities respond to the new realities of the post-industrial era

Scoundrel's Tale: The Samuel Brannan Papers, Kingdom of the West Series, Vol. 3

Edited by Will Bagley. (Spokane, Wash.:The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1999, preface, 476 pp., $39.50 cloth.)

Reviewed by M. Guy Bishop, *adjunct instructor of history at Salt Lake Community College, Salt Lake City, Utah, and author of* Henry William Bigler: Soldier, Gold Miner, Missionary, Chronicler.

Mormon entrepreneur Samuel Brannan, ca. 1860.
California Historical Society.

In May 1849 Sam Brannan paraded through the streets of San Francisco holding aloft a bottle of dust, swinging his hat in the air, and shouting, "Gold! Gold! Gold from the American River" (p. 266). Thus Brannan cemented his place in California history. But there was much more to Sam Brannan than this excited showmanship. Editor Will Bagley has served students of California and western history well with this edition of the Samuel Brannan Papers.

Sam Brannan (1819–1889) was, according to Will Bagley, a "scoundrel," based on his involvement in the vigilante movement, the dishonesty that surrounded his many filibustering schemes and the scandalous conduct of his personal life, rather than his actions as a businessman or religious leader. While many have found it fashionable to portray Brannan and his contemporaries in gold-rush California as counterparts to the later image of the robber baron of later nineteenth-century notoriety, Bagley asks whether Brannan was really a scoundrel. His papers, says the editor, usually portray him as a hero. The final judgment of his true character will lie with the reader of this edition of Brannan's papers.

The editor has turned up some important pieces of Brannan's history including nearly fifty pieces of correspondence, newspaper accounts by and about Brannan, as well as consulted biographies and histories which enhance his presentation of the man's life. Brannan's story is "encrusted with legend" in Bagley's words (p. 17). And much of the blame for this conclusion must be laid at the subject's own door. He was a skillful master of self-promotion who often molded his history to fit his current needs. "Historians have generally accepted Brannan's misrepresentations of his personal history," charges Bagley (p. 18). While ideas might be more interesting than facts, the task of the documentary historian, like Bagley, is to accurately present the fact as recorded in history.

In Western American history, Sam Brannan's story is essentially one of Latter-day Saint history. Hence it is a nice fit in The Arthur H. Clark "Kingdom in the West" series. Beguiled by tales of the West, and with visions of establishing a Mormon community on the West Coast, Brannan led the first shipload of LDS emigrants to California aboard the *Brooklyn* in 1846. In California Brannan found himself on the cutting edge of American Manifest Destiny. He became the herald of the gold discovery in 1848. When Bringham Young refused to follow him to California, opting instead to build the Mormon kingdom in the harsh Great Salt Lake Valley, Brannan cast off his Mormonism and went his own way in northern California. This led Brannan to be "ignored" in the "official" Mormon historical writings of the early twentieth-century (p. 18), an oversight which Bagley seeks to remedy.

Mormon folklore holds that Brannan collected "tithes" from Mormon miners in the gold fields, which he later pocketed for himself. Bagley does a good job of laying out what Brannan was really up to at Mormon Island. He attempted to collect a "tax" or rent from the Mormons. He, like John Sutter and others, hoped to gain title to the mineral wealth along the American River via a land grant. But California's U.S. military governor, Richard Mason, believing that he lacked authority to do so, refused to act on Brannan's request. Proceeding as if he had, in fact, gained title, Sam Brannan taxed (or tithed) the Mormon miners. Lieutenant William T. Sherman was likely responsible for the misconception that Brannan was collecting tithes, when he wrote in an 1848 account that "the understanding was, that the money collected by him as tithes [became] the foundation of his fortune . . ." (p. 269). However, Bagley shows from the documents that Brannan was not actually trying to purloin tithes but to extract a tax on the miners for working what he hoped would become his claim.

Sam Brannan, once seen as a "young lion of Mormonism," seemingly fell from grace over his zeal to see the Latter-day Saints settle in California. However, the Golden State was anathema to Brigham Young, who wished to keep the Saints out of harm's way in the isolation of the Great Basin. As Bagley astutely observes, "Few episodes in Samuel Brannan's life have come down in history as encrusted in myth as the story of his separation from Mormonism" (p. 281). His self-imposed parting with the faith in favor of a life in California sealed Brannan's fate as a Mormon. In the nineteenth century Latter-day Saint community, one who seemingly crossed Brigham Young put his church membership in jeopardy. By opting to go to the West Coast and encouraging others to do the same, Samuel Brannan dictated his own fate as a Mormon. But, as Bagley argues, Brigham Young's failure to answer Brannan's correspondence from California in 1848 left Brannan feeling "betrayed" (p. 281). Brannan was finally disfellowshipped from the faith in 1849, not for the theft of tithing monies but for "murder [i.e., the vigilante hanging of John Jenkins in 1851] and apostasy" (p. 324–25).

Sam Brannan died in San Diego in 1889. He was destitute. His life was marked by great successes and bone-deep failures. Once a Mormon zealot, later an apostate. The clarion of the Gold Rush who died a pauper. Was he a scoundrel? Perhaps.

Mission Memoirs: A Collection of Photographs, Illustrations, and Twentieth-century Reflections on California's Past.

By Terry Ruscin (San Diego: Sunbelt Publications, 1999, xi, 203 pp.).

Reviewed by James A. Sandos. *Farquhar Professor of the Southwest at the University of Redlands and author of* "Between Crucifix and Lance: Indian-White Relations in California, 1769–1848," *in* Contested Eden: California Before the Gold Rush, *edited by Ramón Gutiérrez and Richard J. Orsi.*

This lavishly produced collection of professional photographs and illustrations, accompanied by short, personal vignettes, accomplishes the author's stated goal: "Any nostalgic outcomes are exactly what I envisioned for this photographic essay" (p. x). The title page records that "[t]his book [is] made possible by funding from Mervyn's California," apparently in association with the Mission Garden Restoration Fund that the retailer Mervyn's established in 1997. Although a modern and handsome coffee-table book, *Mission Memoirs* nevertheless is in the romantic tradition of the late nineteenth century. It has been updated to include Indian place names alongside the Spanish-named occupation sites and contains a dedication to California native peoples. It reverts to older practices in many ways, however, such as not discussing Indian resistance to these missions and presenting a pro-Franciscan, deeply personal view. For example, Ruscin prays to the founder of the mission system, Padre Junípero Serra, at mission San Carlos (p. 29), watches Juaneño Indians take communion at mission San Juan Capistrano (p. 73), and meets the current Vice Postulator (advocate) for the cause of Serra's sainthood, Fr. John Vaughn, at mission San Miguel (p. 135). As a result of his nostalgia and admiration of Franciscans his discussion of mission life is sanitized and the writings of mission critics do not inform his text. While there are several historical errors, it is not worth pointing them out because historical accuracy is not the author's primary goal. His book does, however, contribute to the larger problem of confusion about the era among the unwary.

Confusion about the California missions exists, in part, because many writers and artists rearrange materials to suit a personal aesthetic that then has wide-ranging implications. The image on the dustjacket of *Mission Memoirs*, for example, called *Serra's Hand*, presents a document being written in beautiful Spanish calligraphy by the founder of the California missions that has been "photo-manipulated to give the appearance that the memoir is incomplete" (p. 182). It has been manipulated in other ways as well. The document is written by an immaculately clean hand with a thumb that is not only neatly trimmed of nail and dirt free, but also manicured (even Sandro Botticelli left some dirt under the nails of his *Venus*). The hand is obviously white. Since Serra was described as swarthy, this image belies color and multiplies illusions implying not only that Serra alone is, or should be, telling the mission story, but also that the Franciscan missionaries have "clean hands" in the matter of evangelizing and colonizing California native peoples. Not all who read about the missions would accept those implications. A single view of the past is at odds with the contradictions history reveals about the process of missionization and the tensions present in mission life. Ruscin's text, in contrast to his photographs, is monochromatic and the result can best be appreciated by those who prefer looking backward through a rose-colored lens.

Le rêve californien, Migrants français sur la côte Pacifique (XVIIIe–XXe siècles).

By Annick Foucrier. (Paris: Editions Belin, 1999, 428 pp., 150 fr. paper.)

Reviewed by Claudine Chalmers, *Historian and author of* Splendide Californie! Impressions of the golden state by French Artists, 1786–1900.

Encapsulating two centuries of the French presence in California is a daunting task. Dr. Foucrier has produced an interesting, well-documented study of the French migration trends to California from 1769 to 1940. She combed through French archives, passport registrations, passenger lists, certificates of birth, marriage and death records, wills, California censuses, business directories, great registers, newspapers, and journals.

The first part of her work is an extensive study of the types of Frenchmen who elected to come to California before 1848, the subject of Dr. Foucrier's 1991 dissertation, "La France, Les Français et la Californie avant la Ruée vers l'Or, 1786–1848." Part two deals with the wave of French gold-seekers of the 1850s, their subsequent return to France or immersion into California's population. The last section recaps the eight or so decades between the Franco-Prussian war and World War II, and a new French migration to California that originated mostly from the southwestern part of France.

While the first part of the book is a concise, well-rounded reprise of Foucrier's earlier scholarly work augmented by subsequent research and based solely on primary sources, the middle and last sections rely on both primary and at times less reliable secondary sources, and appear more as overviews than studies. These chapters provide the reader with an extensive recounting of the major themes of this particularly rich period in the long historical connection between France and California. However, their sheer scope has prevented the consideration of some existing references that have explored it in greater detail.

Studies on the important and colorful participation of the French to the birth and evolution of California are scarce, and new works most welcome. Dr. Foucrier's book offers all readers of French, scholars and the general public alike, valuable information and a good overview of what made California so attractive to the French, how French enclaves appeared, then disappeared within the Golden State.

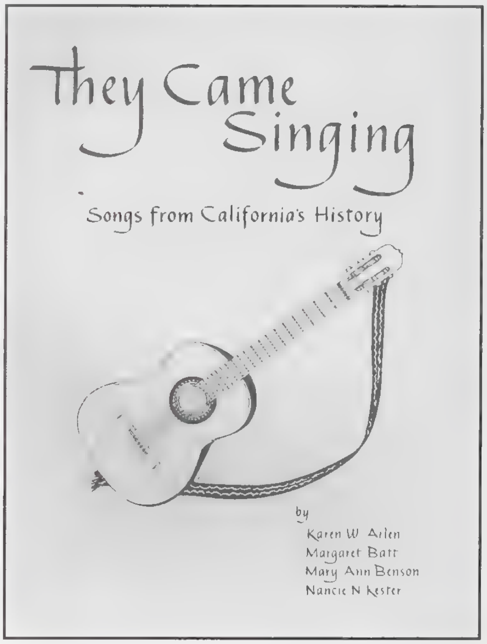
Days of Gold! Songs of the California Gold Rush.

Compiled by Karen W. Arlen, Margaret Batt, Mary Ann Benson, Nancie N. Kester. (Oakland: Calicanto Associates, 1999, vii, 102 p $20.00 paper.)

They Came Singing: Songs from California's History.

Compiled, edited and arranged by Karen W. Arlen, Margaret Batt, Mary Ann Benson, Nancie N. Kester. (Oakland: Calicanto Associates, 1995, 110 pp., $20.00 paper.)

Reviewed by Roberto Landazuri, Corporate Archivist at Dolby Laboratories.



Courtesy Calicanto Associates, www.calicanto.com.

The multicultural richness of California's musical history is showcased in these two unique books. Lovingly compiled by Calicanto Associates (four educators trained in the Kodály system of teaching music to elementary school students), both *Days of Gold!* and *They Came Singing* present dozens of songs in simple arrangements that include harmonies, guitar chords, and additional lyrics. There are indigenous songs, sea shanties, work songs, spirituals, game songs, love songs, drinking songs, nineteenth-century popular tunes from the diggings or the Mexican-American War, and many other folk songs brought to California by immigrants. Original foreign language lyrics, in native Californian tongues, Spanish, Italian, German, French, Russian, Chinese (phonetically rendered) and Hawaiian, are arranged between staffs directly above their English translations. True to the Kodály method, which equally emphasizes singing, music reading and writing, listening, movement and improvisation, both books augment the sheet music with illustrations, notes on history and culture, maps, glossaries, poems, playlets, directions for performance of songs, dances and playing of games, and sidebars on pronunciation of foreign language elements. Both books are indexed, and bibliographies and lists of song sources complete the documentation (it's worth noting that Calicanto Associates also offers audiocassettes and companion CDs to these two books, which make it easier for non-readers of music to learn the melodies).

There are many familiar songs to be enjoyed here—"Sweet Betsy from Pike," "Cielito Lindo," "Green Grow the Laurels," "Days of '49"—but the real delights are the surprises, of which there are many. Since everyone knows "Oh Susannah," the compilers of *They Came Singing* and *Days of Gold!* have instead included a miner's version of the song ("I come from Salem City with my washbowl on my knee. I'm going to Californiay the gold dust for to see.") as well as a Spanish version ("Ay! Susanita, no llores para mi, porque voy a California a traer oro para ti."). The best surprises involve pieces that were collected with some difficulty, such as "Una Va Pasada," a Spanish song sung by sailors on watch, for which only a text without music was available; co-editor Nancie Kester has matched the text beautifully to a haunting original melody. The songs of various native California tribes, collected via oral tradition, are similarly gratifying inclusions. The editorial priority of authenticity is evident in a chapter in *They Came Singing* titled "Russian Music at Fort Ross," which includes a keyed diagram of the compound at Fort Ross, historical notes on this Russian foothold in the New World, songs which may have been sung by its inhabitants, instructions for a Russian folk dance, and a Russian pronunciation guide. Coupled with the editors' obvious love of music, the thoroughness of both *Days of Gold!* and *They Came Singing* bears out the sentiment expressed in the epigraph of the latter title. The quote from Hendrik Van Loon asserts that "It is more vital to feel history than to memorize its details."

CALIFORNIA CHECKLIST

Charles N. Johnson, Librarian, Ventura County Museum of History and Art

The California Checklist provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent publications including reprints or revised editions that need additional publicity, are requested to send the following bibliographical information to the Checklist Editor for this list: Author, title, name and address of publisher, date of publication, price, binding (cloth or paper), International Standard Book Number (ISBN), and order address. Checklist information should be mailed to: Charles N. Johnson, Checklist Editor, Ventura County Museum of History and Art, 100 East Main Street, Ventura, CA 93001.

cker, Roy M. *Historical Summit City: An 1860's Mining Center in Alpine County California: A History of the Area and Its People.* Los Angeles: R.M. Acker, 1999. Inquiries to: Roy M. Acker; 7915 Chase Ave.; Los Angeles, CA 90045.

are, Colleen Stanley. *Modesto Then and Now.* Modesto: McHenry Museum Press, 1999. $27.50 (cloth) ISBN 0-930349-05-9; $14.95 (paper) ISBN 0-930349-06-7. Order from: McHenry Museum Press; 1402 I St.; Modesto, CA 95354.

lodgett, Peter. *Land of Golden Dreams: California in the Gold Rush Decade, 1848-1858.* San Marino: Huntington Library Press, 1999. $29.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-87328-183-7. Order from: Huntington Library Press; 1151 Oxford Rd., Suite 6C; San Marino, CA 91108.

uke, Donald. *Electric Railroads Around San Francisco Bay.* San Marino, Calif.: Golden West Books, 1999. $24.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-87095-115-7. Order from: Golden West Books; Post Office Box 80250; San Marino, CA 91118-8250.

entry, Dolores McKenzie Atmore. *Heap of Livin.* Frazier Park, Calif.: Ridge Route Historical Society, 1999. Transcription of author's journals, 1960-1970, recounting 98 years of living "...around Pine Canyon in the Antelope Valley near Willow Springs, and in Gorman." Edited by Bonnie Kane and Eloise Richer. $18.50 (paper). Order from: Ridge Route Historical Society; Post Office Box 684, Frazier Park, CA 93225.

Johnson, Susan Lee. *Roaring Camp: The Social World of the California Gold Rush.* New York: W.W. Norton, 2000. $29.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-393-04812-8. Order from: W.W. Norton & Co.; 800 Keystone Industrial Pk.; Scranton, PA 18512.

Kurillo, Max, and Erline Tuttle. *California's El Camino Real and Its Historic Bells.* San Diego: Sunbelt Publications, 2000. $12.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-932653-37-5. Order from: Sunbelt Publications; 1250 Fayette St.; El Cajon, CA 92020-1511.

Lund, Ann S. *Historic Pasadena: An Illustrated History.* San Antonio: Historical Publishing Network, 1999. $49.95 (cloth) ISBN: 1-893619-01-X. Order from: Historical Publishing Network; 8491 Leslie Rd.; San Antonio, TX 78254.

Lyman, Edward Leo. *The Story of Victor Valley: An Illustrated History.* Carlsbad, Calif.: Heritage Media Corp., 2000. $39.95 (cloth) ISBN: 1-886483-47-7 "Published in cooperation with the Mohave Historical Society." Order from: Heritage Media Corp.; 6354 Corte del Abeto, Suite B; Carlsbad, CA 92009.

McDannold, Thomas A. *California's Chinese Heritage: A Legacy of Places.* Stockton: Heritage West Books, 2000. $27.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-9623048-9-1. Order from: Heritage West Books; 306 Regent Ct.; Stockton, CA 95204.

Schultz, Charles R. *Forty-niners 'round the Horn.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1999. $45.00 (cloth) ISBN: 1-57003-329-3. Order from: University of South Carolina Press; 718 Devine St.; Columbia, SC 29208.

Schwartz, Harvey. *The March Inland: Origins of the ILWU Warehouse Division, 1934-1938.* San Francisco: International Longshore and Warehouse Union, 2000. Originally published in 1978, this history "Covers the major 1930s organizing drive of Harry Bridges' International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) in the transportation and distribution industries of Northern California." Paper, ISBN: 0-9700764-1-X. Inquiries to: The ILWU Library; 1188 Franklin Street; San Francisco, CA 94109.

Starr, Kevin, and Richard J. Orsi, eds. *Rooted in Barbarous Soil: People, Culture, and Community in Gold Rush California.*

Illustrations editor, Anthony Kirk; associate editor, Marlene Smith-Baranzini. $60.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-520-22497-3; $24.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-520-22496-5. Order from: University of California Press; 1445 Lower Ferry Rd.; Ewing, NJ 08618.

Starr, Kevin, and Stanford University Libraries. *Sunset Magazine: A Century of Western Living, 1898–1988: Historical Portraits and a Chronological Bibliography.* Stanford: Stanford University Libraries, 1998. $30.00 (cloth) ISBN 0-911221-17-4. Order from: Stanford University Libraries; Green Library, Stanford, CA 94305

Stoll, Steven. *The Fruits of Natural Advantage: Making the Industrial Countryside in California.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998. $35.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-520-21172-3. Order from: University of California Press; 1445 Lower Ferry Rd.; Ewing, NJ 08618.

Taylor, Judith. *The Olive in California: History of an Immigrant Tree.* Berkeley: Ten Speed Press, 2000. $24.95 (paper) ISBN: 1-58008-131-2. Order from: Ten Speed Press; Post Office Box 7123; Berkeley, CA 94707.

Wagner, Rob Leicester. *Red Ink, White Lies: The Rise and Fall of Los Angeles Newspapers 1920-1962.* Upland, Calif.: Dragonflyer Press, 2000. $19.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-944933-80-7. Order from: Dragonflyer Press; 876 N. Mountain Ave., Suite 100; Upland, CA 91786.

Cultural History in California

MADE IN CALIFORNIA
Art, Image, and Identity, 1900-2000
Stephanie Barron, Sheri Bernstein, and Ilene Susan Fort
Made in California challenges us to re-examine the ways in which the state has been portrayed and imagined. A delight throughout—both in image and in text—and this volume will appeal to anyone who has lived in, visited, or imagined California.
Copublished with the Los Angeles County Museum of Art
$65.00 hardcover, $34.95 paperback

READING CALIFORNIA
Art, Image, and Identity, 1900-2000
Stephanie Barron, Sheri Bernstein, and Ilene Susan Fort, Editors
In-depth, illustrated essays written by a stellar cast of art historians and scholars in the humanities, these essays look closely at the forces that shaped fine art and material culture in California.
Copublished with the Los Angeles County Museum of Art
$50.00 hardcover, $24.95 paperback

From Made in California

THE LITERATURE OF CALIFORNIA, VOLUME 1
Native American Beginnings to 1945
Jack Hicks, James D. Houston, Maxine Hong Kingston, and Al Young, Editors
"An utterly extraordinary collection. . . . It is comprehensive, lively, done with great zest, imagination, and a sense of responsibility toward the state and its literary heritage."
—Malcolm Margolin, publisher of Heyday Books
$60.00 hardcover, $24.95 paperback

SAL SI PUEDES (ESCAPE IF YOU CAN)
Cesar Chavez and the New American Revolution
Peter Matthiessen
WITH A FOREWORD BY ILAN STAVANS AND A POSTSCRIPT BY THE AUTHOR
"[An] excellent account of Chavez and his movement."
—*New York Times*
$17.95 paperback

At bookstores or order 1-800-822-6657
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
www.ucpress.edu

NOTES

almers, "Splendide Californie," pp. 154-179.

Jean-François de Galaup de Lapérouse, *Voyage de La Pérouse autour du monde,* 4 vols., ed. L. A. Milet-Mureau (Paris: Imprimerie de la République, 1797), cited in Françoise Chenet, "L'artiste chargé de mission," in *L'Oeil aux Aguets, ou l'artiste en voyage,* ed. François Moureau (Paris: Klincksiek, 1995), 138.

Madeleine Pinault-Sørensen, "Duché de Vancy, dessinateur de l'Expédition de La Pérouse," (presentation given at the Colloque Lapérouse, Albi, France, March 1985).

His name was spelled in a variety of ways by the count himself. The best source of information on this explorer and his voyage is the Association Laperouse, Albi, France. Following the association's usage, I have used "Lapérouse." Recommended sources for the exploration are Catherine Gaziello, *L'Expédition de Lapérouse, Réplique française aux voyages de Cook* (Paris: Ecole des Chartes, 1984); John Dunmore et Maurice de Brossard, eds., *Le voyage de Lapérouse,* 1785-1788 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1985); François Bellec, *La généreuse et tragique expédition Lapérouse* (Rennes: Ouest France, 1985).

Lapérouse, *Voyage autour du monde,* cited in Chenet, "L'artiste chargé de mission," 138.

Frederick William Beechev, *An Account of a Visit to California,* ed. D.M. Coulter (San Francisco: Book Club of California, 1941), 86-87.

Auguste Bernard Duhaut-Cilly, *Voyage autour du monde, principalement à la Californie et aux Iles Sandwich pendant les années 1826 1827, 1828 et 1829* X Vols. (Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1834-35), 2: 48; 1: 362-63. Auguste is the explorer's first name, while Bernard is actually a part of his last name, which he never used as such.

Jacques Perilhou, "Auguste Duhaut-Cilly et ses frères, marins malouins, méconnus de la lère moitié du XIXème siècle," Carcassonne, France, n.p. Also see Duhaut-Cilly, *Duhaut-Cilly's 1826-1829 Voyage,* August Fruge and Neal Harlow, eds. (San Francisco: Book Club of California,1998).

Author is indebted to historian Jacques Périlhou for information regarding Masselot, obtained from the Service Historique de la Marine, Vincennes, France.

9. This group of 250 settlers from Mexico sailed to California in 1834 under the leadership of wealthy Mexican José María Híjar (thus the expedition's name) and Mexican army officer José María Padrés; Charles E. Chapman, *A History of California: The Spanish Period* (New York: Macmillan, 1921), 464-66.
10. Most of the biographical information about Pénelon is drawn from John Dewar, *Adios, Mr. Penelon* (Los Angeles: Museum of Natural History, 1968), and from the unpublished research of Hélène Demeestère, Los Angeles.
11. See William Heath Davis, *Seventy-Five Years in California* (1889) for his account of Don Del Aliso in Los Angeles; Annick Foucrier, "Pierre Esliens Vignes: Diary of the Other Brother," *The Californians,* May-June 1993; Mary Grace Paquette, *Then Came the French* (Sonora, Calif.: Tuolumne County Historical Society, 1996).
12. *Daily Arizona Miner,* February 5, 1874.
13. For biographical information on the artist, see W.I. Scandlin, *Illustrated Lecture* (Detroit, Mich.: Photographers Association of America, 1901); Bruce Duncan, "I, Victor Prévost," *Graphic Antiquarian* 4:1 (October 1976); and Letter from Marie Louise Prévost, 1946, Jeanne Van Nostrand files. I am also thankful for the assistance of Scott Shields, Curator of Art, The Crocker Art Museum, Sacramento, formerly Curator of Collections at the California Historical Society, San Francisco.
14. Claudine Chalmers, "L'aventure française à San Francisco pendant la Ruée vers l'Or," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Nice, France, 1991.
15. The lure and lore of gold may well have run through Rupalley's family for decades. His grandfather had earlier mined gold in Siberia, but no one in the family had yet ventured as far as California. Interview with Marie de Rupalley, Paris, 1998
16. Ship passenger lists, Archives Departementales, Rouen, France; Jules Rupalley scrapbook, Honeyman Collection, Bancroft Library
17. Claudine Chalmers, "Greenwood," in *California Gold Rush Camps,* Robert J. Chandler ed. (San Francisco: Book Club of California Keepsake, 1998), n.p.
18. Rupalley, Scrapbook, n.p., Honeyman Collection, Bancroft Library
19. Birth certificate, Saint-Malo Archives, France. See Albert Dressler, *California's Pioneer Artist: Ernest Narjot* (San Francisco: A. Dressler, 1936).
20. For an excellent overview of the French expeditions to Sonora, see Rufus K. Wyllys, *The French in Sonora (1850-1854)* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1932).
21. Dressler, *California's Pioneer Artist,* n.p.
22. See Katherine Church Holland, "The San Francisco Art Association,1871-1906," *California History* 76 (Supplement 1997): 17-20.
23. Dressler, *California's Pioneer Artist,* n.p.
24. Edan Milton Hughes, *Artists in California, 1786-1940* (San Francisco: Hughes Publishing Co., 1989), 327-28.
25. *San Francisco Call,* August 25, 1898.
26. Xavier Van de Casteele was a Belgian Argonaut of 1851 with ties to Ernest Narjot, who did Casteele's portrait and that of his wife. Chalmers, "L'Aventure Française à San Francisco," 754.
27. Birth Records, Paris Archives; Business Directory for Paris, 1846, 1848; Lee Sims and Barbara Bundschu research and collection, San Francisco. Jump's name and other data appeared in the 1852 California Census of Tuolumne County, indicating that he was twenty at the time, and his birthplace had been France, Jeanne Van Nostrand collection; Edan Milton Hughes, "The Last Jump,". unpublished manuscript.
28. "Jump's Last," *San Francisco Dramatic Chronicle,* October 16, 1865.
29. *Alta California,* February 5, 1868.
30. *Mark Twain's Letters* II (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 3.
31. *Saint Louis Post-Dispatch,* April 21, 1883. I am indebted to historian Guy de Rougemont for calling my attention to Jump's friendship with Twain and to Jump's wanderings in Canada.
32. *Chicago Tribune,* April 21, 1883.
33. Harry T. Peters, *California on Stone* (New York: Doubleday Doran, Garden City, 1935) 63
34. Birth Records, Paris Archives; business directories, 1846 and 1848, Paris Archives; Tavernier fought at Buzenval; Gene Hailey ed., *California Art Research Monographs* 4 (

NOTES

San Francisco: Works Progress Administration, 1937), p. 2.

35. See William Cullen Bryant, ed., *Picturesque America* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1872).
36. Deejay Mackart, "Monterey, the Bohemian Resort it Was Twenty Years Ago," *San Francisco Morning Call*, July 10, 1892.
37. Hailey, *California Art Research Monographs* 4:13.
38. *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 20, 1879; I am indebted to San Francisco historian Bill Kostura for his research on the buildings at 728 and 729 Montgomery Street, San Francisco.
39. For an excellent description, based on newspaper clippings, of this celebrated party, see Birgitta Hjalmarson, *Artful Players, Artistic Life in Early San Francisco* (Los Angeles: Balcony Press, 1999), 64-65
40. For Tavernier in Hawaii, see H.M. Lusquiens, "Jules Tavernier," *Honolulu Academy of Arts Bulletin*, December 1940; Betty Hoag-McGlynn, "Jules Tavernier, the Volcano Painter," *Hawaii Island Artists* (Hawaii: Malma Arts Inc., 1989); and Jerome A. Hart, "Tavernier, Artiste-Peintre," *The Argonaut*, March 2, 1907.
41. Tavernier had married Lizzie Fulton in San Francisco in February 1877, after a short courtship. "An Artist Wedded," *San Francisco Daily Morning Call*, February 26, 1877.
42. Mayo Hayes O'Donnell, "Tavernier's Doom," *Peninsula Diary*, May 10, 1957.
43. Hughes, *Artists in California*, 565.
44. Unpublished research by Nan and Roy Jones, Ross, California; J. Sam Moore, El Paso, Texas; and Nikki Silva and Edna E. Kimbo, Santa Cruz, California.
45. This biography is based on information found in the Musée des Beaux Arts J. Déchelette, Roanne, France; and in the Raphael Weill Papers, 1880–1932, Manuscript Collection, North Baker Research Library, California Historical Society.
46. A former wrestler and circus manager, Rodophe Julian studied painting before founding his acclaimed academy in 1868; see H. Barbara Winberg, *The Lure of Paris, Nineteenth-Century American Painters and Their French Teachers* (New York and London: Abbeville Press, 1991), 221.
47. Ida L. Brooks, "The Romantic Life Story of a Studio Stove," *San Francisco Sunday Call*, April 16, 1911.
48. See Arthur I. Street, "California Artists - III," *Overland Monthly*, January 1899, no.193; and *San Francisco Call*, October 30, 1910, cited in Hailey, *California Art Research Monographs*, 4: 49.
49. Towncrier, *San Francisco News Letter*, March 19, 1892.
50. "The Mexican Pictures of Amadée [sic] Joullin," *The Argonaut*, January 9, 1899.
51. Hailey, *California Art Research Monographs*, 4: 72.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid.; "Amedee Joullin Memorial Exhibit," *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 25, 1917; *Oakland Tribune*, April 1, 1917.
54. Interview with Victor Reiter-Pagès, 1998. Information for this biography was drawn from the Pagès papers.
55. "Canvas Depicts Building Bustle," *The San Francisco Call*, Sunday, October 9, 1909.
56. For a discussion of his political activities in San Francisco, see Jehanne Biétry-Salinger, *Le Guide franco-californien de Notre Centenaire* (San Francisco: Pisani Printing & Publishing Co., March 1949), 253.
57. Haig Patigan, *Exhibition of Early and Recent Paintings by Jules Pages*, exhibition catalog, n.d., The Pent House Gallery, San Francisco, Calif.
58. The Golden Ingot lottery is discussed in William F. Shepard, "Parisian Paupers in the California Gold Rush," (paper presented at Conference of California Historical Societies, Monterey, California, 1955); Report from Patrice Dillon to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Consular Correspondence, September 14, 1853, Foreign Affairs Archives, Paris, France, shows that in 1853 Etienne Tanière received financial aid in San Francisco.
59. Hughes, "Roure, Emile A.," *Artists in California*, 481.
60. Much of the biographical information on Pauline Schoenmakers is derived from the Stephen H. Meyer's family archives and from the research he is conducting with the assistance of historians Judy Debella, Pacifica, and Annick Foucrier, Paris; also see "An Artist' Sudden Death," *San Francisco Call*, March 29, 1895; Hughes, *Artists in California*, 498, 551.
61. "Art Notes," *San Francisco News Letter and California Advertising*, May 13, 1876, cited in Hjalmarson, *Artful Players*. Many of the school's women artists later achieved fame on the California art scene, among them Alice B. Chittenden, Evelyn McCormick, and Eva Withrow.
62. In 1893, the California School of Design moved to the Mark Hopkins mansion on Nob Hill and became a part of the Mark Hopkins Institute of Art.
63. Marjorie Pierce, *San Jose and Its Cathedral* (Santa Cruz, Calif.: Western Tanager Press, 1990), 47; see also H.S. Foote, *Pen Pictures from the Garden of the World* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company, 1888), 662.
64. Carol Pace Harney, "The De Saisset Family Portrait," September 1995. San Jose Historical Museum Archives, San Jose, Calif.
65. Letters of Ernest de Saisset, de Saisset Papers, Santa Clara University Archives, Santa Clara, Calif. See particularly "Paris, August 15, 1887," and "Le Portel, June 22, 1890."
66. Ibid.
67. Much of the biographical information about de Longpré is derived from Blandine Sénèque, "Différents aspects de la peinture lyonnaise dans la seconde moitie du XIXème siècle à travers les Maucherat deLongpré," Master's thesis, University of Paris, 1999. Also of great help to me was the research of Jean-Jacques Vitrac, Valley Springs, Calif.; and Hélène Demeestère, Los Angeles. DeLongpré never used "Maucherat," his third given name.
68. Cited in Hélène Demeestère, "Il Etait Une Fois . . . Un Français," *Bulletin de l'Alliance Française*, Los Angeles, 1998, 1-2.
69. "Children of France in the Southland," Los Angeles Times, June 23, 1901, cited in William Wurtz, "Paul deLongpré, Hollywood's Eccentric 'Flower Artist'," *California Historical Courier*, May 1983, 4-5.
70. Sénèque, "Différents aspects de la peinture lyonnaise," 47.

Simon and Deverell, *"Come Back, Tom Joad,"* pp. 180-191.

1. David Wyatt, *Five Fires: Race, Catastrophe, and the Shaping of California* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1997), 241.
2. Joseph Henry Jackson, "Why Steinbeck Wrote *The Grapes of Wrath*," in *Booklets for Bookmen* 1 (New York: Limited Editions Club, 1940): 13.
3. Starr points out as well that Franklin Roosevelt, in a fireside chat, "referred to the Joads as if they were real people." Kevin Starr, *Endangered Dreams: The Great Depression in California* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996): 258–259.
4. This essay is part of our larger attempt to write a biography of a fictional character—the story of how an iconic figure like Tom Joad changes (or doesn't change) in meaning and form over time. For a fascinating, and somewhat similar, examination of the wider currents of white working-class heroism in American popular and political culture, see Bryan K. Garman, *A Race of Singers: Whitman's Working-Class Hero from Whitman to Springsteen* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).
5. See Joe Klein, *Woody Guthrie: A Life* (New York: Knopf, 1980), 145–46; typescript of "Tom Joad," from the Woody Guthrie Papers, Moses and Frances Asch Collection, Smithsonian Folkways, Library of Congress; and telephone interview with Pete Seeger by Bryant Simon, April 17, 1998.
6. Woody Guthrie, *Woody Sez* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1975), 133.
7. Klein, *Woody Guthrie*, 163; see also James R. Curtis, "Woody Guthrie and the Dust Bowl," in George O. Carney, *The Sounds of People and Places: Readings in the geography of American Folk and Popular Music* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1987).
8. Typescript, "Tom Joad."
9. Alan Lomax, *Hard Hitting Songs for Hard-Hit People* (New York: Oak Publications, 1967), 236.
10. Murray Kempton, "The Curse of the Guthries," *New York Review of Books* (February 1981): 8–11; quoted at p. 9.
11. Alan Lomax, "Introductory Remarks," *Woody Guthrie: Library of Congress Recordings* (New York: Elektra Records, 1964).
12. "Woody," [Woodrow Wilson Guthrie], "Tom Joad Ballad," *People's World*, May 14, 1940, Clipping File, Woody Guthrie Archives, New York, New York.

This short Guthrie biography is drawn from Klein, *Woody Guthrie*, 1–186; Guy Logsdon, "Woody," in Woody Guthrie, *Woody Sez* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1975), vii–xvii; and Charles Shindo, *Dust Bowl Migrants in the American Imagination* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997), esp. 169–75. For more on Guthrie, see his autobiography, *Bound for Glory* (New York: Dutton, 1943); and John Greenway, "Woodrow Wilson Guthrie (1912-1967)," *Journal of American Folklore* 81 (1968): 62–65.

Such associations between the novelist and the folksinger continue to the present day, of course, particularly in invocations of, and stories about, the Great Depression. For instance, at a 1990s symposium addressing the impact of the Great Depression upon notions of the "American Dream," the keynote address focused on Steinbeck's novel; prior to the address, Guthrie's ballad echoed through the sound system. See Eugene R. August, "Our Stories/Our Selves: The American Dream Remembered in John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath*," *University of Dayton Review* 23 (Winter 1995–96): 5–18.

Reuss, "Woody Guthrie and His Folk Tradition," 280, 294.

Brooklyn Eagle, July 5, 1940, from clipping file, Woody Guthrie Archives, New York.

Shindo, *Dust Bowl Migrants*, 175.

Woody Guthrie, *Born to Win*, Robert Shelton, ed. (New York: The Macmillan Company), 1965.

Unnamed newspaper clipping, June 26, 1940, clipping file, Woody Guthrie Archives New York.

"Sings People's Ballads," *Daily Worker*, April 2, 1940. See also Reuss, "Woody Guthrie and His Folk Tradition," 280, 294

Lomax, *Hard Hitting Songs for Hard Hit People*, 236

The Sun, August 23, 1940, clipping files Woody Guthrie Archives, New York.

Guthrie, *Woody Sez*, 133. Interestingly, similar claims of authenticity had been made about Henry Fonda. Filmmaker Pare Lorentz, in a review of the film version of *The Grapes of Wrath*, wrote that Fonda was so believable in the role that "you may think he is . . . one of the actual migrants." Review cited in a filmography mss. in the John Ford Papers, Lilly Library, Indiana University; see box eleven, folder four.

"Tom Joad," typescript, Woody Guthrie Archives, New York.

Steve Earle, "Christmas in Washington," *El Corazon* (Warner Brothers, 1997). The authors' thanks to Dave Gutierrez for this reference.

Springsteen's fascination with *The Grapes of Wrath* goes back twenty years and is quite interesting. As Dave Marsh tells the story, Springsteen once complained to his manager and intellectual mentor John Landau that he didn't have the patience to watch John Ford's film all the way through on television. Landau "simply sat down with him the next time it was on and showed him what he was missing." Dave Marsh, *Glory Days: Bruce Springsteen in the 1980s* (New York: Pantheon, 1987), 66. The film quickly became an important prism for Springsteen's feelings of loneliness, Marsh writes. The film "had a great effect on me," Springsteen has told interviewer Bob Costas, and it influenced his work in powerful ways; Bob Costas's radio interview with Springsteen, November 1995, transcribed by Susan West; from worldwide web: "Sony's Official Springsteen Homepage: Information on The *Ghost of Tom Joad* at http://www.sony.com, hereafter "Costas interview with Springsteen."

27. In his eloquent epilogue to the book *Five Fires: Race, Catastrophe, and the Shaping of California*, literary critic David Wyatt writes of Springsteen's re-discovery of the film version of Steinbeck's novel. "The song not only gives new life to the Ford masterpiece but takes its place with the anger and sorrow of a novel that the songwriter may never have read. However the transmission occurred, Steinbeck's Tom Joad lives."
28. From CBS Television, "60 Minutes," January 21, 1996.
29. Marsh, *Glory Days*, 278, 364.
30. Ibid., 284–85; and Corn, "Bruce Springsteen Tells the Story of a Secret America," *Mother Jones*, March/April 1996, beginning at p. 23.
31. Marsh, *Glory Days*, 57–58; see also 34–36. Allan Nevins and Henry Steele Commager, *A Pocket History of the United States* (New York: Pocket Books, 1974); originally published 1943.
32. See, in general, William Stott, *Documentary Expression and Thirties America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 46-63. See also excerpts by Steve Sutherland from "New Music Express" on "Sony's Official Springsteen Homepage." See also Michael J. Bader, "Bruce Springsteen and the Politics of Meaning," *Tikkun* 11 (March/April 1996): 32–33, and Corn, "Bruce Springsteen Tells the Story of Secret America."
33. See, for example, Paul Taylor, *On the Ground in the Thirties* (Salt Lake City: G.M. Smith, 1983), and Carey McWilliams, *Factories in the Field* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1939).
34. The California songs spring from pieces in the *Los Angeles Times*. See, for instance, Mark Arax and Tom Gorman, "California's Illicit Farm Belt Export," March 13, 1995 [about "Sinaloa Cowboys"]; Sebastian Rotella, "Children of the Border," April 3, 1993 [about teenaged male prostitutes in Balboa Park]. As David Corn has written in *The Nation*, "Springsteen is not of his subjects, but he reads the newspapers—damn well—and he gives a hoot." See "Guthrie's Ghost," *The Nation*, December 11, 1995, p. 733. Another extremely important influence on the recent album is Dale Maharidge's book *Journey to Nowhere: The Saga of the New Underclass* (Garden City, N.Y.: Dial Press, 1985). On this, see Tom Schoenberg, "Professor's Research Inspires a Rock Star," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, January 19, 1996, A7. In Maharidge's words, Springsteen "is a musical Steinbeck. The people he's writing about don't have a voice, so the songs are important. They talk about what's going on in our society today." See Richard Harrington, "Steelworker's Song," in *Washington Post*, December 3, 1995.
35. Stott, *Documentary Expression*, 8.
36. On New Deal art and artists see Francis V. O'Connor, ed., *Art for the Millions: Essays from the 1930s by artists and administrators of the WPA Federal Art Project* (Greenwich, Conn.: New York Graphic Society, 1973)
37. CBS Television, "60 Minutes," January 21, 1996.
38. August, "Our Stories/Our Selves," 13.
39. Ibid., 12–13.1. Quoted in Joseph A. McGowan and Terry R. Willis, *Sacramento: Heart of the Golden State* (Woodland Hills, Calif.: Windsor Publications, Inc., 1983), 19.

Eifler, "Taming the Wilderness," pp. 192-207.

1. Quoted in Joseph A. McGowan and Terry R. Willis, *Sacramento: Heart of the Golden State* (Woodland Hills, Calif.: Windsor Publications, Inc., 1983), 19.
2. Sacramento *Placer Times*, May 5, 1849.
3. See the lithograph by William Endicott & Co., New York, based on drawing by G.V. Cooper, drawn December 20, 1849, reproduced in John W. Reps, *The Forgotten Frontier: Urban Planning in the American West Before 1890* (Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 1981), figure 41, p. 63.
4. Bayard Taylor, *Eldorado, or Adventures in the Path of Empire* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1949), 77.
5. John Frederick Morse, *The First History of Sacramento City* [1853] (Sacramento, Calif.: Sacramento Book Collector's Club, 1945), 26–27.
6. Reps, *Forgotten Frontier*, 61.
7. J. Horace Culver, *1851 Sacramento City Directory* (Sacramento: Transcript Press, 1851), 72
8. William Ladd Willis, *The History of Sacramento County* (Los Angeles: Historic Record Company, 1913), 70.
9. Culver, *Directory*, 72–73.
10. Willis, *History of Sacramento County*, 43. For an account of the flood, see McGowan and Willis, *Sacramento*, 35–36, and *Placer Times*, January 19 and 26, and February 2, 1850.
11. Peter H. Burnett, *Recollections and Opinions of an Old Pioneer* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1880), 334.
12. Culver, *Directory*, 78.
13. McGowan and Willis, *Sacramento*, 24-25
14. *Placer Times*, May 5, 1849.
15. "Free Inhabitants in Sacramento City, in the County of Sacramento, State of California, enumerated by me, on the days of October 1 through November 19, 1850. William Johnson, Assistant Marshall," [United States Bureau of the Census], Original Schedule of the Seventh Census of Population, for California (Microfilm No. 432, National

NOTES

Archives Microfilm Publications), hereafter abbreviated as "Manuscript of 1850 US Census, Sacramento City and County."

16. Culver, *Directory*, 5.
17. *Ibid.*, 78.
18. Taylor, *Eldorado*, 204–205.
19. *Placer Times*, February 23, 1850, quoted in Stephen Helmich, "K Street Landing, Old Sacramento and The Embarcadero," *Golden Notes* 26 (Fall 1980): 14–15.
20. Taylor, *Eldorado*, 167–68.
21. Culver, *Directory*.
22. *Ibid*.
23. *Placer Times*, December 1, 1849.
24. Hotel and boarding house names can be found in Culver, *Directory*. The birthplaces of their residents can be discovered by comparing directory listings with the 1850 U.S. manuscript census.
25. The social, cultural, and symbolic implications of gambling in San Francisco have been described in Gunther Barth, *Instant Cities* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 144-48; for list of saloon and gambling hall names see, Culver, *Directory*, 50-51; Taylor, *Eldorado*, 167, has a good description of "The Plains" in 1849.
26. Morse, *First History*, 24–25; Reps, *Forgotten Frontier*, 61.
27. Willis, *History of Sacramento County*, 66, notes that John Fowler had "a virtual monopoly" on freighting to the mines; Morse, *First History*, p. 29, notes the dominant position of Captain Gelston in shipping, and a letter to the *Placer Times*, July 14, 1849, details Gelston's ability to undersell Sacramento merchants from his ship.
28. Burnett, *Recollections*, 293; Reps, *Forgotten Frontier*, 61; *Placer Times*, July 14, 1849.
29. Morse, *First History*, 25–26.
30. McGowan and Willis, *Sacramento*, 28; Culver, *Directory*, 73-74; Willis, *History of Sacramento County*, 42; a copy of the Law and Order Party's broadside in the fight over the city charter is reproduced in Vernon Aubrey Neasham and James E. Henley, *The City of the Plain: Sacramento in the Nineteenth Century* (Sacramento: Sacramento Pioneer Foundation, 1969), 32.
31. Helmich, "K Street," pp. 2, 15–16; for public reaction see *Placer Times*, August 25, 1849.
32. W. W. Robinson, *Land in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948), 45-109; Josiah Royce, "The Squatter Riot of '50 in Sacramento," *Overland Monthly*, September 1885, pp. 226–30, 232–38.
33. *Placer Times*, December 1 and 15, 1849; Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California*, VI (San Francisco: The History Company, Publishers, 1888), 329.
34. *Placer Times*, Dec 1, Dec 15; Bancroft, *History*, VI, p. 329.
35. Bancroft, *History*, VI, pp. 329-30; Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California*, III (San Francisco: N. J. Stone & Company, 1898), 670.
36. *Placer Times*, December 15, 1849.
37. Unpublished Settlers' Association broadside, Bancroft Library, U.C. Berkeley.
38. Evidence for this observation is inconclusive, but weighty. Statistical evidence from the U.S. census indicates that the majority of the population came from New England and the Old Northwest territory states. The association's newspaper, *The Settlers' and Miners' Times*, indicates its readership. Bancroft, *History*, VI, p. 328, claimed that the squatters were "composed chiefly of men from the Missouri border." Taylor, *Eldorado*, 209, claims that it was the overland emigrants who were the chief squatters. Willis, *History of Sacramento County*, notes that the men were "ignorant and uneducated"—terms often used when describing the Irish at this time. Of the few men known definitely to have belonged to the association, Irish surnames predominate. And the actions of Sacramento residents themselves indicate the association's composition; during the "Squatters' Riot," Sacramento's militia arrested an Irish-born carpenter who had been active in organizing local laborers, and rumors panicked the city that a miners' army was gathering to destroy the city in retaliation for action taken against the association. While the rumor proved false, its wide acceptance indicates the connection between the miners and the association.
39. See Charles H. Shinn, *Mining Camps, A Study in American Frontier Government* (New York: Harper and Row, 1885).
40. Taylor, *Eldorado*, 166-67, 208.
41. See, for example, Paul W. Gates, *History of Public Land Law Development* (New York: Arno Press, 1979); Benjamin H. Hibbard, *A History of the Public Land Policies* Reprint. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965); John Opie, *The Law of the Land: 200 Years of American Farmland Policy* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987); Roy M. Robbins, *Our Landed Heritage: The Public Domain, 1776-1936* rev. ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1976); and Malcolm J. Rohrbough, *The Land Office Business: The Settlement and Administration of American Public Lands*, 1789-1837 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968).
42. This title was used by Josiah Royce in the Overland Monthly in September 1885 and by Hubert Howe Bancroft in his *History of California* in 1888. Since then, every history of Sacramento city or county, or texts on California history have referred to this incident as the "Squatters' Riot." Sacramento's two newspapers, however, the *Placer Times* and the *Transcript*, refer to the violence as "the disturbance."
43. Sacramento *Transcript*, August 5, 1850.
44. Manuscript of 1850 U.S. census, Sacramento city and county.
45. Willis, *History of Sacramento County*, 43.
46. *Transcript*, August 6, 1850.
47. Manuscript of 1850 U.S. census, Sacramento city and county.
48. Royce, "The Squatter Riot of '50," 241.
49. Most accounts of the disturbance are based on newspaper reports in the *Placer Times* and the Sacramento *Transcript* during August 1850. Benjamin Stillman's letters, published as "Seeking the Golden Fleece" in the *Overland Monthly*, November 1873, provide a participant's account of the patrols. Royce, whose account quotes the newspaper sources liberally, also tells of the rumors his mother heard in San Francisco at the time of the panic.
50. Benjamin Stillman, "Seeking the Golden Fleece," *Overland Monthly*, November 1873, p. 420.
51. *Ibid.*, 419-20.
52. Royce, "The Squatter Riot," 245.
53. Culver, *Directory*, 79.
54. *Placer Times*, May 5, 1849..

Houston, "Cadwalader Ringgold, U.S. Navy," pp. 208-221.

1. The list includes at least seventeen businesses and three dozen names including John A. Sutter, Joseph L. Folsom, and Gov. Bennet Riley. The list is imprinted on the "General Chart," by Cadwalader Ringgold, in *A Series of Charts, with Sailing Directions*, (Washington: Jno. T. Towers, 1852, 4th edition).
2. *Alta California*, June 20, 1849, p. 2.
3. Ringgold was ordered to accompany Thomas Butler King, congressional representative from Georgia, on the latter's fact-finding trip to California. The mission was at the request of newly inaugurated President Zachary Taylor.
4. Ringgold, *Charts*, 5.
5. *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, (New York: James T. White & Co., 1892), vol. I, p. 89.
6. *Alta California*, April 2, 1866, p. 2.
7. Possibly in 1852, on the steamer *Independence*, *Alta California*, February 25, 1852, p. 2.
8. Ibid., June 27, 1865, p. 4.
9. Henry M. Naglee, *The Love Life of Brig. Gen. Henry M. Naglee, Consisting of a Correspondence on Love, War and Politics*, (New York: Hilton & Co., 1867). Letters to Mary L. Schell, 1858-1864.

10 *Doggett's New York City Directory* for 1842–1843 lists George H. Ringgold as "artist 281 Broadway."

11. An exception to the family's distinguished tradition appears to be William S. Ringgold, USN, a distant cousin to Cadwalader Ringgold, who was court-martialed in August 1840. After twelve years in the Navy, William resigned as the court was appointed. The charge: inebriety.
12. Letter from Gen. (then a Maryland representative to Congress) Samuel Ringgold to "Honorable Secretary of the Navy of the United States" of April 1, 1818, in the collection of the New-York Historical Society, "Naval History Society Collection, Misc. Mss. R," courtesy of the New-York Historical Society.
13. The first *John Adams* was built in 1799 in, and by the people of, South Carolina but, badly

cayed, could not be rebuilt and was broen up at the Norfolk Navy Yard. The sec nd *John Adams* was launched there in the ll of 1830 and convoyed ships with the lediterranean Squadron beginning in 1831

4 nes was highly regarded for his heroic conuct of a battle with British ships in 1814 off lew Orleans. Jones was wounded in the attle, which the American force lost. The merican force nonetheless sustained far wer casualties than the British.

15 *oston Evening Transcript*, February 26, 1842, 2. Wilkes's account is slightly different he islanders killed about a dozen crewnen, eating one before the remaining bods were rescued by the crew. The bodies vere buried at sea, but then recovered and aten by the islanders. See Charles Wilkes, *arrative of the United States Exploring Expeition: during the years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 842*, volume III, (Philadelphia: C. Shernan, 1844), 109–111. Also William Stanton, *he Great United States Exploring Expedition f 1838–1842*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 190.

16 Briton Cooper Busch, *Alta California 840 1842: The Journal and Observations of William Dane Phelps, Master of the Ship "Alert"*, (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1983), 218.

1 Busch, 220.

1 Stanton, 266–67.

1 *og Kept Aboard the Vincennes and the Porpoise y Acting Midshipman Samuel B. Elliot August 19, 1838–May 18, 1842*, from *Records of the United States Exploring Expedition under the Command of Charles Wilkes, 1838–1842*, File Microcopies of Records in the National Archives, (Washington: The National Archives, 1944), No. 75, Roll # 17, entries for 19 and 20 August,' 1841

2 Busch, 221.

2 Wilkes, volume V, 194.

2 Also above Sutter Buttes, an unmistakable landmark in the valley. The longitude given by Ringgold is actually eight or ten miles west of the Sacramento River and may reflect drift in the expedition's chronometers. The expedition carried almost two dozen chronometers, but it is unlikely that Ringgold had more than a couple with him on his exploration of the Sacramento

A combination Bowie knife and pistol made expressly for the expedition.

Wilkes, V, 202.

Wilkes, V, 207

Stanton, 264. See also Rodman W. Paul, *The California Gold Discovery: Sources, Documents, Accounts and Memoirs Relating to the Discovery of Gold at Sutter's Mill*, (Georgetown, California: Talisman Press, 1966), 132 and James Dwight Dana, "Notes on Upper California . . . From Observations Made During the Cruise of the United States Exploring Expedition, under Capt. Charles Wilkes, U. S. N.," *The American Journal of Science and Arts* (New Haven: S. Converse, 1849), vol. VII, 262.

27. After losing the Peacock on the Columbia River bar, Wilkes purchased a replacement vessel and named it the *Oregon*—not the *Oregon* of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company.
28. *Alta California*, November 15, 1849, p. 2.
29. W.T. Sherman letter of November 1, 1849, Supplement, p. 2.
30. Ibid., August 16, 1849, p. 2.
31. Ibid
32. Ibid., October 25, 1849, p. 2.
33. *Register of the Commissioned and Warrant Officers of the Navy of the United States including Officers of the Marine Corps and Others for the Year 1849* (Washington: J and G. S. Gideon, 1849), 62–63, 82–83, generally and hereinafter *Navy Register*. Also *Navy Register* for 1850, 46–47. The *Navy Registers* of the gold-rush period record Lt. James Blair, but there is no Lt. Hammond of the Navy. Nor is there mention of Lt. Hammond in *List of Officers of the Navy of the United States and of the Marine Corps from 1775 to 1900*, edited by Edward W. Callahan, (New York, NY: Haskell House Publishers, 1969), 60, 242.
34. *Alta California*, November 1, 1849, Supplement, p. 2.
35. Bayard Taylor, *Eldorado*, or, *Adventures in the Path of Empire*, (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1860), 217.
36. *Alta California*, November 1, 1849, Supplement, p. 2.
37. W. T. Sherman letter of November 1, 1849, *Alta California*, November 8, 1849, p. 2.
38. In a letter dated November 16, 1849, Blair, Hammond, and Sherman took issue with the writer and his apparent refusal to identify himself other than "The Navy." *Alta California*, December 1, 1849, p. 4.
39. Letter from Thos. ap C. Jones to Thomas Oliver Larkin, 101 Tenth St., New York, *The Larkin Papers*, vol. VIII, 1848–1851, ed. George P. Hammond, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962) 377.
40. Letter from Cadwalader Ringgold to Thomas Oliver Larkin of January 7, 1853, Washington, *Larkin*, vol. IX, 197–98.
41. *Alta California*, November 1, 1849, p. 2
42. Ibid., May 1, 1849, p. 2.
43. Hammond and Blair had arrived on April 1, 1849, aboard the Oregon, which tied up alongside the *Ohio*. The captain of the *Oregon* did this rather than lie off San Francisco where his crew was more likely to jump ship. *The Sherman Letters*, vol. I, p. 95, ed. Rachael Sherman Thorndike, (New York: Scribner's, 1894).
44. *Memoirs of General William T. Sherman*, by himself, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1957), 101, first published 1875.
45. *Memoirs*, 105.
46. *Alta California*, November 15, 1849, p. 2.
47. Ibid., December 29, 1849, p. 3.
48. Ibid., January 11, 1850, p. 2
49. Ibid., January 22, 1850, p. 3
50. Ibid., April 19, 1850, p. 2
51. Ibid., April 20, 1850, p. 2
52. Ibid., April 22, 1850, p. 2
53. Ibid., June 18, 1850, p. 2.
54. Ibid., December 12, 1851, p. 2.
55. Ringgold, *Charts*, p. 4.
56. Ringgold, p. 8. "I had designed to survey the Farallones, and closely trace the shore line from Punta de los Reyes to the Golden-gate. Circumstances entirely prevented me from attaining so desirable a duty." Frederick William Beechey (1796–1856), a British naval officer and explorer aboard the *Blossom*, spent three years cruising the northern Pacific.
57. Ringgold, 8.
58. Campbell later surveyed the central California railroad route from San Francisco to Los Angeles during the Pacific Railroad Surveys with Lt. John Grubb Parke in late 1854 and early 1855.
59. *Sherman Memorandum*, dated July 28, 1850, ms. 983, United States Military Academy Archives, W.T. Sherman File, Box #1.
60. The *Navy Registers* list Ringgold as "Special Duty in California," 1850, "Waiting orders," 1851, and "Bureau of Construction, &c., Commission to select a site for a Navy Yard and Naval Depot, in California," 1852.
61. *Alta California*, December 12, 1851, p. 2.
62. Allan B. Cole, "The Ringgold-Rodgers-Brooke Expedition to Japan and the North Pacific, 1853-1859," *Pacific Historical Review*, 16, (May 1947): 152–62.
63. The surveying by the U. S. Exploring Expedition was sophisticated: using techniques developed by Wilkes, the ships, working in coordination, were able to survey islands without setting foot upon them.
64. *Washington Weekly Star*, February 6, 1859, p. 6.
65. *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies*, vol. II, Operations of the Cruisers-Union (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894), 81.
66. Prior to the Civil War, the rank of admiral did not exist
67. See letter of Cmdr. William Kay Latimer to Captain Henry A. Wise, chief of Bureau of Ordinance, Washington, D. C., March 5, 1867. Naval Historical Society Collection, Henry A. Wise Papers Letterbook 13 #124 New-York Historical Society. Latimer had not commanded a squadron and was displeased at the regulation to promote those who had. Letter in collection of New-York Historical Society.
68. Ringgold, 23.
69. The U. S. Navy honored Ringgold with a Wickes class WWI destroyer named after him and commissioned at the Mare Island Navy Yard on November 14, 1918. This vessel was one of the fifty sent to the British in 1940. A second destroyer, named for Ringgold, (DD 500), of the Fletcher class, was commissioned on December 30, 1942, saw extensive service in the Pacific, and earned ten battle stars. San Francisco, California, has a Ringgold Street.
70. *Alta California*, December 12, 1851, p. 2

Donors to the California Historical Society

The California Historical Society gratefully acknowledges the generous members and donors who have made gifts of $250 or more over the past twelve months ending December 31, 2000.

Individuals

$5,000 and above

Anonymous
Mr. Robert G. Adams, Orinda
Mrs. Dorothy Beatty, Portola Valley
Mr. & Mrs. Richard Dirickson, San Francisco
Mr. Ernest Gallo, Modesto
Maribelle B. Leavitt, San Francisco
Mr. Francis Martin, III, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. J. Patterson McBaine, San Francisco
Mr. Peter Johnson Musto, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. John T. Olds, San Francisco
Miss Elizabeth O'Shaughnessy, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Adolph Rosekrans, San Francisco
Dr. A. Jess Shenson, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. William Timken, Lafayette
Mrs. Paul L. Wattis, San Francisco

$1,000 - $4,999

Mr. & Mrs. Scott Alan Bedford, San Mateo
Dick & Kate Breaux, San Mateo
Mr. & Mrs. Allan Byer, Hillsborough
Mrs. John Edward Cahill, San Rafael
Ms. Kit Cole, San Rafael
Ms. Connie Cox, Atherton
Donald D. Crawford, Jr., Sea Ranch
Mr. & Mrs. Charles Crocker, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Michael Cudahy, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Joseph E. Davis, Fullerton
Mr. Richard M. Davis, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Reid W. Dennis, Woodside
Mrs. Morris M. Doyle, San Francisco
Ms. Nancy S. Forster, Burlingame
Mr. & Mrs. Robert Friend, Belvedere
Mr. Robert C. Friese, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. Kenneth D. Gardner, Jr., Albuquerque, NM
Dr. & Mrs. Richard G. Glogau, San Francisco
Mr. Richard N. Goldman, San Francisco
Mrs. Constance M. Goodyear, San Francisco
Mrs. Michele du P. Goss, San Francisco
Frank & Sarah Gotch, San Francisco
Mrs. Henry B. Grandin, Jr., Sausalito
Mr. Carmine Guerro, San Francisco
Mr. Alfred C. Harrison, Jr., San Francisco
Mr. Louis H. Heilbron, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Reuben W. Hills, III, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Michael Hooker, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. George F. Jewett, Jr., San Francisco
Mrs. Douglas Johnson, Belvedere
Matthew Kelly & Diane Chapman, San Francisco
Ms. Joan Kiekhaefer, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Richard Kramlich, San Francisco
Amb. & Mrs. L.W. Lane, Jr., Menlo Park
Mr. & Mrs. Melvin B. Lane, Menlo Park
Mr. & Mrs. George Link, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Thomas H. May, Oakville
Mr. John N. McBaine, San Francisco
Mrs. Nan Tucker McEvoy, San Francisco
Mr. Charles C. McGettigan, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Donald C. McNear, San Francisco
Mr. Alexander R. Mehran, San Francisco
Mr. Arthur Mejia, Jr., Ph.D., San Francisco
Mr. Russell R. Miller, San Francisco
Mrs. Gail Bliss Moore, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Joseph A. Moore, Jr., San Francisco
Mr. Tim Muller, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. P. William Parish, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Julian Peabody, San Francisco
Mr. Paul F. Pelosi, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Richard H. Peterson, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Geoffrey W. Picard, Pebble Beach
Edith and George Piness, Mill Valley
Mr. & Mrs. Malcolm Post, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. David Potter, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Phil Quigley, Hillsborough
Mrs. Genelle Relfe, San Francisco
Hal Riney, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Arthur Rock, San Francisco
Mrs. B. H. Rose, III, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. George W. Rowe, San Francisco
Mr. David Rumsey, San Francisco
Mr. Donn R. Schoenmann, San Francisco
Mr. Donn Schroder, Piedmont
Mr. Bernard Schulte, Jr., Orinda
Mr. & Mrs. Norman Schultz, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Charles R. Schwab, Atherton
Mr. Porter Sesnon, Jr., Borrego Springs
Hon. & Mrs. George P. Shultz, San Francisco
Mr. Douglass Smith & Ms. Sandra Lloyd, San Francisco
Mr. Charles J. Soderquist, Sacramento
Mr. & Mrs. W. Clarke Swanson, Jr., Oakville
Mr. & Mrs. Steven L. Swig, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Stephen L. Taber, Esq., San Francisco
The Hon. & Mrs. John K. Van de Kamp, Pasadena
Mr. A. W. B. Vincent, San Francisco
Mr. Daniel G. Volkmann, Jr., San Francisco
Mr. John Walker, San Francisco
Mrs. Alice Whitson, Willow Creek
Ms. Judith Wilbur, Hillsborough
Mrs. Ann Witter San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Douglas Wolf, San Francisco
Ms. Susan Woodson, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Ian H. Zwicker, Hillsborough

$500 - $999

Mr. Victor K. Atkins, Jr., Southampton, NY
Mrs. Judith Avery, San Francisco
Ms. Lisa Hamilton Barry, Greenbrae
Mr. & Mrs. John B. Bates, Piedmont
Mr. & Mrs. Frank Bauman, Portland, OR
Mr. & Mrs. John Berggruen, San Francisco
Mr. Benjamin F. Biaggini, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Michael F. Bigham, Palo Alto
Mr. & Mrs. Richard Blackman, San Rafael
Mr. & Mrs. Dix Boring, San Francisco
Mr. George M. Bowles, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. William J. Brady, San Francisco
Ms. Cynthia Broderson, Berkeley
Mr. & Mrs. William Bucklin, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. William Cahill, Ross
Mr. & Mrs. James E. Caldwell, Woodside
Dr. & Mrs. John N. Callander, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Herman Christensen, Jr., Atherton
Mr. & Mrs. R. Warren Cleary, Laguna Beach
Mr. & Mrs. Newton A. Cope, San Francisco
Mr. D. Michael Cullivan, Saint Louis, MO
Linda & James Dickason, San Marino
Karen & John Diefenbach, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Paul Downey, Healdsburg
Mr. & Mrs. William H. Draper, III, Atherton
Mr. Fred Drexler, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Frederick K. Duhring, Los Altos Hills
Mrs. Delia Ehrlich, San Francisco
Christian & Jacqueline Erdman, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Daniel Finnane, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Gordon Fish, Pasadena
Mr. & Mrs. David Fleishhacker, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Hugh W. Foster, San Francisco
Mr. John Garzoli, San Rafael
Mrs. Gloria Gordon Getty, San Francisco
Mr. George T. Gibson, Sacramento
Mr. Harry R. Goff, Palo Alto
Ms. Lyn Guittard, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. John J. Hagenbuch, San Francisco
Mr. David W. Hall, Belvedere
Mr. & Mrs. H. William Harlan, Oakville
Mr. & Mrs. Robert C. Harris, San Francisco
Mr. Edward Helfeld, San Francisco
Mr. Benjamin J. Henley, Jr., San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. W. Dean Henry, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Austin E. Hills, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. David Jackson, Hillsborough
Mr. & Mrs. Richard Jones, San Mateo
Mr. & Mrs. Stanley Kennedy, Jr., Sonoma
Mary Jo & Dick Kovacevich, San Francisco
Mr. Philip Kurjan, Sunnyvale
Mr. & Mrs. John G. Lilienthal, San Francisco
Mrs. Robert Livermore, Danville
Mr. George Livermore, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. James J. Ludwig, San Francisco
Mr. Robert S. MacFarlane, Pacific Palisades
Mr. & Mrs. Hugh L. Macneil, Pasadena
Mrs. Robert A. Magowan, San Francisco
Mr. Ray McDevitt, Mill Valley
Mr. & Mrs. John P. McGlynn, San Francisco
Mr. Andrew C. McLaughlin, III, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. McNeil, Dallas, TX
Mr. & Mrs. James Keith McWilliams, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Burnett Miller, Sacramento
Mr. Robert Folger Miller, Hillsborough
Daniel & Antonette Morales, El Cerrito
Mr. & Mrs. Michael Moyle, Sausalito
Mr. Michael D. Newman, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. J. E. C. Nielsen, Mill Valley
Mr. & Mrs. Wulfrin Oberlin, Corte Madera
Mr. & Mrs. Michael A. O'Hanlon, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Peter J. O'Hara, San Francisco
Judge & Mrs. William H. Orrick, Jr., San Francisco
Arland Petersen & Tere Massa, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. David W. Pettus, San Francisco
Ms. Elizabeth Spenser Pfau, San Francisco
Miss Mary E. Pike, Pasadena
Nancy L. Powers, Esq., San Francisco
Mr. Robert E. Ronus, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Richard M. Rosenberg, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Claude Rosenberg, San Francisco
Mr. Paul Sack, San Francisco
Mrs. David Sargent, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. Rolf G. Scherman, Greenbrae
Mr. & Mrs. Earl F. Schmidt, Jr., Palo Alto
Mr. John Schram, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. John Sias, San Francisco
Mrs. Thomas Siebert, Fresno
Mr. & Mrs. John Siegel, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Martin V. Skewes-Cox, Sonoma
Mr. & Mrs. H. Russell Smith, Pasadena
Mrs. Ward Miller Smith, San Francisco
Mr. John Soennichsen, San Jose
Carol & Ned Spieker, Atherton
Mr. Don Stephens & Ms. Patricia P. Hamilton, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. James B. Swinerton, San Francisco
Ms. Carole C. Terry, Las Vegas, NV
Mr. & Mrs. Joseph O. Tobin, II, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Stephen Townsend, Jr., San Francisco
Mr. John A. Traina, Jr., San Francisco
Ms. Suzanne Tucker & Mr. Timothy Marks, Sausalito
Mr. & Mrs. Robert M. Tuller, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Stephan P. Vermut, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Lorin Vogel, San Francisco
Bruce & Fran Walker, San Francisco
Patti & Tim Warner, San Francisco
Mr. Paul L. Wattis, Jr., Paicines
Mr. Thomas F. White, San Francisco

M & Mrs. Frank S. Whiting, Pasadena
M & Mrs. M. R. V. Whitman, San Francisco
M & Mrs. Richard Wollack, San Francisco
M ynthia W. Woods, San Francisco
M & Mrs. Frank M. Woods, San Francisco
M & Mrs. Lee Zeigler, San Francisco

2 - $499

Anonymous
M Clarellen Adams, San Francisco
M & Mrs. Samuel Armacost, Hillsborough
M Scott C. Atthowe, Oakland
M Edgar Baker, San Francisco
leen & Brad Baruh, Hillsborough
M & Mrs. George D. Basye, Sacramento
M Zella E. Blevhl, Davis
M & Mrs. Roger Boas, San Francisco
M & Mrs. Andrew E. Bogen, Santa Monica
M Armand D. Bose, San Francisco
M Douglas Boshardt, San Francisco
M Barbara Bottarini, San Francisco
M & Mrs. John T. Boyle, San Marino
M & Mrs. Robert Bransten, San Francisco
M & Mrs. Al Brounstein, Calistoga
M Donald Browne, Pebble Beach
M onathan Bulkley, San Francisco
M Lewis Byington, San Anselmo
M & Mrs. John C. Callan, San Francisco
M & Mrs. Clark Callander, San Francisco
M & Mrs. Charles Candau, San Francisco
D Frank Cantrell, Fresno
M Jeanne Carevic & Mr. John Atwood, San Jose
M & Mrs. Ward Carey, Hillsborough
M Michael Carson & Dr. Ronald Steigerwalt, Oakland
M Donna Miller Casey, San Francisco
S n & John Chamberlain, San Francisco
M & Mrs. A. W. Clausen, Hillsborough
M & Mrs. William Clayton, Jr., San Marino
M. Henry H. Clifford, Pasadena
M John C. Coleman, San Francisco
M Alice E. Collins, Grass Valley
M & Mrs. Robert Comartin, Hillsborough
M Barnaby Conrad, III, San Francisco
M Ruthann B. Conway, San Francisco
C rles H. & Nancy Curley, Larkspur
M Richard L. Dakin, Kentfield
M Renee Danson, San Jose
. Leonore Daschbach, Atherton
M Richard M. Davis, Nicasio
M W. E. Dean, II, Glen Ellen
D & Mrs. Howard F. Denbo, San Francisco
M & Mrs. Harry DeWildt, San Francisco
M R. Dick, Healdsburg
S en & Pamela Dinkelspiel, San Francisco
M Keith Doerge, San Francisco
M & Mrs. William H. Doheny, Los Angeles
Fred Dorey & Dr. Terry Wright, San Francisco
M Cheryl D. DuCote, San Francisco
Charles Elliott, San Francisco
M Denise Erickson, San Mateo
C ey Escher, St. Helena
ira & Paul Escobosa, Peidmont
ira & Paul Fay, San Francisco
& Mrs. Douglas Fenton, San Francisco
& Mrs. George Fesus, San Francisco
& Mrs. John Fisher, San Francisco
. & Mrs. George C. Fleharty, San Francisco
& Mrs. John Flynn, Hillsborough
Katherine Flynn & Mr. William Roop, Glen Ellen
ss Muriel F. French, San Francisco

Mr. & Mrs. Laurence E. Gamble, San Francisco
Elizabeth K. Gardner, Ph.D., Belvedere Tiburon
Mr. & Mrs. Milo S. Gates, Woodside
Mr. Albert E. Gedman, Middletown
The Hon. & Mrs. Ronald George, San Francisco
Mr. Thomas R. Gherini, San Mateo
Mrs. Donald C. Goodrich, Oceanside
Dr. Robert B. Gordon, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. James H. Greene, Jr., Hillsborough
Mr. John R. Griffiths, Palo Alto
Mr. Richard Gross, San Francisco
Mrs. P. L. Hagerty, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. George N. Hale, Jr., San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Michael A. Hall, Yountville
Mr. & Mrs. William Hall, Costa Mesa
Mr. Thomas J. Hammer, Jr., Sacramento
Mr. Paul Hanson, Saint Helena
Mr. & Mrs. Andrew T. Hass, Jr., Alamo
Mr. Stanley Hayes, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. William Alston Hayne, Saint Helena
Mr. & Mrs. Elwood M. Haynes, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. Paul Hazelrig, Hillsborough
Mr. & Mrs. Michael Heffernan, Stockton
Mr. & Mrs. Alfred E. Heller, Kentfield
Mr. & Mrs. Robert Hevener, San Mateo
Ms. Marcia T. Hill, San Francisco
Mark Hoffman, San Francisco
Dr. Daniel Hoggatt, San Francisco
Janice & Maurice Holloway, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Lock Holmes, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Robin Hood, Aptos
Mr. & Mrs. Spencer Hoopes, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. John F. Hotchkis, Pasadena
Ms. Theresa Hove, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. David B. Hudnut, Tiburon
Mr. & Mrs. John Hummer, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Harry Hunt, San Francisco
Mr. Henry F. Hunte, La Jolla
Mr. & Mrs. Harold J. Hunter, San Marino
Mr. Dennis Isenburg, Napa
Mrs. W. Turrentine Jackson, Davis
Mr. Jere A. Jacobs, Santa Rosa
Mr. & Mrs. Frank W. Jameson, San Marino
Mr. Douglas B. Jensen, Fresno
Mr. & Mrs. C. Russell Johnson, San Rafael
Ms. Carol Heinecke Johnson, Redwood City
Mr. & Mrs. Robert G. Johnson, Beverly Hills
Ms. Lynne C. Johnston, Redwood City
Mr. & Mrs. Scott Jones, Mill Valley
Miss Patricia Keenan, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. David Kehl, St. Helena
Mr. & Mrs. Van Rensselaer Kelsey, Los Angeles
Mr. David B. King, Newark
Ms. Laura Knoop King, San Francisco
Duane & Cathy Kirkpatrick, San Francisco
Mr. Tom Klein, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Mike Kleine, Pacifica
Ms. Sara Kozel, Atherton
Dr. & Mrs. Boyd Krout, Los Angeles
Mr. Roger Kuhn, Mill Valley
Dr. & Mrs. Richard Kunin, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. William C. Landreth. Carmel
Mr. & Mrs. Stephen Lauck, Ross
Mr. Hollis G. Lenderking, Palo Alto
Ms. Jill A. Lervold, Atherton
Mr. & Mrs. Jules A. Levaggi, San Francisco
Pari & Putnam Livermore, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Peter Locke, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Richard Lowry, San Francisco
Adrian Lurssen & Mary Kennedy, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Laurence R. Lyons, San Rafael

Sandy and Janet MacKenzie, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Peter Magowan, San Francisco
Ms. Josephine Malti, San Francisco
Mr. Peter F. Marble, Pebble Beach
Mr. Cloyd Masengill, Oakland
Mr. & Mrs. Edward H. Maver. San Marino
Mrs. Peter McBean, Hillsborough
Mr. & Mrs. James Briggs McClatchy, Sacramento
Stephen McClellan & Judith Hamilton, San Francisco
Mr. Michael McCone, San Francisco
Ms. Tillie McCullough, San Francisco
Mrs. David Jamison McDaniel, San Francisco
Ms. Barbara Y. McLellan, Los Altos
Mr. & Mrs. Colin McRae, Berkeley
Mr. Dwight L. Merriman, Jr., Kentfield
Janine & Jon Miller, Moss Beach
Mr. & Mrs. Owens O. Miller, Huntington Beach
Mrs. S. S. Monjauze, Menlo Park
Mr. & Mrs. Douglas G. Moore, San Francisco
Mr. Mark A. Moore, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Walter S. Newman, San Francisco
Ms. Carole Newman, San Francisco
Ms. Elizabeth O'Brien, Piedmont
Helen F. & Paul A. O'Leary, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Steven Oliver, San Francisco
Mr. S. Charles Olivia, Brentwood
Mr. & Mrs. Richard Olness, San Francisco
Dr. Ynez O'Neill, Los Angeles
Ms. Diane Ososke, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Richard C. Otter, Belvedere
Dr. Douglas K. Ousterhout, San Francisco
Mr. Charles H. Page, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. George Pasha, III, San Rafael
Mrs. Paul Patton, Kentfield
Mr. & Mrs. Warren Perry, San Francisco
Mr. Dan Phipps, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. John O. Pohlmann, Seal Beach
Mr. Anthony Price, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Paul C. Pringle, San Francisco
Diane T. Prioleau, Piedmont
Mr. & Mrs. Russell L. Quacchia, Los Altos
Biage & Bonney Quattrocchi, Santa Rosa
Mr. & Mrs. Martin Quinn, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Chris Redlich, Hillsborough
Mr. & Mrs. Charles M. Reed, Huntington Beach
Mr. & Mrs. Richard W. Reinhardt, San Francisco
Mrs. Barbara H. Riggins, Walnut Creek
Mr. & Mrs. Thomas Rimerman, Menlo Park
Richard & Sarah Rivers, Woodside
Ms. Helen Robison, Palo Alto
Mr. B. T. Rocca, Jr., San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Hadley Roff, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Thomas P. Rohlen, San Francisco
Mr. William M. Roth, Princeton, NJ
Mr. Andy Rumer, San Anselmo
Mrs. George V. Russell, Santa Barbara
Mr. & Mrs. Theodore A. Russell, San Francisco
Hiedeh Honari Saghi, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Robert Scavullo, San Francisco
Sande Schlumberger, Santa Rosa
Ms. Marna Schnabel, Los Angeles
Mr. Edward J. Schneider, III, Atherton
Mr. John Schnorr, San Francisco
Mrs. J. F. Schulz, Santa Rosa
Mrs. S. Donald Schwabacher, Atherton
Mr. & Mrs. Edwin J. Schwartz, San Francisco
Mr. Ronald E. Schwarz & Mr. Michael Barcun, San Francisco
Rev. Thomas L. Seagrave, San Francisco
Mrs. Muir S. Shank, Diablo

Note: Accurate gift acknowledgement is very important to us but occasionally mistakes are made. Please notify the CHS Development Department of any corrections as soon as possible.

DONORS

Mrs. Eugene A. Shurtleff, San Francisco
Mr. Rocco C. Siciliano, Beverly Hills
Mr. Alan Sieroty, Los Angeles
Mrs. Mollie M. Sinclair, Palo Alto
Mr. & Mrs. Andrew Skurman, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. David Sliptzin, San Francisco
Ms. Jeanne M. Smith, Walnut Creek
Ms. Ann Smith, Pacific Palisades
Mr. & Mrs. Edward Snedeker, San Mateo
Ms. Barbara Stanton, St. Helena
Mr. & Mrs. Richard Stein, Burlingame
Mr. & Mrs. Moreland L. Stevens, Newcastle
Mr. Norman Stone, San Francisco
Ms. Blanche Germain Streeter, San Francisco
Dr. Nate Sumner, Mill Valley
Mrs. Roselyn C. Swig, San Francisco
Mr. Thomas A. Techentin, Pasadena
Mr. Paul J. Ten Doesschate, Tiburon
Carter and Mary Thacher, San Francisco
Mr. James F. Thacher, San Francisco
Mr. Charles C. Thieriot, San Francisco
Mr. and Mrs. Morley Thompson, Woodside
Mr. Roger Trinchero, St. Helena
Mr. & Mrs. J. Gordon Turnbull, San Francisco
Mr. Richard C. Warmer, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Paul Wattis, III, San Francisco
Mrs. Richard C. Waugh, Los Altos Hills
Josh Weinstein & Lisa Simmons, Santa Monica
Mr. Frank A. West, Carmel
Messrs. Whitcomb & McCarthy, Redwood Valley
Mr. Warren R. White, San Francisco
Mr. Peter Wiley, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Alfred S. Wilsey, San Francisco
Mr. Robert M. Wilson, Sacramento
Anne & Kirke Wilson, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Milton Wilson, St. Helena
Ms. Lynn Armstrong Winkel, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. Andy Woo, San Mateo
Mr. Mark L. Woodbury, Oakland
Ms. Nancy C. Woodward, Carmichael
Mrs. Phyllis M. Woodward, San Rafael
Alice & Tom Wright, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Peter Zischke, Orinda
Mrs. Joan Zischke, Carmel

Corporations and Foundations

$5,000 and above

The Barkley Fund, Corona Del Mar
The Louise M. Davies Foundation, San Francisco
Grants for The Arts / San Francisco Hotel Tax Fund, San Francisco
Metreon, San Francisco
The Robert & Helen Odell Fund, San Francisco
San Francisco Foundation, San Francisco
The San Francisco Giants, San Francisco
The L. J. Skaggs & Mary C. Skaggs Foundation, Oakland
Transamerica Foundation, San Francisco
Kristi Yamaguchi's Always Dream Foundation, Oakland

$1,000 - $4,999

The W. & H. B. Allen Foundation, Belvedere
Automobile Club of Southern Calif., Costa Mesa
The Elizabeth & Stephen Bechtel, Jr. Foundation, San Francisco
The Robert & Alice Bridges Foundation, San Francisco
Compton Foundation, Menlo Park
General Atlantic Development, San Francisco
Macromedia, San Francisco
McClatchy Newspapers, Sacramento
Merrill Lynch & Co. Foundations, Inc., New York, NY
Pfund Family Foundation, Sacramento
Public Policy Institute of California, San Francisco
Sacramento Trust for Historic Preservation, Sacramento
SF Sentry Securities, Inc., San Francisco
The Sidney Stern Memorial Trust, Pacific Palisades

$500 - $999

Butterfield & Butterfield, San Francisco
Pacific Gas and Electric Co., San Francisco
Shirley T. Tartak Foundation, Tiburon
John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, NY

$250 - $499

The John M. Bryan Family Fund, San Francisco
The Hass Family Fund, San Jose
The Ron Kaufman Companies, San Francisco
Plant Construction Company, Inc., San Francisco
The San Francisco Club of Lithography & Printing, San Mateo

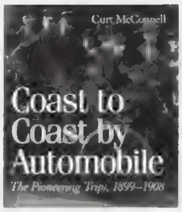
The California Idea

Exploring the Highest Sierra
JAMES G. MOORE
This monumental book beautifully captures the natural history, geology, and early explorations of the highest part of California's Sierra Nevada mountain range with 180 illustrations and 44 maps.
"No other author has captured the full panorama of the Sierra Nevada's geologic history and exploration. . . . Captivating writing and superb illustrations carry the reader into the highest Sierra along the paths of the pioneer explorers."
—Richard S. Fiske, former director, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution
$17.95 paper $49.50 cloth

Chinese San Francisco, 1850-1943
A Trans-Pacific Community
YONG CHEN
Founded during the Gold Rush years, the Chinese community of San Francisco became the largest and most vibrant Chinatown in America. This is a detailed social and cultural history of the Chinese in San Francisco.
$45.00 cloth

The California Idea and American Higher Education, 1850 to the 1960 Master Plan
JOHN A. DOUGLASS
"John Douglass has succeeded in one of the most difficult of scholarly challenges—presenting a large and complex topic with remarkable clarity, insight, and narrative skill."
— Richard C. Atkinson, President of the University of California
$55.00 cloth

Coast to Coast by Automobile
The Pioneering Trips, 1899-1908
CURT MCCONNELL
This book engagingly explores the challenges met and overcome by the first motorists to drive across America. It cuts through the fiction, legends, and industry-produced propaganda that have long surrounded the first transcontinental automobile trips. The author has enriched his vivid account with 140 illustrations in an 8½ x 10 inch format.
$45.00 cloth



The Initiative and Referendum in California, 1898-1998
JOHN M. ALLSWANG
This book provides a detailed analytic history of direct legislation—the initiative and referendum—in California from the late 19th century to the present day. It studies this important political device in terms of voter interest and behavior, its role in public issues, how it has affected the state's politics and government, and its influence on the politics of other states.
$24.95 paper $60.00 cloth

Stanford University Press
800·872·7423 | www·sup·org

California History

Volume LXXIX, 2000

CONTENTS

AND

INDEX

compiled by Robert Clark

California Historical Society

SAN FRANCISCO

CONTENTS

Number 1 Spring 2000

2 Foreword
by Gerald Haslam

I. Literature

4 The Emergence of Los Angeles as a Literary Territory
by David Fine

10 "Debauched by a Book": Benjamin Franklin, Richard Brautigan, and the Pleasure of the Text
by Joseph Mills

18 Raymond Carver's *Where I'm Calling From:* A Reflection of His Life and Art
by John Magee

24 Vietnam War Landscape: California in Robert Stone's *Dog Soldiers*
by Donna Pasternak

II. Film

30 Manifest Landscape/Latent Ideology: Afterimages of Empire in the Western and "Post-Western" Film
by Diane M. Borden and Eric P. Essman

42 Yosemite Sam Never Settles Down
by Bruce McKenna

50 On the Road to Nowhere?: California's Car Culture
by R. C. Lutz

III. Poetry and Music

56 From Granite and Hawks to Human Wishes: California's Poetry of Place
by Adrielle Mitchell

62 Proverbs about Women from the Pacific Northwest and California
by Lois Kerschen

70 The Wild, Wild West: Images of California in Contemporary Rap Music
by Heather Mayne

76 Reviews

81 California Checklist

82 Notes

86 Donors

Number 2 Summer 2000

Rooted in Barbarous Soil:
People, Culture, and Community in Gold Rush California

This special issue is self-contained, with its own idex

ix Preface · Michael Duty and Richard J. Orsi

1 1. *Rooted in Barbarous Soil: An Introduction to Gold Rush Society and Culture* · Kevin Starr

25 2. *No Boy's Play: Migration and Settlement in Early Gold Rush California* · Malcolm Rohrbough

44 3. *A People of Exceptional Character: Ethnic Diversity, Nativism, and Racism in the California Gold Rush* Sucheng Chan

86 4. *"Because he is a liar and a thief": Conquering the Residents of "Old" California, 1850–1880* · James A. Sandos

113 5. *"All hands have gone downtown": Urban Places in Gold Rush California* · Robert Phelps

141 6. *Weaving a Different World: Women and the California Gold Rush* · Nancy J. Taniguchi

169 7. *"As jolly as a clam at high water": The Rise of Art in Gold Rush California* · Anthony Kirk

204 8. *Romancing the Gold Rush: The Literature of the California Frontier* · Michael Kowalewski

226 9. *From Indifference to Imperative Duty: Educating Children in Early California* · Irving G. Hendrick

250 10. *Phelan's Cemetery: Religion in the Urbanizing West, 1850–1869, in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Sacramento* · Steven M. Avella

280 11. *Popular Culture on the Golden Shore* · Gary F. Kurutz

316 12. *"My own private life": Toward a History of Desire in Gold Rush California* · Susan Lee Johnson

347 List of Contributors

351 Index

CONTENTS

umber 3 — Fall 2000

0 Annual Report: Fiscal Year 2000

02 A Portfolio of Exhibitions
- *California 1900: . . . on the Threshold of a New Century*
- *America's Concentration Camps: Remembering the Japanese American Experience*

124 Financial Highlights: Fiscal Years 1999 and 2000

126 Reviews

137 California Checklist

138 Donors
- *Donors to the Annual Fund*
- *Donors for the Fiscal Year*
- *Donors for July-September 2000*
- *Donations to the CHS Collections*

147 New Members

Number 4 — Winter 2000/01

154 *Splendide Californie!:* Selections by French Artists in California History, 1786-1900
by Claudine Chalmers

180 Come Back, Tom Joad: Thoughts on a California Dreamer
by Bryant Simon and William Deverell

192 Taming The Wilderness Within: Order and Opportunity in Gold Rush Sacramento, 1849-1850
by Mark A. Eifler

208 Cadwalader Ringgold, U. S. Navy: Gold Rush Surveyor of San Francisco Bay and Waters to Sacramento, 1849-1850
by Alan Fraser Houston

222 Reviews

229 California Checklist

231 Notes

236 Donors

239 Yearly Contents and Index
by Robert Clark

INDEX

The Abortion (novel), 11
Adams, Ansel, 36
Adams, Nick, 181
Adams, O. S., 68
Adams, Robert, 14-15
Adamson, Joe, 43
Aesop, 44
African Americans. See Blacks
Afrika Bambaataa, 70
After Many A Summer Dies the Swan (novel), 7
Aguillon Winery, 171
Ahab, Captain, 181
Albright, Madeleine, 32
Alcoholism, 20, 21, 22
Alemany, Archbishop José Sadoc, 164
Alger, Hortío, 187
Algonquin Circle, 3
Algren, Nelson, 14
Alta California, 208, 213, 215, 217, 218, 221
Altman, Robert, 36, 37
American Fictions 1940-1980 (book), 25
American Myth and the Legacy of Vietnam (book), 25
American River, 192, 195, 218
Anderson, Antony, 175
Anderson, Sherwood, 7
Antonioni, Michelangelo, 36, 37
Apocalypse Now (rap album), 74
Appleman, William, 189, 191
Arlen, Karen W., co-compiler of *Days of Gold! Songs of the California Gold Rush,* and *They Came Singing: Songs from California's History,* review of, 228
Artful Players: Artistic Life in Early San Francisco, review of, 78
Aspinwall, William H., 218
Astaire, Fred, 43
Atlantic Monthly Press, 19
"Autobiography of a Damned Fool" (manuscript), 10
Automobile, 50, 51, 53, 54; in southern California, 6
Avery, Tex, 43

Bache, Alexander Dallas, 219
Bad Boy Entertainment, 70
Baer, Florence, 44
Bagley, Will, editor of *Scoundrel's Tale: The Samuel Brannan Papers,* Kingdom of the West Series, Vol. 3, review of, 226
Baker, Houston A., Jr., 70, 74
Barrias, Félix, 169
Barthelme, Donald, 14
Barthes, Roland, 14, 15, 16, 17
Bartlett, Lee, 60
Batt, Margaret, co-compiler of *Days of Gold! Songs of the California Gold Rush,* and *They Came Singing: Songs from California's History,* review of, 228
Bay Bridge, 54
Bay of Suisun, 213, 215, 217, 218
Beatty, Gloria, 8
Beatty, Warren, 37
Becker, Stephen, author of "Milestones," Winter, inside front cover
Becoming Benjamin Franklin (book), 17
Becoming Mark Twain (book), 17
Beechey, Frederick William, 157
Beidler, Philip D., 24
Benson, Mary Ann, co-compiler of *Days of Gold! Songs of the California Gold Rush,* and *They Came Singing: Songs from California's History,* review of, 228
Béraud, Louise, 161
Bierstadt, Alfred, 36
The Big Sleep (novel), 8
Bishop, M. Guy, review of *Scoundrel's Tale: The Samuel Brannan Papers,* Kingdom of the West Series, Vol. 3, review of, 226
"Black Studies, Rap and the Academy" (manuscript), 70
Blacks, 42, 43, 44, 45, 71, 72, 73
Blair, Lieutenant, 214, 215
Blazing Saddles (movie), 40
Blondella, Lieutenant, 157
Blossom Rock, 217
Bly, Robert, 15
Bordeaux, France, 10
Borden, Diane M., and Eric P. Essman, authors of "Manifest Landscape/Latent Ideology: After-images of Empire in the Western and 'Post-Western' Film," 31-41
Bosqui, Edward, 164, 166
Bouguereau, Adolphe William, 172, 177
Boulanger, Gustave Rodolphe, 172
Brannan, Samuel, 198
Brautigan, Richard, 3, 10, 12, 14, 16, 17; influenced by Zen, 15; photo of, 11
Brechin, Gray, co-author of *Farewell, Promised Land: Waking From the California Dream,* review of, 79
Brer Rabbit, 42, 43, 44, 47
Britton, Joseph, 168
Brooks, Mel, 40, 41
Brunvand, Jan Harold, 63
Buchanan, President, 220
Bugs Bunny, 3, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49
Bugs Bunny: Fifty Years and Only One Grey Hare (book), 43
Bureau of Construction, Equipment and Repair, 219
Burke, Edmund, 37
Burne, Charlotte Sophia, 63
Burnett, Peter, 195
Butler, Benjamin, 166
Buzbee, Lewis, 20

"Cadwalader Ringgold, U. S. Navy: Gold Rush Surveyor of San Francisco Bay and Waters to Sacramento, 1849-1850," by Alan Fraser Houston, 208-221
Cadwalader, Gen. John, 208
Cadwalader, Maria, 208
Cain, James M., 6, 7, 8, 9
Caldwell, Erskine, 186
California Art: 450 Years of Painting and Other Media, review of, 77
California Checklist, 81, 137, 229
California Dream, 8
California History Institute, 2
California School of Design, 175, 176, 177
California Wesleyan College. See University of the Pacific
California's Associated Growers, 182
Calistoga, Calif., 20
Campbell, Albert H., 219
Campbell, Ewing, 23
Cantor Center for Visual Arts, 171
Caputo, Philip, 24
Cardero, José, 157
Carlsen, Emil, 173
Carmel Mission, 157
Carr, Emily, 173, 176
Carrillo, Don José Antonio, 160
Carver, Raymond, 3, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23; photo of, 19
"Cat in the Rain," (Hemingway story), 18
Central Valley, California, 182, 189
Chalmers, Claudine, author of "Splendide Californie! Selectons by French Artists in California History, 1786–1900," 154-179; review of Le rêve californien, Migrants français sur la côte Pacifique (XVIIIe–XXe siècles), review of, 227
Chandler, Raymond, 8, 9; photo of, 7
Chapman, Z.M., 200
Chegaray, Madame H. D., 162
Chekhov, Anton, 18, 19, 22
Chekhov, Olga, 22, 23
Christie, Julie, 37
City Hotel, 197
Clappe, Louise Amelia Knapp Smith, author of *The Shirley Letters,* review of, 76
Claveau, Antoine, 162, 166
Clay, Gen. Lucius, 50
Clemens, Samuel (Mark Twain), 10, 168; photo of, 12

lift, Montgomery, 38
oleman, John, 16
ollege of the Pacific. See University of the Pacific
Collins, Tom, 182
olumbia River, 211
Combs, Sean "Puffy", 70
Come Back, Tom Joad: Thoughts on a California Dreamer," by Bryant Simon and William Deverell, 181
Commager, Henry Steele, 188
Communist Party, 186
A Confederate General at Big Sur (novel), 11, 12, 14, 16
Conference of California Historical Societies, 2
Connecticut Yankee (novel), 12
Connelly, Michael, 9
Constant, Benjamin, 174
Conversant Essays: Contemporary Poets on Poetry (text), 56
Conversations with Raymond Carver (book), 18
Converse, John, 24
Conway, Gen. Thomas, 208
Cooper, Carolyn, 73
Cooper, Chris, 40
Coquardon, Adrien, 166, 168
Cornwall, Pierre B., 200
Crowninshield, Benjamin W., 210
The Crying of Lot 49 (novel), 52
Culver, J. Horace, 195

Daffy Duck, 46
Dana, James Dwight, 211
Davis, Senator Jefferson, 219
Dawkin, Walter, 71
Dawson, Robert, co-author of, *Farewell, Promised Land: Waking From the California Dream*, review of, 79
The Day of the Locust (novel), 7, 50
Days of Gold! Songs of the California Gold Rush, review of, 230
Days of Heaven (movie), 41
de la Roche, Paul, 161
de Lapérouse, Count Galaup, 156
de Longpre, Paul, 177
de Pindray, Marquis, 164
de Raousset-Boulbon, Count, 164
De Saisset Art Museum, 177
de Saisset, Ernest, 155, 172, 177
de Suria, Tómas, 157
de Tocqueville, Alexis, 34
de Vancy, Duche, 156, 157
De Young Museum in 1917, 174
Death Row Records, 70
"Debauched by a book:' Benjamin Franklin, Richard Brautigan, and The Pleasure of the Text," by Joseph Mills, 10-17
The Deer Park (novel), 7
del Aliso, Don Luis, 161
Del Mué, Maurice, 177
Denny, Gideon J., 164, 170
Derbec, Etienne, 168
Deverel, William and Bryant Simon, authors of "Come Back, Tom Joad: Thoughts on a California Dreamer," 180-191
Diadem (gambling hall), 198
Didion, Joan, 9
Dillard, Annie, 3
Dog Soldiers (novel), 24-29
Double Indemnity (novel), 7
Dr. Dre, 70, 71
Dreaming of Babylon (novel), 16
Driesbach, Janice, review of *California Art: 450 Years of Painting and Other Media*, 77
Dru, Joanne, 38
Duhaut-Cilly, Capt., 155, 157, 158
Dunbar, William, 47
Dupetit-Thouars, Capt. Abel Aubert, 158
Durante, Francesco, 18
Dust Bowl Ballads, 186

Earle, Steve, 182, 187
Eastwood, Clint, 39, 40, 48
Edouart, Alexandre, 166, 177
The Egg and I (book), 15, 16
Eifler, Mark A., author of "Taming the Wildernes Within: Order and Opportunity in Gold Rush Sacamento, 1849–1850," 192-208
Eiseley, Loren, 61
Eisenstein, Sergei, 53
The Elephant (saloon), 198
Eliot, T. S., 14, 55
Ellison, Ralph, 46
Elmer Fudd, 46
"The Emergence of Los Angeles as a Literary Territory," by David Fine, 5-9
Essman, Eric P., and Diane M. Borden, authors of "Manifest Landscape/Latent Ideology: Afterimages of Empire in the Western and 'Post-Western' Film," 31-41
Estiévenard, Joséphine, 178
Evans, Col. Albert S., 164
Everson, William, 56, 60
The Explicator (magazine), 18

Fall River (Shasta County), 166
Farewell to Arms (novel), 50 *A*
Farewell, My Lovely (novel), 8
Farewell, Promised Land: Waking From the California Dream, review of, 79
Farny, Henry, 177
Faulkner, William, 6, 7, 19
Feather River, 211
Feminism, 64
Ferlinghetti, Lawrence, 24
Filmer, Robert, 34
Fine, David, author of "The Emergence of Los Angeles as a Literary Territory," 5-9
Finn, Huck, 181
Fireman, Janet, Winter, inside front cover
Fires: Essays, Poems, Stories (book), 21
Fistful of Dollars (movie), 40
Fitzgerald, F. Scott, 6
Fleury, Tony Robert, 172
Flynn, Sean, 28
Folklore, 63, 64, 66, 67
Folsom, Capt. Joseph L., 217
Fonda, Henry, 182, 187
For a Few Dollars More (movie), 40
Ford, John, 36, 37, 48, 182, 183, 184, 186, 188
"Foreword," by Gerald Haslam, 2-3
Foster, Edward, 15, 16
Foucrier, Annick, author of *Le rêve californien, Migrants français sur la côte Pacifique (XVIIIe–XXe siècles)*, review of, 227
Fowler, John, 198
Fowler Hotel, 206
Francl, Joseph, 14
Franklin, Benjamin, 10, 11, 12, 16, 17; statue of, 13
Freeways, 50
Fremiet, W.E., 171
Frenzeny, Jules, 169
Friant, M., 165
Friedrich, Casper David, 32, 36
"From Granite and Hawks to Human Wishes: California's Poetry of Place," by Adrielle Mitchell, 56-61
Frontier Folksay: Proverbial Lore of the Inland Pacific Northwest Frontier (book), 68

Gable, Clark, 38
Gallagher, Tess, 18
"Gangsta rap," 70, 71
Gasquet, Louis, 160
Gates, Henry Louis, Jr., 73
Gatsby, 181
Geer, Will, 183, 186
Gelston, Capt. R., 198
The Gem (gambling hall), 198
The Ghost of Tom Joad (album), 182, 187, 188
Gibbs, C.D., 219
Ginsberg, Allen, 53
Going After Cacciato (novel), 24
Gold Rush, 155, 164, 166, 168, 172, 179, 193, 195, 198, 202, 203, 206, 213
Golden Gate, 219, 221

INDEX

Goldwyn, Sam, 7
Golightly, Holly, 181
Good, Marcia Russell, editor of *Voyage to California Written at Sea, 1852: The Journal of Lucy Kendall Herrick,* review of, 76
The Good, The Bad, and The Ugly (movie), 40
The Graduate (movie), 53
Grandmaster Flash, 70
The Grapes of Wrath (novel), 181, 182, 183, 184, 187, 189, 191
Great Depression, 6, 188, 190
Great Train Robbery (film), 48
Greener, Faye, 7
Guillou, Charles, 160
Guthrie, Charley, 185
Guthrie, Joady Ben, 182, 187
Guthrie, Nora, 184
Guthrie, Woody, 182, 183, 184, 186, 187, 188, 190, 191

Hackett, Tod, 7
Haggard, Merle, 3
Haines, John, 3, 56, 59
Hale, Horatio, 212
Hall, Donald, 59
Hammond, Lieutenant, 214, 215
Handbook of Folklore (book), 63 ***The***
Hare Trigger (cartoon film), 47
Harris, Joel Chandler, 43, 44
Harrison, President William Henry, 211
Harte, Bret, 181
Haslam, Gerald, author of "Foreword," 2-3; review of *Picturing California's Other Landscape: The Great Central Valley,* 223
Hass, Robert, 56, 57, 58, 61
Hastings, Lansford, 198
The Hawkline Monster (novel), 11, 12, 15
Hawks, Howard, 33, 38
Hay, Marie Antoinette, 209
Hearst, William Randolph, 174
Heart of Darkness (novel), 25
Heinemann, Larry, 24
Hellman, John, 25, 26, 28
Hemenway, Robert, 44
Hemingway, Ernest, 18, 19, 50; photo of, 21
Heron, Matilda, 69
Herr, Michael, 24, 28
Herrick, Lucy Kendall, author of *Voyage to California Written at Sea, 1852: The Journal of Lucy Kendall Herrick,* review of, 76
Hertzler, Joyce, 63
Herzog, Werner, 36, 37, 38
Hicks, Ray, 24
High Noon (movie), 37
Hill, Joe, 184
Hill, Thomas, 164, 166
"Hills Like White Elephants" (Hemingway story), 18
Hines, Donald, 68
Hitler, Adolf, 32
Hjalmarson, Birgitta, author of *Artful Players: Artistic Life in Early San Francisco,* review of, 78
Hoffman, Dustin, 39
Hollingsead, J.V., 167
Hollywood, 6, 7
Hollywood Freeway, 55
Horse Market, 197
Houston, Alan Fraser, author of "Cadwalader Ringgold, U.S. Navy: Gold Rush Surveyor of San Francisco Bay and Waters to Sacramento, 1849–1850," 208-221
How the Irish Became White (book), 46
Howells, William Dean, 10
Hoyt, Charley, 217
Huckleberry Finn (novel), 11, 12
Hughes, Edan, 167
Huston, John, 36
Hutchings, James, 166
Huxley, Aldous, 6, 7; photo of, 6

I Should Have Stayed Home (novel), 7
Ice Cube, 70
Ice-T, 70
Ignatiev, Noel, 46
Illinois House, 198
In the Heart of the Valley of Love (novel), 54
In Watermelon Sugar (novel), 11, 17
Indians, 5
Invisible Man (book), 46
Jackson, Aunt Molly, 183
Jackson, Helen Hunt, 5, 181
Jeffers, Robinson, 7, 56, 57, 60, 61
Jefferson, Thomas, 202
Joad, Tom, 181, 182, 183, 184, 186, 187, 188, 189, 191
John Muir Center, 2
Johnson, Nunnally, 182
Johnson, Susan Lee, reviews of *The Shirley Letters and Voyage to California Written at Sea, 1852: The Journal of Lucy Kendall Herrick,* 76
Johnson, William, 195
Jones, Commodore Thomas ap Catesby, 210, 215
Joplin, Janice, 3
Jordan, Michael, 49
Joullin, Amédée, 166, 172, 173, 175, 176
Joullin, Etienne, 173
Journal of American Folklore, 64
Julian, Rodolphe., 172
Jump, Edward, 166, 168
Kadohata, Cynthia, 54
Karagueuzian, Maureen, 28
Karl, Frederick R., 25
Kate Kearney (ship), 166
Keith, William, 164, 166, 170
Kelly, Gene, 43
Kemble, Edward, 192, 207
Kerschen, Lois, author of, "Proverbs About Women From the Pacific Northwest and California," 63-69
Kesey, Ken, 3
Kester, Nancie N., co-compiler of *Days of Gold! Songs of the California Gold Rush,* and *They Came Singing: Songs from California's History,* review of, 228
King Louis XVI, 157
King, Rodney, 54
Kingston, Maxine Hong, 3
Kizer, Carolyn, 56, 58
Knight, Marion "Suge," 70
Kristeva, Julia, 16

L'Astrolabe (ship), 157, 158
La Boussolé (ship), 157
Labory, Don Antonio, 161
Land of Sunshine (magazine), 4
Landazuri, Roberto, review of *Days of Gold! Songs of the California Gold Rush,* and *They Came Singing: Songs from California's History,* 228
Lange, Dorthea, 188, 189, 190, 191
Lapeyrouse, Capt. Theoura, 155
Laplace, Capt. Cyrille Pierre Théodore, 158
Larkin, Thomas Oliver, 215, 219
Law and Order Party, 198, 199, 200, 203, 205, 206
Le Grey, Gustave, 162
Le Guin, Ursula K., 3
Le rêve californien, Migrants français sur la côte Pacifique (XVIIIe–XXe siècles), review of, 227
Lee, Barton, 205, 206
Lefebvre, Jules Joseph, 172, 174, 177
Leone, Sergio, 36, 40
Leslie, Frank, 168
Levis, Larry, 59
Life on the Mississippi (book), 12
Lincoln, Abraham, 187
Lindgren, Mary Good, editor of *Voyage to California Written at Sea, 1852: The Journal of Lucy Kendall Herrick,* review of, 76
Locke, John, 34
Lomax, Alan, 186
London, Jack, 20, 21; papers of, 2
Lone Ranger, 32, 40
Lone Star (movie), 36, 39
The Long Goodbye (novel), 8

Los Angeles Times, 5
Los Angeles; growth in 1880s, 5, growth in 1920s, 6; novels and, 6, 7, 8
Lotchin, Roger W. editor of *The Way We Really Were: The Golden State in the Second Great War*, review of, 224
Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis, 173
The Loved One (novel), 7
Loyola Marymount University, Winter, inside front cover
Lugo, Don Antonio Maria, 160
Lugo, Don Vincente, 160, 161
Lummis, Charles Fletcher, 4, 5
Lurie, Alison, 9
Lutz, R. C., author of, "On the Road to Nowhere? California's Car Culture," 50-55
Lyon Art Salon, 177

MacDonald, Betty, 15-16
Macdonald, Ross, 8, 9
Mackart, DeeJay, 170
Magee, John, author of "Raymond Carver's *Where I'm Calling From:* A Reflection of His Life and Art," 18-23
Mailer, Norman, 7
Malaspina, Alejandro, 157
Malik, Terence, 36, 41
Manifest Destiny, 31, 36, 41
"Manifest Landscape / Latent Ideology: Afterimages of Empire in the Western and 'Post-Western' Film," by Diane M. Borden and Eric P. Essman, 31-41
Maplethorpe, Robert, 3
Mare Island Navy Yard, 219
Mark Hopkins Institute of Art, 173, 174
Marlowe, Philip, 8
Marriott, Lindsay, 8
Martin, Frank, 20, 21
Masselot, Louis Jules, 158
Mathews, Arthur, 166
Matisse, Henri, 175
Maury, Lieut. Matthew, 218
Mayne, Heather J., author of "The Wild, Wild West: Images of California in Contemporary Rap Music," 70-75
McArthur, Lt. William Pope, 219
McCabe and Mrs. Miller (movie), 36, 37, 38
McCorkle, James, 56
McCoy, Horace, 6, 7, 8, 9
McDaniel, Wilma Elizabeth, 3
McDonald, Joe, 182
McDonald, Worden, 182
McDougal, Lieutenant Governor John, 205, 206
McElhinny, Lisa, 18
McGuane, Thomas, 11, 16
McKenna, Bruce, author of "Yosemite Sam Never Settles Down," 42-49
McKinley, President, 31
McWilliams, Carey, 5, 182, 188, 189
Mellon, Lee, 12
Ménard, Romuald Georges, 158
Meredith, Burgess, 186
Methodists, 2
Mezzara, Pietro, 164
Midnight Cowboy (movie), 38, 40
Mieder, Wolfgang, 68
Mildred Pierce (novel), 7
Miller, Arthur, 38
Miller, Henry, 13
Miller, Richard, 14
Miller, Sally M., author of "Milestones in California History," Spring, inside front cover
Mills, Joseph, author of "'Debauched by a book:' Benjamin Franklin, Richard Brautigan, and The Pleasure of the Text," 10-17
The Misfits (movie), 36, 38
Mission Memoirs: A Collection of Photographs, Illustrations, and Twentieth-century Reflections on California's Past, review of, 227
Mission San Luis Rey, 158
Missions; myth of, 5
Missouri Hotel, 198
Mitchell, Adrielle, author of "From Granite and Hawks to Human Wishes: California's Poetry of Place," 56-61
Mitsubishi, 52
Moerenhout, Jacques, 160
Monroe, Marilyn, 38
Morgan, Hank, 10
Morrison, Toni, 42, 47, 48
Morse, John F., 193
Mortimer, Armine, 14
Morton, Brian, 14
Mosely, Walter, 9
Moure, Nancy Dustin Wall, author of *California Art: 450 Years of Painting and Other Media*, review of, 77
Movie industry, 6, 7, 9
Movies, 30, 32, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41; westerns, 42
Muir, John, papers of, 2
Museum of Natural History of Los Angeles County, Winter, inside front cover
My Darling Clementine (movie), 37
Myers, Thomas, 25
Myrtledale, 20

N.W.A. (Niggahs Wid Attitude), 71
Naglee, Gen. Henry M., 209
Nanabozho, 43
Narjot, Ernest, 162, 164, 166
Nash, Gerald D., review of *The Way We Really Were: The Golden State in the Second Great War*, 224
National Academy of Design, 173
Native Americans, 34, 42, 43, 44, 47
Naval Academy, Annapolis, 219, 220
Ness, Elliott, 72
Nevins, Allan, 188
New Deal, 188, 190, 191
New Sketches and Old (novel), 12
New York Lunch, 198
The New Yorker (magazine), 20
Nichols, Mike, 53
No Heroics, Please (book), 18
Norris, Frank, 5, 181
North Pacific Surveying and Exploring Expedition, 219
Northern Pacific Railroad, 173

O'Brien, Tim, 24
O'Hara, John, 6
O'Sullivan, John L., 31
Oil in California, 6
Okemah, Oklahoma, 184
"On the Road to Nowhere? California's Car Culture," by R.C. Lutz, 50-55
Orsi, Richard, Fall, inside front cover; Winter, inside front cover
Ortiz, Santos, 164
Otis, Harrison Gray, 5
Out West (magazine), 4
Owens Valley, 6

Pacific Coast Highway, 7
Pacific Electric railway, 6
Pacific Historian (quarterly), 2
Pacific Mail Steamship Company, 218
Pagè, Eugéne, 172, 174, 175
Page, Tim, 28
Pampa, Texas, 185
Pareles, Jon, 72
Pâris, Lt. Francois Edmond, 158
Paris, Texas (movie), 37
Pasadena Freeway, 50
Pasternak, Donna L., author of "Vietnam War Landscape: California in Robert Stone's Dog Soldiers," 24-29
Patigian, Haig, 175
Payot, Henri, 164, 166
Peckinpah, Sam, 36, 40, 41
Pénelon, Henri, 160, 177
Perry, Claire, review of *Artful Players: Artistic Life in Early San Francisco*, 78
Perry, Commodore Matthew, 219
Person, Henry, 68
Phelan, Mayor James D., 173, 175
Philippines, 31
Pickering, Dr. Charles, 211

INDEX

Pickford-Fairbanks Studio, photo of, 9
Picturing California's Other Landscape: The Great Central Valley, review of, 223
Pinchaud, Marie Thérése, 178
Pioche, Francois, 168
The Plains (saloon), 198
Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination (book), 42
The Pleasure of the Text (book), 14, 15, 16
Poetry, 56-61
Polo, Ralph Lauren, 191
Pope, Robert, 18
Porpoise (ship), 210, 212, 219
Porter, Edwin S., 48
The Postman Always Rings Twice (novel), 7
The Practice of the Wild (book), 56
Prévost, Charles Henri Victor, 161
Prévost, Guillaume, 157
Prévost, Jean-Louis, 157
Prévost, Victor, 160, 177
Proverbial Comparisons and Similes from California (book), 66
"Proverbs About Women From the Pacific Northwestand California," by Lois Kerschen, 63-69
Provost, Jeanne Hélene, 175
Prudon, Victor, 160
Pursell, Carroll, review of *True Garden of the Gods: California-Australian Environmental Reform, 1860-1930*, 78
Pynchon, Thomas, 52, 53

Quaker City (ship), 10
Queen Marie Antoinette sketch, 156

Rabbit Transit (cartoon film), 46
Racism, 44
Ramona (novel), 5, 181
Rap music, 70-75
"Rawhide," (TV program), 39
Raymond Carver: A Study of the Short Fiction (book), 23
"Raymond Carver's *Where I'm Calling From:* A Reflection of His Life and Art," by John Magee, 18-23
Reagan, President Ronald, 191
Red River (movie), 38
Regeneration Through Violence (book), 12
Reps, John, 195
Revenge of the Lawn (book), 15
Rey, J.J., 166, 168
Rich, Adrienne, 56
Riefenstahl, Leni, 53
Ringgold, Cadwalader, 208, 210, 211, 212, 213, 215, 217, 218, 219, 221
Ringgold, Gen. Samuel, 208
Ringgold, Lt. Col. George Hay, 209
Ringgold, Major Sam, 209
Ringgold, Marie Antoinette, 209
Ringgold-Rodgers-Brooke Expedition, 219
Rix, Julian, 170
Robbin, Ed, 186
Roediger, David, 46
Roullier, Christian Henri, 171
Royce, Josiah, 206
Rupalley, Louis Jules, 162
Ruscin, Terry, author of *Mission Memoirs: A Collection of Photographs, Illustrations, and Twentieth-century Reflections on California's Past*, review of, 227
Russell, Amy Requa, editor of *Voyage to California Written at Sea, 1852: The Journal of Lucy Kendall Herrick*, review of, 76
Russell, Charles, 15
Ryan, Don, 5

Sacramento River, 192, 195, 197, 208, 211, 213, 215, 217, 218
Sacramento, 192, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 202, 203, 205, 208, 213, 215, 217, 218
Sade/Fourier/Loyola (book), 14
Sallisaw, Oklahoma, 182
San Francisco, 6, 195, 198, 205, 208, 212, 213, 215, 217
San Francisco Art Association, 164, 170, 171, 174, 175
San Francisco Bay, 208, 211, 212, 213, 218, 221
San Francisco Palette Club, 170
San Gabriel Mountains, 5
San Joaquin River, 219
San Jose, Spring, inside front cover
Sandos, James A., review of *Mission Memoirs: A Collection of Photographs, Illustrations, and Twentieth-century Reflections on California's Past*, 227
Sanford, James T., 167
Santa Barbara Mission, 155
Santa Clara Mission, 177
Santa Monica, 8
Sawyer, Tom, 181
Sayles, John, 36, 39, 40
Scharner, Antoine-Théodore, 166
Schenker, Heather, editor of, *Picturing California's Other Landscape: The Great Central Valley*, review of, 223
Schlesinger, John, 36, 38
Schmitz, Neil, 13
Schoenherr, Allan A., review of *Farewell, Promised Land: Waking From the California Dream*, 79
Schoenmakers, Julia Aimé, 176
Schoenmakers, Pauline Aimée, 176
Schroeder, Eric James, 24
Schulberg, Budd, 7
Scott, Ridley, 36
Scoundrel's Tale: The Brannan Papers, Kingdom of the West Series, Vol. 3, review of, 226
The Searchers (movie), 36, 37
See, Carolyn, 9
Seeger, Pete, 183, 186
Sepulveda, José Andres, 161
Serra, Fr. Juniper, 171
Settlers Association, 198, 200, 203, 205, 206
Shakur, Tupac, 70, 72, 73, 74; photo of, 71
Sherman, Lt. William Tecumseh, 214, 215, 217, 219
The Shirley Letters From the California Mines, 1851-1852, review of, 76
Simon, Bryant and William Deverel, authors of "Come Back, Tom Joad: Thoughts on a California Dreamer," 180-191
Simpson, Mona, 20
The Slide Area (novel), 8
Slotkin, Richard, 12
Smith-Baranzini, Marlene, ed. of *The Shirley Letters*, review of, 76
Snoop Doggy Dogg, 70
Snyder, Gary, 3, 15, 56, 57, 58, 60, 61
So the Wind Won't Blow It All Away (novel), 11, 12
Social Darwinism, 34
Société des Artistes Français in Paris, 173
Sombrero Fallout (novel), 12, 15, 17
South Bronx, New York, 70
Spanish-American War, 31, 33
"Splendide Californie! Selections by French Artists in California History, 1786-1900," by Claudine Chalmers, 154-179
Springsteen, Bruce, 182, 187, 188, 189, 191
Squatters' Riot, 203
Stack, Robert, 73
Stanford, Josiah, 171
Stanton, Harry Dean, 37
Starr, Kevin, 182
Steckel Galleries, 175
Steinbeck, John, 50, 181, 182, 184, 186, 188, 190, 191
Sternwood, Guy, 8
Stillman, Dr. Benjamin, 206
Stockton, Spring, inside front cover
Stoddard, Charles Warren, 170
Stone, Dana, 28
Stone, Robert, 24-29; photo of, 25
Stott, William, 189
Stringham, Silas H., 220
Strong, Isobel, 170
Strong, Joe, 170, 174
Stroszek (movie), 37, 38

INDEX

Stryk, Lucien, 15
Stuart, Frederick D., 219
The Study of American Folklore (book), 63
Stull, William L., 14, 18
"Summer of love," 3
The Sun is But a Morning Star: Studies in West Coast Poetry and Poetics (book), 60
Surcouf, Robert, 157
Susman, Warren, 189
Sutter, Johann, 192
Sutter, Johann, Jr., 195, 198
Sutter's Embarcadero, 192, 197
Sutter's Fort, 192, 195, 197, 198, 211
Sutter's mill, 192
Syverton, Robert, 8

"Taming The Wilderness Within: Order and Opportunity in Gold Rush Sacramento, 1849-1850," by Mark A. Eifler, 192-208
Tanière, Etienne, 175
Tanière, Eugéne, 172, 175, 177
Tarn, Nathaniel, 60
Tavernier, Jules, 169, 170, 171, 173, 174
Taylor, Archer, 64, 66, 68
Taylor, Bayard, 193, 197, 215
Taylor, Paul, 188, 191
Texas, 34
They Came Singing: Songs from California's History, review of, 228
They Shoot Horses, Don't They? (novel), 7-8
Thiers, French President Adolphe, 164
Thouars, Capt. Abel Dupetit, 157
The Tokyo–Montana Express (novel), 12, 13, 16
Tortoise Beats Hare (cartoon film), 45
Tortoise Wins By A Hare (cartoon film), 45
Tournament of Roses, 67
Treaty of Guadeloupe Hidalgo, 199
Trousset, Léon, 169, 170, 171
Trout Fishing in America (novel), 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17
True Garden of the Gods: California-Australian Environmental Reform, 1860-1930, review of, 78
Tuolumne River, 166
Turner, Frederick Jackson, 35
Twain, Mark. See Clemens, Samuel
Tyrrell, Ian, author of *True Garden of the Gods: California-Australian Environmental Reform, 1860-1930*, review of, 78

Uncle Remus, 43, 44, 45
Union League Association in New York, 173
U. S. Exploring Expedition, 220
University of the Pacific, Spring, inside front cover
Van de Casteele, Xavier, 165, 166
Vernet, Horace, 161
Victor, Jean Antoine Marie, 177
Vien, Joseph, 156
Viertel, Peter, 7
"Vietnam War Landscape: California in Robert Stone's Dog Soldiers," by Donna L. Pasternak, 24-29
Vietnam War, 24, 27, 29
Vignes, Jean-Louis, 161
Vioget, Jean-Jacques, 155, 159
Vizenor, Gerald, 44
Voight, Jon, 39
Volkswagen, 52
Voyage to California Written at Sea, 1852: The Journal of Lucy Kendall Herrick, review of, 76

The Wages of Whiteness (book), 46
Walking Point: American Narratives of Vietnam (book), 25
Wallace, Christopher "The Notorious B.I.G.," 70
Wandesforde, Juan B., 164
Warner, Capt. William H., 195
Warner Brothers, 43, 46
Warren G, 70
Warsh, Lewis, 17
Wasteland (novel), 14, 55
Waugh, Evelyn, 6, 7
The Wave (magazine), 5
The Way We Really Were: The Golden State in the Second Great War, review of, 224
Wayne, John, 36, 38
Weill, Rafael, 166, 175
Welty, Eudora, 6
Wenders, Wim, 37
West, Nathanael, 6, 7, 8, 9, 14, 50
Western History Association, Winter, inside front cover
Westphal, Christian H., 177
Whalen, Philip, 15
Whaler's Harbor, 211
What Makes Sammy Run? (novel), 7
Where I'm Calling From: New and Selected Stories (book), 18– 22
White Hunter, Black Heart (novel), 7
Wickersheim, Frederic, 166
Wilcox, Daeida, 178
Wilcox, Harvey, 178
The Wild Bunch (movie), 36, 40
"The Wild, Wild West: Images of California in Contemporary Rap Music," by Heather J. Mayne, 70-75
Wilde, Oscar, 170
Wilkes, Charles, 210, 211, 212
Will You Please Be Quiet, Please? (book), 18
Willard and His Bowling Trophies (novel), 11, 12, 15
William Money (ship), 166
Williams, Virgil, 173
Wilson, Elliot, 71
Women, in folklore, 63-68
Wood, Ed, 3
Wood, Richard "Coke," 2
Wores, Theodore, 173
World War II, 3, 50
Wright, Richard, 72

"Yosemite Sam Never Settles Down," by Bruce McKenna, 42-49
Yosemite Sam, 3
Yosemite Valley, 42

Zabriskie Point (movie), 37
Zinneman, Fred, 37
Zins, Alexander, 171

THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY is a statewide membership-based organization designated by the Legislature as the State Historical Society. Its mission is to engage the public's interest and participation in collecting, preserving, and presenting art, artifacts, and written materials relevant to the history of California and to support historical research, publication, and educational activities.

A quarterly journal published by CHS since 1922, *California History* features articles by leading scholars and writers focusing on the heritage of California and the West from pre-Columbian to modern times. Illustrated articles, pictorial essays, and book reviews examine the ongoing dialogue between the past and the present. Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts* and *America: History and Life.*

OFFICERS

Maribelle B. Leavitt, San Francisco
President
John K. Van de Kamp, Arcadia
Vice President
George W. Rowe, San Francisco
Treasurer
Peter J. Musto, San Francisco
Secretary
Betsy Leland Link, Ph.D., Los Angeles
Regional Vice President
Toby Rose, San Francisco
Regional Vice President
Donn R. Schoenmann, San Francisco
Regional Vice President
Charles J. Soderquist, Ph.D., Sacramento *Regional Vice President*

TRUSTEES

Donald D. Crawford, Jr., Sea Ranch
Charles A. Fracchia, San Francisco
Edward Helfeld, San Francisco
Hon. Robert M. Hertzberg, Sacramento
Huell Howser, Los Angeles
Robert S. Macfarlane, Jr., Pacific Palisades
Andrew C. McLaughlin III, Ph.D., San Francisco
Russell R. Miller, San Francisco
John T. Olds, San Francisco
Helen Rodriguez, San Francisco
John A. Schram, Kenwood
A. Jess Shenson, M.D., San Francisco
Victoria Steele, Ph.D., Los Angeles
John A. Traina, Jr., San Francisco

EMERITI

Louis Heilbron, San Francisco
President Emeritus
J.S. Holliday, Ph.D., Carmel
Executive Director Emeritus
David B. Hudnut, Tiburon
President Emeritus
Edith L. Piness, Ph.D., Mill Valley
President Emerita
Stephen L. Taber, Esq., San Francisco
Trustee Emeritus

STAFF

Stephen Becker, *Executive Director*
Brenda Baldwin, *Library Cataloger*
Abby Bridge, *Assistant Librarian*
Larry D. Campbell, *Deputy Director*
Diana Daniels, *Fine Arts Registrar*
Judith Deaton, *Director of Operations*
Tanya Hollis, *Assistant Librarian*
Margaret Kelley, *Receptionist*
Kathryn Kowalewski, *Photography Assistant*
Frances Link, *Store Manager*
Jennifer Liss, *Membership Manager*
Trina Lopez, *Store clerk & Library page*
Cristina Magpantay, *Accounting Manager*
Anissa Paulsen, *Educational & Outreach Coordinator*
Chelsea Pickslay, *Director of Education*
Judy Sakaguchi, *Store Clerk*
Marlene Smith-Baranzini, *Associate Editor, California History*
Erengo Suto, *Receptionist*
Marian Ueki, *Graphic Design*
Crissa Van Vleck,
Rights & Reproductions Assistant
Wendy Welker, *Photo Archivist*

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL FOUNDATION

David B. Hudnut, Tiburon
President
George H. Link, Esq., Los Angeles
Vice President
David J. Clark, Esq., Lafayette
Treasurer
Dr. Francis Rigney, San Francisco
Secretary
George Basye, Esq., Sacramento
DeWitt F. Bowman, Mill Valley
Mrs. William Goodan, Pasadena
Mrs. Maurice A. Machris, Los Angeles
William G. Myers, Santa Barbara
Mrs. Julian Peabody, San Francisco
Edith L. Piness, Ph.D., Mill Valley
Richard Rosenberg, San Francisco
Donn R. Schoenmann, San Francisco
William Sharon, El Cerrito
Thomas A. Techentin, Los Angeles

CONSULTANTS

Diane DeBruno, Retail Operations
Jennifer Kaiser, Marketing / Public Relations
Sandra Madison Reinhardt, Finance

CALIFORNIA HISTORY
Published quarterly 2001 © by CHS

$40.00 of each membership is designated for California Historical Society membership services, including subscriptions to *California History* and the *California Chronicle.*

ADMINISTRATIVE HEADQUARTERS/
NORTH BAKER RESEARCH LIBRARY
678 Mission Street
San Francisco, California 94105-4014
(415) 357-1848
FAX (415) 357-1850
Website: www.calhist.org

Manuscripts for publication and editorial correspondence should be sent to Janet R. Fireman, Editor, *California History*, History Department, Loyola Marymount University, 7900 Loyola Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90045-8415. Manuscripts should be typed, double spaced, with notes on separate sheets, and submitted in duplicate with a stamped and addressed return envelope. The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or opinions of the authors. Books for review should be sent to James Rawls, Reviews Editor, California Historical Society, 678 Mission Street, San Francisco, CA 94105-4014.

LC 75–640289 / ISSN 0162–2897
Periodicals Postage PAID at San Francisco and at additional mailing offices.
Publication number 084180

POSTMASTER
Send address changes to:
California History
678 Mission St.
San Francisco, CA 94105-4014

4741